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THE AENEID

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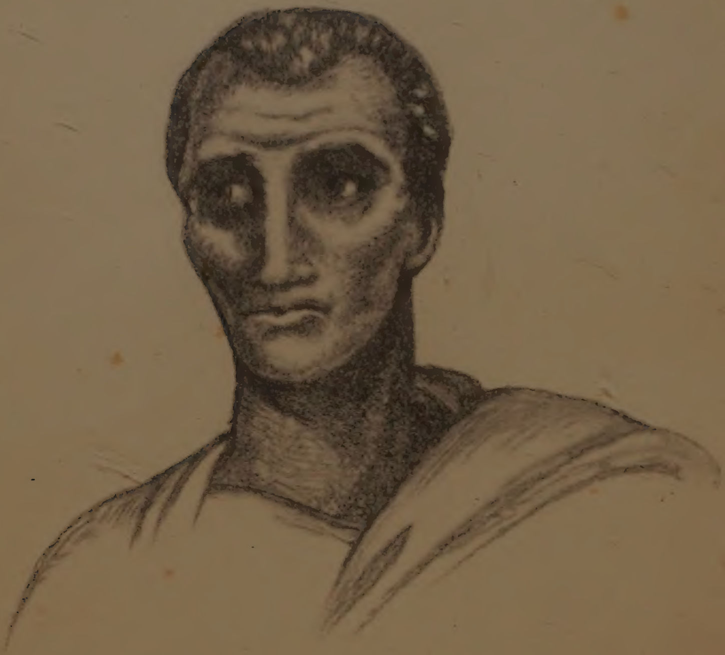

MUSA MIHI CAUSAS MEMORA

THE AENEID

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION
AND COMMENTARY BY

J. W. MACKAIL

HONORARY FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE
SOMETIME PROFESSOR OF POETRY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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PREFACE

THE aim of this edition of the *Aeneid* is to present the poem in a single volume of manageable size, and with just so much of explanatory, introductory, or critical matter as may enable it to be read continuously with intelligent appreciation. It is designed not so much for professional scholars and students, though for these I hope it may not be without value, as for readers and lovers of great poetry.

With this aim in view severe compression is needed. Results have to be given without statement of the processes through which they were reached; references to authorities to be very largely omitted; and the bypaths of comment to be for the most part ignored. A great part of my labour—and as I believe, not the least useful part—has consisted in discarding accumulated material in order that the work of art may not be encumbered by masses of scaffolding. The mass of Virgilian literature, critical, explanatory, interpretative, controversial, which an editor approaching his task must take into account, and from which he often derives help or guidance, is immense; a mere list of titles would fill many pages. The work of commenting on commentators is endless, and except for the specialist, is profitless. Its motives have been mixed. Acknowledgement of debts to predecessors is, even when carried to punctiliousness, good manners as well as honesty; setting their views out, balancing them against one another, and coming to one's own conclusion, is a process which it is superfluous to record: and often, it may be suspected, commentaries are immoderately swollen, not from over-conscientiousness, and not even from the besetting sin of scholars, love of controversy, but from timidity, and because the writer is afraid of the charge of 'not seeming to be aware' of what has been written on the point by others. *In toto hoc genere non refert quid alii dixerint, sed quid nunc a te dicendum fuerit* is the maxim laid down by Heyne in his Preface. More recently, Professor Wilamowitz-Moellendorff has supplemented it from his own long experience: 'In my old age,' he says, 'I have been even more inclined to reject ponderous learning, and just to say straight out what is correct.' In a sense, *pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt* is a counsel of wisdom: and the ideal which an editor no less than an author may keep before him is to earn, in his own humbler sphere, the praise given to Virgil himself more than two hundred and fifty years ago, that 'he never says too little or too much'.

For these reasons the commentary for the most part omits information which is generally accessible in grammars, lexicons, dictionaries of biography and mythology, and similar books of reference. It also omits a matter which in most editions bulks largely, that of Virgil's 'imitations' of Homer. The influence of Homer in the *Aeneid* is as patent as it is pervasive; but to pursue it into detail is useless except as an exercise. On the other hand, while fully realizing the snares and weaknesses of 'aesthetic' appreciation, I have not hesitated to call attention, here and there, to beauties and subtleties which have been largely ignored or misinterpreted; and also to passages in which the poem as it left Virgil's hands was not free from crudities, imperfections, concessions to literary fashion, languors and extravagances and irrelevancies.

The abbreviated *apparatus criticus* subjoined to the text deals only with readings found in the six 'primary' manuscripts, F G M P R V, of which an account is given on p. lix of the Introduction. Variant readings from other sources, and conjectural emendations proposed by scholars from the sixteenth century onward, are only, if at all, mentioned in the notes. Even as regards these six manuscripts, many minor variations, mainly matters of erratic spelling or obvious slips of the pen, are omitted as of no interest or importance except for the specialized work of a textual critic. In variants which are in the hand of a reviser and not of the original scribe, no attempt has been made to discriminate successive hands of various and uncertain dates. Obviously late alterations are ignored: others are simply noted as M^2, P^2, &c.

The spelling adopted follows, with a few exceptions, the modern vulgate as printed in Hirtzel's Oxford text. In the matter of spelling, usage fluctuated in Virgil's own time; nor was his own practice uniform. On good authority we know that he wrote *-is* or *-es* in accusative plural terminations as satisfied his ear best in each case; but whether for example in *Aen.* vi. 92 he wrote *gentis* and *urbis* (as in P), or *gentes* and *urbes* (as in M and R), there are no means of knowing. So in i. 117 the *vortex* of R, following on the *vertice* of l. 114, may be a deliberate variation of Virgil's own. For current use the typographical distinction between vocal and consonantal *v* has obvious convenience; and here it is extended from the minuscules to the capitals. The MSS. and vulgate *loquela* and *querela* are replaced by the better authenticated *loquella* and *querella.*

For detailed study of Virgil the Servian commentary (*Servii qui feruntur Commentarii*, edited by Thilo and Hagen 1881–7, with Hagen's *Appendix Serviana*, 1902) is indispensable. It has come down to us in two versions, one of which, the so-called Servius Danielis, thus named from its having been first edited in 1600 by the French scholar Pierre Daniel, contains much supplementary matter, incorporated at various times and by various hands with the collection made by the grammarian Servius Maurus Honoratus early in the fifth century. For brevity and convenience this commentary is here referred to simply as 'Servius' throughout, but citations from the added matter are, according to usage, given under the name of D Servius. Similarly, the Life of Virgil which goes under the name of Aelius Donatus is cited as 'Donatus' simply, without any attempt to determine how far it is, in its earlier and shorter version, a mere transcript of the Life by Suetonius, on which it is undoubtedly based. For this and for the other extant Lives of Virgil from

Suetonius on into the Dark Ages, the most succinct and convenient compendium is E. Diehl's *Vitae Vergilianae*, 1911.

Among editions of the *Aeneid* prior to the nineteenth century, the two of which I have made constant use are those of J. L. de La Cerda, in the Cologne reprint of 1642, and of C. G. Heyne in the London edition of 1793: the latter remains indispensable for all serious students of Virgil. Not less indispensable for textual and critical purposes is the monumental edition by O. Ribbeck, 1860–6, which for the first time collected the material for establishment of the Virgilian text on a scientific basis.

The merits and defects of Conington's edition (revised by Nettleship and Long, 1872–5) are too well known to call for comment. Those who, like myself and all my contemporaries in this country, were brought up on it can look back to it with gratitude. But it has in many respects been long out of date, and the need for its being replaced has long been admitted and urgent. It is therefore gratifying to know that a complete edition of Virgil under the editorship of Professor R. S. Conway is now in course of preparation.

Among the many modern editions of the *Aeneid* I have made constant use of two: that of the veteran Italian scholar R. Sabbadini, and that of Th. Ladewig and C. Schaper as revised and supplemented by P. Deuticke. To these I am much indebted; as I am to that of Mr. T. E. Page, which is always helpful, not less so where one differs from him, and which has the rare merit of real poetical appreciation.

For study of Virgil's technique and his manipulation of language, Professor M. N. Wetmore's *Index verborum Vergilianus* (1911: a revised edition is announced as forthcoming) is more valuable than many commentaries. It should be in the hands of all who aim at appreciation of Virgilian Latin and of Virgil as a verbal artist. In the immense mass of literature which has in recent years accumulated round Virgil may be singled out as specially instructive and illuminating for those who read the *Aeneid*, R. Heinze's *Virgils Epische Technik* (third edition 1915), and the three studies by W. Warde Fowler, *Virgil's Gathering of the Clans* (1916), *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* (1917), and *The Death of Turnus* (1919).

While there is perhaps little in this commentary for which reference might not be made, as its direct or indirect source, to the published work of other scholars, a general acknowledgement of such indebtedness is for the most part all that can be reasonably required or easily given. That acknowledgement I wish to give; and it may be more readily accepted, if I add that myself I make no claim to originality, but only to such elucidation as a lifelong study of Virgil has enabled me to supply.

The portrait of the author of the *Aeneid* which forms the frontispiece to this volume has been drawn, by a competent and sympathetic hand, from study and comparison of all the available reproductions of the mosaic described in the Introduction, p. xlvii. These included photographs specially taken for me at Tunis by the kindness of Professor J. G. C. Anderson.

My thanks are due to Mr. John Sparrow, Fellow of All Souls College, for help given throughout in revision and correction of the proof-sheets, and also for many suggestions and criticisms which have been of material service.

J. W. M.

15th October 1930.

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INTRODUCTION

I

In approaching Virgil, we must realize not only that he was a supreme artist, but that he stands in a very special relation to the whole import of an age which was one of the main turning-points in history. It was then that the political and civil organization was created under which the European world lived for more than a thousand years, and on which its subsequent developments have been mainly founded. It was then that the problems of a world-empire based on law, preserving liberty, and securing peace were for the first time faced, and a provisional solution found for them. It was then also that the genius of the Latin race culminated in the works of the greatest Roman historians, orators, and poets; and that the Latin language was moulded into forms which have ever since been a common heritage and a permanent model for mankind.

Virgil is the foremost name in Latin poetry. But he also combines in himself, in a unique way and to a unique extent, the racial and cultural elements out of which the Latin civilization was compounded. He looked, as few have done, before and after. Standing at the point of junction between two worlds, he is the interpreter, we may even call him the creator, of a great national ideal. That ideal was at once political, social, and religious. The supremacy of Rome assumed in his hands the aspect of an ordinance of Providence, towards which all previous history had been leading up under divine guidance. It meant the establishment of an empire to which no limit of time or space was set, and in which the human race should find ordered peace, settled government, material prosperity, the reign of law and the commonwealth of freedom. *His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono*, such is the decree of the Lord of Heaven. The mission of 'the Roman', of the Roman race envisaged as a single undying personality, is not only *regere imperio populos*, but *paci imponere morem*, to establish character upon a universal peace. This is to be effected, morally by fusion of Roman strength with Italian piety, politically by the incorporation or consubstantiation of Italy with Rome.

Of set purpose, Virgil uses the terms *Italus* and *Romanus* interchangeably. The keynote of the *Georgics*, repeated and re-emphasized in the *Aeneid*, is their coalescence. The elect survivor of fallen Troy is sent forth to found a new city and nation in the West. His years of wandering are a pilgrimage, a crusade, through which the goal is slowly approached, and in the course of which his mission is gradually revealed to him by prophecies and portents, by divine communications, and finally by his initiation into the realms of the Underworld, and the vision of the future there passed before him. In the final scene of the Reconciliation of the Gods, the crown is placed on the structure by a single majestic line linking the two names,

> sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago.

It is at once a prayer, a decree, and a benediction.

The canonization of Rome, as a sort of living being, *dea Roma*, *Roma mater*, was effected, just at the same time, by the genius of Livy, whose History has been called a funeral oration over the grave of the Republic. But Virgil's view reached still further, his aim was still higher. Rome was to reincarnate herself, and the Italo-Roman ideal, realized and established, was to be the light and life of the world.

He fixed for the imagination of the Roman race, and of the nations which it subdued or incorporated, the limit of its aspiration and achievement, the very sea-mark of its utmost sail. He was from the first the prophet of the Roman Empire; and he was accepted later as the precursor or herald of the spiritual Rome in which the divine will was to be accomplished and the divine order made manifest to the world. When he had finished his work, and not until then, according to the belief of the early Church, the time was come for the incarnation of Christ.

It is accordingly necessary, towards intelligent study and adequate appreciation of the *Aeneid*, to get some general view of the age in which Virgil lived and of the world which he interpreted, no less than of the earlier history of Latin poetry in the hands of his predecessors. For both purposes, a rapid summary glance may be taken over history.

II

The Roman Republic, originally a small city-state with a population of farmers and tradesmen occupying a territory of a few miles square on the lower Tiber, had early in its history developed a singular genius for war and settlement, for municipal organization and commerce. By the beginning of the third century B.C. it held a dominant position in central Italy, not only among the Umbro-Latin communities of which it was one, but more widely throughout the territory inhabited by the kindred stocks of Sabellians and Oscans. By the decay of the once great Etruscan League it had been brought into direct contact with the Celtic peoples which then occupied the Po valley and the Lombard plain. At the other end of the Italian peninsula it had come into close relations, whether peaceable or hostile, with the Greek or semi-Grecized states of

Southern Italy and Sicily. These relations, alike in commerce and in politics, were necessarily extended further. Sicily was the strategic centre of the Western Mediterranean, and was in joint Greek and Carthaginian occupation. Its control was vital to any Power which sought expansion in those seas and in the circle of surrounding countries, Italy, Southern Gaul, Spain, and Northern Africa.

Rome and Carthage became rivals for that control, and for the commercial and political predominance which it carried. The armed conflict between them lasted, with intervals, for more than a hundred years, and was only ended by the total destruction of Carthage. The Second Punic War, a desperate struggle of seventeen years during which Rome was brought to the brink of ruin by the genius of Hannibal, left indelible traces on the Roman imagination, no less than on the course of Rome's subsequent history. She emerged from the contest mistress of Italy, and a world-power; but also with a loss, never wholly repaired, of her older and nobler traditions, of simplicity, patriotism, a high standard of honour, all that was meant by Roman virtue. The poison of wealth, the greed for exploitation of subject countries, the craving for idle amusement and the excitements of town life, crept into all classes of the community. The century which passed between the destruction of Carthage and the dictatorship of Julius Caesar is a record on the one hand of immense material and territorial expansion, on the other, of corrupt and increasingly incapable government, of domestic dissensions and sanguinary civil wars. The monarchies of the Near East, founded by the marshals of Alexander the Great in the provinces of his gigantic empire, were crumbling to pieces, and one after another fell by conquest, or lapsed as derelict, into Roman control, as those of India passed under English rule in the century between the battle of Plassey and the annexation of the Punjab. The kingdoms of Macedonia, Asia, Syria, became Roman provinces. Egypt became a Roman protectorate. The vassal monarchies of the Asiatic frontier, fragments of the enormous Seleucid empire, followed suit. The whole Mediterranean was turned into a Roman lake. The new Oriental provinces were the richest, the most populous, and the most highly civilized part of this enlarged dominion. The fatal lure of the East began to work. The ghost of Alexander's empire, which had stretched from the Adriatic to the Indus, from Bactria to the Sudan, kept rising from the grave to vex and dazzle the imagination of the West. The conquest of Gaul by Julius Caesar, the laborious pacification of Spain under Augustus, were instinctive attempts to redress the balance.

All the while, things had been going badly nearer home. The Italian peoples, held down by a splendid system of military roads and a network of garrisoned Roman colonies, came to be treated not as allies but as subjects. Under this pressure there arose, for the first time in history, a sense of Italian nationality. It showed itself on both sides: at Rome, by a movement towards incorporation of Italy in the Roman Republic; in Italy, by a movement to shake off Roman control and create an Italian nation out of the complex aggregation of tribes, communities, and municipalities which filled the peninsula. The assassination of the Roman statesman who had brought forward legislative proposals for remodelling the constitution and extending Roman citizenship to all the allies caused the long-smouldering disaffection to blaze into open war. An Italian government was set up, and a new capital founded in the centre of the peninsula. The immediate object of the revolt failed; Roman arms conquered, after three years of desperate fighting. But in the course of the war or immediately after it, Roman citizenship was extended to all Italy south of the Po. The status of the north remained long anomalous; it was not until 42 B.C., the year of the battle of Philippi, that Cisalpina, the whole region between the Alps and the Apennines, ceased to be technically a province. It was in that region that Livy, the creator for all time of the Roman legend, and Virgil, the prophet and poet both of unified Italy and of imperial Rome, were born.

Hardly had the pacification of Italy been accomplished, when intestine struggles came to a head in the Roman Commonwealth itself. Half a century of revolutions, proscriptions, and furious civil wars brought the State, and European civilization with it, to the breaking-point and almost to destruction. Events crowded thick on one another; there was no time to take breath, no opportunity to recover solvency. In swift succession came the revolutionary legislation of 88 B.C.; Sulla's march on Rome, and its occupation by his army; the Marian reign of terror; the return of the Asiatic legions and the battle of the Colline Gate; Sulla's dictatorship and organized massacres; civil war spreading in the provinces, and the revolt of Spain; the great slave-insurrection in Italy; pirate fleets filling the Mediterranean; the abortive revolutionary movement of Catiline; the total bankruptcy of government and the patchwork of the first triumvirate; its collapse, and Caesar's descent into Italy with his veteran army; the world-wide Civil War of 49–45 B.C., ending with Caesar's complete victory and the establishment, under the name of a dictatorship for ten years (like the ten-years' Consulate of Napoleon in 1799), of a virtual monarchy; his assassination, which plunged the broken world into complete chaos; fresh civil wars conducted by gigantic armies; the second triumvirate and the extinction of the senatorial party as an organized force; the provisional partition of the Roman world into an Eastern and a Western dominion; the long duel for empire between Octavian and Antony, determined at last by the battle of Actium: and then the forty-five years' principate of Augustus. 'The Empire is peace' was the motto of the new government. It set itself slowly and steadily to restore order, to liquidate debt, to fix and guard the frontiers, to revive agriculture, to organize administration, to reinstate religion and purify morals. The Roman world had been racked and was bleeding to death; the Roman virtue had nearly perished; there was a great material and moral bankruptcy. The task was to save all that was possible out of the general wreckage. Yet hope was not lost. A new generation was growing up. Spirit, energy, and genius survived. Men's minds were ready to turn from the past as from a horrible nightmare, to apply their whole energies to reconstruction, and even to hail, in the *Pax Augusta*, the dawn of a new Golden Age.

III

What, during that period, had been the course and aim of Latin poetry? Its history had effectively begun with the entry of Greek influence. That influence began to manifest itself in the interval between the first and second Punic Wars, a time of victorious and many-sided expansion in which Rome became fully conscious of her own greatness, and set herself to equip herself fully as a civilized Power of the first rank. Up till then, Latin poetry had consisted of rude ballads and hymns, hardly amounting to what could be called a literature. That had served for domestic use. It was not sufficient for the prestige and aspirations of an expanding State. Rome put herself to school. An educated class formed itself. The instinct for creative expression was awakened. Systematic efforts were made to enter into the sphere of Hellenistic culture. The Greek language was taught and learned; the Greek poets, both the classics and the moderns, were read, studied, imitated. Translations of Greek masterpieces were assiduously made. In these, as also in original poetical works, the traditional Latin rhythms and metres were soon displaced by a foreign metrical system based on strict numerical laws. In both cases the old native forms became submerged. They survived in popular usage; and they were so inseparable from the structure of the language as to make the Latin hexameter, for instance, something organically different from the Greek hexameter, with a rhythm and colour of its own. But otherwise they disappeared from the main current of national poetry.

It took about a hundred and fifty years to complete the revolution effectively, and to mould the stubborn Latin language fully into the new forms. A single generation carried the first positions with a rush; then came a long time of slow, patient advance; then a second rapid movement completed the conquest.

Three distinct forms of poetry, the epic, lyric, and dramatic, had in Greece proper been created, carried to perfection, and given the names which they still retain. To the sphere which they occupied, a large extension had been given by the newer poetical impulse of the Hellenistic, or, as it is generally termed, the Alexandrian School. On the old lines, all had been already done that was possible. The new poets addressed themselves to the task of reconnecting poetry with actual life and modern interests. There was a wholly new scale of values. The small self-governing states were replaced by cosmopolitan cities. Democracy had dwindled to a phantom. The new age was one of large monarchies, despotically ruled, guarded by professional armies, and maintained by international trade and commerce. The interests of life were wider and also shallower. Pure and applied science had become an engrossing pursuit. Scientific agriculture was developed, and sources of wealth were systematically exploited. Past history became a field of endless investigation. With kindled interest in the past came a new way of regarding the present. Three things arose, all of a capital importance towards the movement of poetry: the sense of romance, the longing for a return to nature, and the fascination of scholarship. Poetry, while it did not cease to be an interpretation of life, was a refuge from, rather than a motive force in, the actual world. Technique became a matter of intense study. Its application to the new subject-matter created by the new motives which had sprung up was equally so. Pastoral poetry, the reaction of a tired civilization from the crowd and glare and din of cities to the fresh beauty and innocent simplicity of the country, flowered forth in Cos and in Sicily. Romance, substituting a new world of love and adventure for the nobler but more austere epic treatment of the mundane spectacle, was launched, in the face of jealous opposition, by the genius of Apollonius the Rhodian. Attempts, more courageous than successful, were made to bring the whole field of the arts and sciences within the scope of imaginative treatment and, by adroit and inventive handling, to crystallize knowledge in poetical forms. Such were the last gifts of Greek poetical genius to the world, the new paths it opened, before the Muses turned their faces westward to the virgin soil of another language and race.

The Latin language, fertilized and enriched by Greek influence, spread in the wake of Roman conquest and expansion. Before Virgil's time it had become the common speech, at least of the educated classes, throughout

Italy, and was spreading fast in the Western provinces. The other Italian languages, without cultural centres and failing to respond to the intellectual movement of the age, sank into mere provincial dialects. The development of Latin poetry was accelerated both by the swift growth of a lettered class at Rome and by the fresh blood supplied by the Romanized races.

Most of the earlier Latin poets—as indeed most of the later ones also—were themselves not Latins. Ennius, who rose so far above his predecessors that he may be called the creator of Roman epic and of Roman tragedy, was a Calabrian. Accius and Plautus, the foremost names in Latin tragedy and comedy, were Umbrians. Terence, the first Latin poet by whom the language was used with complete ease, grace, and perfection of finish, was actually an African from Carthage who had been brought to Rome in boyhood as a slave. The assimilating power of Rome is nowhere more marked than in the field of letters. Even later, in the age of Cicero, Lucretius is the single poet of the first rank who was a Roman of the pure stock. Catullus, like Virgil himself, came from the Cisalpine province. But all alike felt themselves and would have called themselves Romans. All of them lived and wrote at Rome. With the decay of genius in the fading Hellenistic kingdoms, the shifting of the centre of gravity of the Mediterranean civilization, and the growth in the western capital of education, study, and keen literary interest, Rome became the intellectual centre of the world. The times were as stimulating and exciting as they were crowded and tragic in events. Life was lived at the highest pressure. The development of poetry in that rich soil and electric atmosphere was very swift, the product very large. The problems of technique were one after another faced and solved. Latin, in poetry as well as in prose, became within the compass of a single lifetime a language in which one could say anything, and say it with unequalled force and precision. The conquest of the Latin hexameter had been effected by the genius of Lucretius. It still remained to complete for Latin poetry what he and his contemporaries had begun. It still remained to give it a further delicacy and melodiousness, a more exquisite movement, a higher felicity; to make it the vehicle of a fuller humanity, to create in it an interpretation of the past and an inspiration for the future. It still remained to render it, in the largest sense, the voice of Rome, of Italy, of mankind. The times were ripe; and Virgil appeared.

IV

Virgil was born on the 15th of October 70 B.C., in the commune of Andes, which was somewhere in the territory attached to Mantua, then a small and comparatively unimportant provincial town. His father, a yeoman-farmer there, is said to have been originally a servant who, like the father of Keats, married his employer's daughter. As a substantial freeholder he may very probably have held small local magistracies and thus obtained Roman citizenship before Virgil's birth; but in any case the whole family would automatically come under the general extension of full citizenship to the Cisalpine province by Julius Caesar. Of Virgil's mother nothing is known beyond the name, Magia Polla; it is only of interest because, long afterwards, it became interpreted into a mystical significance, and contributed largely towards the widespread medieval tradition of Virgil as a magician and miracle-worker, or even an enchanter born of a maiden mother, the Merlin of the Roman Empire.

His racial ancestry has been the subject of much inconclusive and perhaps somewhat idle discussion. Mantua had been one of the leading cities of the old Etruscan League. The population of the town and neighbourhood was still largely of Etruscan blood. Of the Etruscan civilization and religion, both factors of much importance in the earlier times of the Roman Republic, Virgil was certainly a diligent student. He repeatedly lays stress on the Etruscan origins of Mantua; and the tone of these passages, particularly of that in the Catalogue of the tenth book of the *Aeneid*, seems one of personal pride not only in his birthplace, but in an ancient race with a great past to which he felt himself to belong. Throughout Cisalpine Gaul, however, the population was, as the name of the province indicates, mainly Celtic. The names *Vergilius* and *Maro* have both been traced, on very doubtful arguments, to Celtic roots; and the romantic strain in Virgil's own temperament has, even more arbitrarily, been held by some modern critics to indicate, or even to prove, that he was of Celtic blood. Nor is this all. Macrobius, at the end of the fourth century, speaks of him as a Venetian. Mantua was at no time within the region known as Venetia, though not far from its western border; and this statement accordingly must imply some further tradition of the origin of his family from a third and totally different source, the race of the Veneti, who probably came of an Illyrian stock with Slavonic affinities. But here we are wandering in realms of pure conjecture: and no doctrine or theory of racial characteristics throws much light on the origins of individual genius. That Virgil was of mixed race is at least highly probable. The mixture or coalescence of strains in him, without laying undue stress on it, may be taken as a symbol of his share in the creation of a unified Italy, not merely as a theoretic ideal but as an actual nation, which has only in our own day fully realized itself.

The family name Vergilius or Virgilius seems to have been fairly common both in the Latin and in others of the Italic races. Three at least of the name held important magistracies in the last century of the Republic. The fluctuation between *e* and *i* in spelling no doubt corresponds to an actual difference in pronunciation at different times or by different owners of the name. Republican and early imperial inscriptions invariably give Vergilius; and this is the spelling of the earliest and best manuscripts of Virgil, both in titles and in the text of *Georg.* iv. 563, where the poet mentions himself by name. The nickname of Parthenias given him by the Neapolitans in his lifetime shows, however, that the pronunciation, if not the spelling, Virgilius, was also then current; it may have been a provincialism. By the fifth century A.D. it had become prevalent, and it established itself in common usage throughout the Middle Ages. In spite of the protests of Politian and other scholars, this usage remained unchanged during the Renaissance and until quite recently: and it is as Virgil, not Vergil, that the poet is familiarly known in all the languages of modern Europe. It would be pedantry to attempt to alter this now; and the English-speaking world will probably continue to speak and write of Virgil, though in their Latin texts they will find him called Vergilius.

From the schools of Milan, which corresponded broadly to a modern provincial university, Virgil passed on at about the age of eighteen to Rome, then the centre of advanced studies for all the Latin-speaking world, and the nursery of a brilliant group of young poets. Several of these attained high distinction. Some, like Aemilius Macer of Verona and Quintilius Varus of Cremona, came from Virgil's own neighbourhood, and were his intimate friends. His closest intimacy of all was with Cornelius

Gallus, who was a native of Fréjus, a Roman colony and naval station in Narbonese Gaul. Gallus was a youth of almost exactly Virgil's own age, of great personal fascination and precocious poetical genius. Virgil and he were the two foremost members in a remarkable literary circle during the Civil Wars. They studied and wrote in conjunction. The whole group to which the two belonged originated a new poetical movement. It had a triple aim: first, a higher and more sustained technical quality than had hitherto been reached in Latin poetry; next, the assimilation and transmutation into poetical forms of the Alexandrian learning which had become the heritage of the new intellectual class at Rome; and lastly, the embodiment in these forms of the new romanticism.

Virgil's own studies, continued for many years, indeed throughout his life, were wide and assiduously pursued. He began at Rome with the normal course of rhetoric and its cognate studies in language and literature, which was the foundation of the all-important art of oratory. From these studies he passed on to the pursuit of Greek philosophy. In the lecture-room of the Epicurean Siro he may have made his first acquaintance with the poetry of Lucretius, to which his own owes so much. In that of the rhetorician Epidius he is said (though the dates make this improbable) to have had young Octavius, afterwards the Emperor Augustus, as one of his junior fellow-students. But for some ten years at this period we know little of his life except that it was a time of slowly maturing genius and ardent study, in a circle of kindred spirits. During these years, his father had died and his mother married again. He is not known to have kept up afterwards any personal connexion with the country of his birth and boyhood. His great shyness, and physical health which was always delicate, combined to keep him from any attempt to launch out, as many of his circle did, on public life in a civil, administrative, or military career.

After Philippi, the first task of the triumvirs was to provide for the demobilization and settlement of their immense armies. For that purpose, the lands of Italian towns or communes which had taken the other side in the Civil War were confiscated. These included Virgil's inheritance. But he had powerful and active friends. Among them, besides Gallus and Varus, who had already risen to influential positions, was Pollio, the actual administrator of the district. By their intervention, Virgil was not only compensated for the loss of his patrimony by a small landed estate in Campania, but was brought to the notice of what was already tending to become an Imperial Court; and thus easy circumstances and even considerable wealth were assured to him for the remainder of his life. When in 37 B.C. he published the little volume of *Eclogues* or Selected Poems also known as the *Bucolics* or Pastorals, he suddenly and much to his embarrassment found himself famous. Pollio had introduced him to Maecenas, the Home Secretary and Minister of Reconstruction (to use modern phraseology) in the national government; and he was already marked out by expectation as the laureate of the new régime.

Latin poetry was at the conflux of cross-currents; its movement was perplexed, its future uncertain alike in aim and in attainment. The main effort of the writers then most recent and most popular had been to be elaborately scholarly. 'Learned' was the stock epithet of praise for a poet. They concentrated on form rather than on substance, on ornament rather than on structure. Art more and more passed into artifice. They sought assiduously to reach the same standard of minute workmanship as had been established in Hellenistic poetry by the school of

Alexandria. The Alexandrian poets had been above all trained scholars and technical experts. The poet most admired and imitated at Rome was Euphorion, chief librarian at the Seleucid Court, as Callimachus, the head of the school, had been a generation earlier chief librarian at the Court of the Ptolemies. The post in both cases was not merely that of keeper of a library; it was that of Principal of a University. The poetry of which these two names are representative was marked by high technical finish, by ostentatious learning, and by fluctuation between dry hardness and deliquescent sentiment. Its vices, even more than its virtues, appealed strongly to Roman taste. In the poems of Catullus we see its pernicious effects gaining more and more control over his own lyrical genius. In the poetical interregnum which followed Catullus's death, Latin poetry ran the risk of losing itself completely in a desert or a morass. Pursuit of pedantic artifice in language went alongside of a lax and shallow treatment of life.

From this collapse towards which Latin poetry seemed heading, the *Eclogues* were the first clear sign of recovery. They opened out a new life for it. Poetry breathed the air again. Though not yet disentangled fully, it was no longer suffocated in the swathings of a stifling convention. The chrysalis was broken, though the wings of the butterfly still clung soft and crumpled and had not expanded into breadth and brilliance. The universal popularity and amazing success of the *Eclogues* came from the sense of this release. A new voice in poetry had made itself audible, and it was the voice of a new life. A poet had appeared, whose mastery of his art was indeed still very imperfect, whose work was timid, tentative, sometimes not only uncertain but imitative and feeble; but who already had, beyond all mistake, a grave sweetness, a tenderness and grace (the *molle atque facetum* of Horace's admirable characterization), a melodiousness of language and beauty of phrasing previously unknown.

V

At Maecenas's instance, and under his patronage, Virgil now undertook the composition of the *Georgics*. This occupied him for about seven years. One result of its slow distillation, of the infinite pains taken by him in refining and rejecting, is that though there is nowhere an idle line or a wasted word, it is never cramped, and never hurried. It is leisurely in its smooth movement; peace seems to rest upon it. Perhaps no poetry has ever been written which combines in such perfection richness of colour with purity of line, which is so exquisite in its transitions and so suave in its modulations. But beyond this, the new poetry became in it an expression, and also a motive force, of national life.

For a century, the Roman world had been subjected to shattering disturbance, economical and social no less than political. An immense influx of wealth from the conquest or annexation of new territory had been followed and outrun by wasteful administration and profligate expenditure. The resources of the provinces had been mercilessly exploited. The flower of the Italian population had been drafted into the armies. Agriculture, the staple industry of Italy and the foundation of its solid prosperity, had fallen into a deplorable condition. Much land was derelict and had relapsed into thicket or morass. The class of yeomen farmers whose industry, piety, and domestic virtue had made Rome great was dwindling away. Many of them had perished in war; many more had a worse fate. Unable to face the competition of cheap foreign foodstuffs, raised by slave-labour, that poured in from all parts of the

Mediterranean, and affected by the universal restlessness which had come over the world, they drifted into towns and became an unemployed and discontented proletariat, a loose ballast which was a constant danger to the ship of state as it laboured through the waves of political revolution. The corn-land, orchards, and vineyards which had made Italy like one great garden, and had maintained a hardy and healthy peasantry, gave place to immense stretches of uncultivated pasturage, owned by absentee proprietors who took no care of them, and inhabited only by migratory troops of herdsmen and shepherds who were slaves and half-savages. Discontent, and the craving for city life with its idleness and excitement, spread through all classes.

To check this process, to reinstate agriculture, to anchor the nation afresh on the Motherland, was one of the chief aims of the new government. The disbanded armies were settled all over Italy in agricultural colonies. Scientific farming was studied and taught. Small holdings were created and subsidized, and *petite culture* sedulously fostered. The extant treatise of Varro *De Re Rustica*, published about the time when Virgil set to work on the *Georgics*, made a moral as well as a material appeal. It recalled the immemorial national tradition; it emphasized the unceasing interest and unfailing pleasure, the virtue and happiness of rural life. What Virgil added was the embodiment in great poetry of an ideal, the imaginative vision of such a life lived at peace with itself and in harmony with nature, simple and industrious, hard-working and happy.

'The praises of Italy', *laudes Italiae*, concentrated in the noble episode of the Second Book (ll. 136–76), are the central motive of the whole poem. The words became applied to it as a sort of second title. From the Tyrolese mountainpastures among their castellated rocks, right down to the Calabrian forests and the great stretches of corn-land on the Apulian plains, there is no part of Italy left untouched in the picture: lake and mountain, hill-fortress and river-valley, coast and bay. In the *Georgics*, the Italy of poets and painters, *donna e reina*, took shape for the first time and once for all. The vignettes of foreign countries, of Greece, Egypt, Anatolia, of the Scythian steppe and the African desert, of half-unknown realms in the rich and fabulous East, are introduced with exquisite skill so as to reinforce by contrast this central picture of the lady of lands.

This was by itself a superb achievement. But it was not all. Virgil's interpretation and idealization of the Mother-country is interpenetrated with the ideals of a life lived in harmony with nature, of piety and simplicity, of unambitious happiness, of prosperous peace, of Roman virtue. And behind all these is his own profound humanity, his tenderness, his intense sympathy with all life, that of beasts and birds, of trees and flowers, even of winds and stars; and, deepest of all, his majestic sadness, his sense of the wonder and mystery of the world.

For that lovely world of the *Georgics* is not even so the dream-world of the fourth *Eclogue*. Its magical beauty is relieved against a dark shadow. Over and over again Virgil comes back to the bitter truth of care, poverty, sickness, hard living; of the doom of unceasing toil; of parching summers and frost-bound winters, storm and flood, droughts and pestilences; of degeneration as the law not only for man but for Nature herself; of the *angusti terminus aevi*, and the handful of dust in which all ends; and he begins to look wistfully to the faith or hope—*quidam dixere*, 'some have named it'—of a life beyond this world.

'The best poem of the best poet', Dryden incisively calls the *Georgics* in the dedicatory preface to his own translation; and it may be added that no translation can convey their music, or give more than a faint copy of the Virgilian colour and tone. The golden cadence of poesy (in Shakespeare's phrase) had been found; and the *Georgics* stand as one of the few examples in art of attained perfection. But a deeper music was still to come, with a higher reach and a vaster sweep.

In the *Aeneid*, these lines of thought and feeling converge towards a higher synthesis. While the splendours of past history, the majesty of the actual Empire, the limitless future decreed for it, combine in his picture, even these are in the last resort phantasmal, the projection on a screen of the ultimate realities. On one side they are sharply set against sorrow and suffering, disastrous love, human impotence and frailty, the infinite pity of things. On the other they merge in the passionate craving and the glimmering hope for 'the further shore', in the mystical doctrine of lives again and again reincarnated, of the drinking of Lethe so that souls 'may begin to be willing to return again into bodies', of the renewed labour, the grief, the endless effort, at last, perhaps, and for some, if only for a few—*pauci laeta arva tenemus*—coming to an end, as the elect are rapt or sublimated into an actual Paradise.

VI

Virgil was now turned forty. He had from early years contemplated the writing of a Latin epic. He had never lost sight of that design; nor had he ever for long together ceased to ponder over it, to lay plans and make sketches for it. It now began to take shape in the main outlines of the *Aeneid*. This became his absorbing occupation for the rest of his life. It opened out to him the possibility of embracing in a single great poem all the motives which stirred him most as a poet. It gave scope for Roman pride and Italian patriotism; for the fascinations of history and archaeology; for romantic narrative, delicate psychological insight, human emotion. It enabled him to give expression to faith in the future as based on and interpreted by the past, and to his own deepest thoughts on life, death, and the destiny of mankind.

Ennius had shown the way towards a national epic; he had proved that such a thing was possible. His *Annals*, though less an epic than a chronicle, had established themselves as a classic. They were on all men's lips, and were at once a school-book, a storehouse, and an inspiration. It remained to carry what he had done to a higher plane and give it a larger content; to produce a great Latin poem which should be a national epic in the largest sense, which might be for Rome and Italy, and for the Roman world through them, something like what Homer had been for Greece. This was, through all the intervening years, the goal which Virgil kept before him, the aim on which his mind slowly concentrated. The field open to him was vast: the leading motives were numerous, complex, and not easily reconcilable. Among them were these:

The work must be a national poem in the full sense; embodying the pageant of Roman history, the portraiture of Roman virtue, the mission and the supremacy of Rome; establishing and vindicating the vital interconnexion of Rome with Italy. While it linked up the Latin civilization to that created by the Greek genius, it must emphasize the Roman commonwealth and the Italian nation as not derivative from Greece, but of distinct and actually hostile origin, and as absorbing or superseding Greek supremacy, the conquest of the Greek world by Rome being the entrance on a predestined inheritance; and in doing so, it must bring well into the foreground of the picture the conflict between

Rome and Carthage, which determined the subsequent course of Roman history and fixed the limit to the sphere of the Asiatic races.

As an epic, it must celebrate the feats of heroes, great deeds in battle and council and government, such as had lent immortal greatness to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and must also find expression for the romantic spirit, in its two principal fields of love and adventure; it must possess direct vital human interest, and create men and women drawn to the heroic scale and on the heroic plane, and yet embodying the qualities and passions and emotions of actual life.

It must exalt the new régime, and give shape and colour to its ideals of peace and justice, development and reconstruction, ordered liberty, beneficent rule; and draw the lineaments of an ideal ruler, *pater patriae*, who should hold sovereignty as the chief servant of the commonwealth; gravely conscious of his mission, rising towards its high demands, subordinating to it all thoughts of ease or luxury, all allurements of pleasure and temptations of the senses.

Finally, lifting itself into a yet higher sphere, opening windows into the invisible world and kindling a pilot-light for the future, it must connect its figures with larger and more august issues; with the laws of Nature and the decrees of Fate, the workings of a mysterious Providence, and the sense of human destinies as at once moulding, and interpreted by, the human soul.

Such were the motives, not indeed set forth separately as in a catalogue, but interfused with one another, which wrought in Virgil's mind; such was the complex web which he sought, so far as that were possible, to combine into organic unity in a single great poem. It is no wonder that the mere laying-out of the framework into which all these interrelated motives could be fitted was the task of years; that many alternative schemes for it were contemplated and rejected or modified; and that even when it had taken shape in its main outlines, the difficulties of its accomplishment often brought him to something like despair. *Tanta incohata res est*, are his own words, *ut paene vitio mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar*. To the last this feeling continued, heightening and heightened by the natural melancholy of his temperament. It took its last and most acute expression when, on his deathbed, he vainly implored that the *Aeneid* might be destroyed, and would have destroyed it with his own dying hands.

The magnetic field—to use a metaphor from science—within which the material for this poem gathered itself and took shape and structure, lay between and around two poles. These were, first, the historic climax of his own time in which the Roman Peace was established and the Roman Empire organized by Augustus; secondly, the legendary beginnings of Rome, and the mythical descent of the Roman people, and of the Julian family in particular, from the fugitive colonists of Troy. For this latter motive, the originating point of the whole imaginative fabric, he had a tradition to start from which was already familiar. The legend of a migration to Italy of the Trojan exiles under Aeneas grew up during the period of Greek colonization in the West. After Rome became a Mediterranean power, it was, in one version or another, very generally accepted; and with each generation new detail was added. It was popularized at Rome by Naevius in his chronicle-epic of the first Punic War. He, perhaps for the first time, and at the suggestion of a chronology adopted by some Greek historians which made the foundations of Rome and Carthage contemporaneous, interwove with it a visit of Aeneas to Carthage. Varro, the most learned of

Roman antiquarians of the first century B.C., had, from many obscure sources, wrought this up into a detailed narrative. But the love of Dido and its tragic issue were, so far as the evidence enables us to judge, Virgil's own imaginative invention.

For the remainder of the skeleton or structure of this epic, Virgil had not so much to invent as to select and harmonize from an enormous mass of fragmentary and often conflicting legend, both Greek and Latin. He had definitely rejected two plans: that on the one hand of a chronicle-poem on the lines followed by his Latin predecessors; that on the other hand, which he had been urged to take both by court-pressure and by the prevalent tendency of fashion, of a poem the main scenes and action of which should be contemporary. But here his real difficulties only began. He had to create a world in which to place his action. He had to fix and observe the limits demanded in order to secure, within his chosen framework, epic unity and dramatic tension. He had to make his story credible, interesting, human. Yet he had so to construct it as to give scope for all the motives mentioned above. He had to preserve, through a fabric of unexampled complexity, a single large pattern, a single unifying tone. The artist must not be overwhelmed by the material, or lose breadth of handling in laborious refinement of workmanship.

Tradition bears out what from internal evidence alone is sufficiently clear, that the composition of the *Aeneid* was not continuous. Portions which come later were composed before others which come earlier. The scheme underwent large modifications during the progress of composition. As published after his death the poem was not yet what he meant to make it. Besides a number of inconsistencies, repetitions, and abruptnesses of transition, it had in it several gaps, and quite a considerable number of passages tentatively, perhaps marginally, inserted by Virgil's hand, and not yet decisively adopted or fully incorporated. Some of these, we are told, were struck out by the editors, and four such have been actually preserved. It was clearly Virgil's object to keep the poem fluid, as far as possible, up to the last moment. The *Aeneid*, as we possess it, is the product of an immense mass of material, all of it worked upon, but still in process of undergoing large revision; yet in the main so nearly approaching to its final shape that it has been ever since, for the world at large, a completed work of art. Careful study and minute analysis enable us to distinguish in it what may be called strata of composition, and to surmise, with greater or less probability, a good deal of Virgil's actual processes. We can assign the relative dates of certain parts; we can trace the insertion or expansion, the recasting or cancellation of certain episodes or passages. That inquiry is perilous to pursue too far, but is fascinatingly interesting. It can be pursued effectively only by highly trained investigators; and only by those among them whose scholarship is combined with delicate artistic sense and with some faculty of imaginative divination.

VII

The structure of the *Aeneid* as it finally shaped itself may at this point be briefly set out. To grasp it as a whole is necessary towards any adequate appreciation of its movement, of the manipulation by Virgil of its complex motives, and of the large unity which he sought to give, and succeeded to a remarkable degree in giving, to matter which was not only of great range but of unusual intricacy.

Structure, in all the arts, bears an organic relation to scale. The length of an epic poem was already, within wide limits, indicated by usage and precedent. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had set a model. They had shown a limit which allowed full amplitude of treatment, and which it was desirable not to exceed; within which the epic handling had free scope, and beyond which the risk arose of losing effective unity and causing fatigue through excess of detail or dissipation of interest. Even with such an unequalled masterpiece as the *Iliad*, the fifteen thousand lines to which it had grown by successive expansions and insertions involved real difficulty in securing cohesion. The smaller size of the *Odyssey*—twelve thousand lines with the ending which was recognized by the best Greek critics as an epilogue or accretion, not much more than eleven thousand without it—was tacitly accepted as a working maximum. We may reasonably suppose that a compass of about ten thousand lines was in Virgil's mind when he began to lay out the plan of the *Aeneid*. In the vulgate text it has 9,896; and there is no reason to think that further revision would have very materially altered that figure.

It is interesting to observe that, partly from the influence of Virgil's example, partly from practical experience, this is the scale which has on the whole been followed by later poets. In the instances to be cited, the figures are given in round numbers. Lucan's unfinished *Pharsalia* has 8,000 lines; Statius's *Thebaid* is very nearly of the same length as the *Aeneid*. After the decay of letters, a long gap follows. The *Chanson de Roland*, an epic lay rather than an epic in the full sense, is of 4,000 lines only. Boccaccio's *Teseide*, the first achievement in epic of the earlier Renaissance, is by design or coincidence of exactly the same length to a line as the *Aeneid*. The medieval romances set themselves no such limit, nor did the romantic epics of the later Renaissance: the *Roman de la Rose* has nearly 23,000 lines, the *Orlando Innamorato* over 35,000, the *Orlando Furioso* 40,000. Tasso's *Gierusalemme Liberata*, written when that storm of redundance had not quite exhausted itself, runs to 15,000. But the *Paradise Lost* with its 10,500 lines resumed the classical tradition; and to come down at once to modern times, *Sigurd the Volsung*, the greatest if not indeed the only English epic of the Victorian Age, is of about the same length. The literary epics of the Alexandrian School had taken shorter flights on a feebler wing. The *Argonautica* of Apollonius, which Virgil studied minutely and used largely, sinks exhausted and comes to a dead stop when still a good way short of 6,000 lines.

The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had, centuries before Virgil's time, been divided for facility of reference, as also for purposes of recitation, into twenty-four books each. But that division was quite arbitrary. It was determined simply by the obvious convenience of naming the sections by the twenty-four letters of the full Greek alphabet. Virgil, for reasons which we may imagine but need not insist upon, chose to arrange his own epic in twelve books; and the draft-sketch on which he worked seems from the first to have been so subdivided. The action of the poem extends from the fall of Troy down to the final pacification in Italy. But its earlier portion is set as a picture within the picture, in the form of a narrative recounted by the hero at the Carthaginian court. By the use of this device, adapted from the *Odyssey*, Virgil is enabled to open with the highly dramatic episode of the storm at sea, the rescue, and the arrival at Dido's newly founded capital. This is the subject of Book I. It sets the scene and introduces the central figure at once; it excites immediate interest by a rapid succession of vivid and picturesque incidents; and through the intervention of the gods from point to point, it gives scope for setting forth, in clear outline, the great issues involved and the purposes of destiny.

Having thus set his scene and got his action into movement, Virgil proceeds to deploy his epic. Book I ends with the banquet in the Carthaginian palace. The whole of Book II is occupied with the story of the last agony of Troy, told there by Aeneas with all the dramatic force which comes of the narrative's being filled with the narrator's personality; *quorum pars magna fui* is its keynote.

In Book III he continues the story from the fall of Troy down to his landing on the Carthaginian coast. It is clearly based on early drafts in which the Wanderings were related as a chronicle and not a personal narrative. It has, in the form in which it has reached us, been only incompletely remodelled. The change was not easy to make. We cannot put any limit to the skill and success with which Virgil, had he lived longer, might have carried it to completion. But we may safely assume that he would have removed inconsistencies, that he would have altered passages which are inappropriate both to the narrator and to the audience, and that he would have wrought the whole book more into tone, though it would have remained, and rightly so for the purposes of dramatic relief, poetry of a lower temperature than either of the two magnificent episodes which precede and follow it. For in the story of the fall of Troy he had put forth the height of his power; and the story of the love of Dido and its tragic issue had, perhaps beyond his first intention and almost against his will, taken hold of him, expanded to a greatness and deepened into an intensity unsurpassed in ancient or modern poetry.

This episode fills the whole of Book IV. It has, in all ages, been the part of the *Aeneid* which has outshone, has even in some sense eclipsed the rest, by its fusion of delicate psychological insight with human sympathy, of splendid eloquence with burning passion. Virgil's Dido has held the world entranced. It might be, and it has often been, claimed that in this book Virgil reaches his highest achievement. Yet if we were to accept this view, it might be difficult to deny the consequential judgement that, while accomplishing a miracle, he had made the *Aeneid* reach its climax of human interest too early, and on what from the larger structural point of view is, however splendid in itself, an episode, a secondary issue.

It is not so; yet it is with some such feeling that we pass to Book V, with its quiet unfolding of the story. The scene here lies in Sicily; and more than half the book is occupied with the elaborate description of the funeral games held there on the anniversary of the death of Anchises. That whole episode is so handled as to have a tranquillizing and reinforcing effect on the progress of the main action, in which it is an interlude. The band of exiles have now been disciplined into a little commonwealth, prepared to strike root in their destined home, and conscious that the long wanderings are now nearing an end. A change has insensibly come over Aeneas himself. He has passed through a new experience. He is older and wiser, more fully aware of his responsibility and his mission, though he still has to seek and to find more enlightenment. It is a new generation, one might almost say a redeemed people, whom he now leads forth. His son Ascanius has shot up in a year from childhood to gallant boyhood. The older and feebler of his following are left behind to settle down among Sicilian friends and kinsfolk. Juno's attempt to burn the ships is foiled. The fleet sets sail with smooth seas and favourable breezes. *Datur hora quieti.* The incident with which the book ends, the loss of

Palinurus in mid-passage, with its strange dreamy beauty, completes the sense of charmed peace, the lull between the many tasks accomplished and the rising of the curtain on the final task now to be met and fulfilled.

Here the transition takes place. Hitherto all has been prelude and preparation, enlarged and enriched by the Trojan, Carthaginian, and Sicilian episodes. But before opening his main scene, Virgil interposes what is not so much an episode as an intermezzo. He ascends into a higher sphere. In Book VI the action is superhumanized, and passes, as it were, beyond the boundaries of space and time. Landing at Cumae, Aeneas passes, under the guidance of the Sibyl and with the Golden Bough for his passport, into the other world. He descends into a mysterious realm under earth; he sees unrolled before him the past and the future. He is shown the world of the dead, and the world of those who are not yet alive. He crosses the River of Forgetfulness; he traverses the Mourning Fields; he is shown the Judgement appointed after death, and given a glimpse into Hell and its punishments. Then he lays down the Golden Bough and moves on into Elysium, where the spirit of his father receives him, expounds to him the cycle of destiny and the doctrine of immortality, and passes before him the long pageant of his own descendants, the heroic and historic figures of the Roman race, with a culminating vision of the establishment of the universal empire. When he reascends to earth through the Gate of Sleep, it is as one initiated, consecrated, lifted into a higher atmosphere and given the assured promise of deity. He is now no longer the groping follower, but the conscious and elect instrument, of the Providence that moves the worlds.

Having reached this point, we are now in a position to grasp the architecture of the whole poem, as it reveals itself from an elevated central point of view. What is to come is the main subject of the epic: the conquest and settlement, the conclusion, after a short but eventful war, of peace and alliance, and the laying of the foundations, with full concord among the confederated peoples and the reconciled deities, for the realm of the 'lords of the world', *rerum domini*, the Italian nation and the Roman State. What has preceded is now seen to be a magnificent prelude converging on this issue. It might be put in the terms of an art cognate to that of poetry. One may compare the structure which Virgil planned and executed to a basilica, approached through a triple-bayed narthex (Books I, III, V), with two splendid and elaborately adorned flanking halls (Books II and IV), and a great central dome (Book VI). These among them fill an equivalent space to the basilica itself, and are wrought with it into a single architectural composition.

At the opening of Book VII the transition is emphasized by a fresh invocation of the Muse; by the significant words *maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo*; and by a new prologue. It narrates the landing of the Trojan colonists at the Tiber mouth, the negotiations with King Latinus, the malignant intervention of Juno, and the outbreak of hostilities; and ends with the great pageant of the mustering of the national Italian armies.

The stage is now fully set for the succeeding scenes, and the action unrolls itself steadily. Book VIII is mainly occupied with the embassy to Evander at the little rustic settlement which was to be the site of Rome, the alliance formed with him and with the Etruscans, and the preparations for the war which is now inevitable. Book IX contains the attack on the Trojan camp at Ostia by the confederate Italian armies under Turnus, and the famous episode of Nisus and Euryalus. In Book X Aeneas, arriving with the Etruscan fleet, reaches and relieves the beleaguered camp. A fierce battle ensues. It ends at nightfall in a complete Trojan victory, clouded by the death of young Pallas at the hand of Turnus. Book XI is one of rapid incident; the truce and the funeral rites over the slain, the council of the Italian princes, the advance of Aeneas on the Latin capital, the renewed battle, and the beautifully told episode of the virgin-warrior Camilla. The scale dips heavily; the decisive end is felt approaching. It comes in Book XII, perhaps Virgil's greatest achievement of dramatic value, masterly construction, and faultless diction. Terms of peace are solemnly made, to turn on the issue of a single combat between Aeneas and Turnus. They are broken, in a revulsion of Latin feeling under the influence of the still unappeased Juno. The madness of battle kindles anew, but 'neither gods nor forces are equal'. Aeneas is preparing to storm the capital, when Turnus, his eyes at last opened and his infatuation fallen away from him, calls a halt and faces his antagonist. In this pause and crisis, the reconciliation of the gods is at last effected. Destiny has its way. Turnus falls; and as his 'indignant spirit flits into the dark', the expiation is accomplished and the new world may begin.

VIII

This summary sketch omits many constructional elements in the closely wrought fabric of the *Aeneid*; nor can it bring out, what would require a much fuller and more intimate study, the art with which the motives of the poem are linked up and intertwined with one another, and the guiding thread which runs through the whole, the gradual evolution and revelation of the divine purpose. But it may suffice to indicate the great skill of its construction and the unity of its design. For the plan of the *Aeneid*, once grasped in its main outline, will at least correct the superficial view (respectable in its antiquity but deplorable in its lack of appreciation) that Virgil attempted to combine in an overloaded structure the content of a Latin *Iliad* and a Latin *Odyssey*, and that the *Aeneid* falls apart into two halves, the first, like the *Odyssey*, a romance of adventure, the second, like the *Iliad*, an epic of war. This view remained current until quite recent times. 'Virgil set himself', a fine scholar wrote in 1879, 'to model his epic on the type of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The first six books . . . were to be his *Odyssey*; the second six . . . were to be his *Iliad*.' No misconception could be more profound. It was only a step from it to describe the whole thing as 'a bastard mixture'. We shall hardly even begin to appreciate the *Aeneid* until we realize that, with all its complexity of fabric and movement, with all its debt to both the Homeric poems, it is an organic unity and a masterpiece of creative art.

The ground-plan of the *Aeneid* passed through many phases; its detailed construction occupied many years. As early as 25 B.C. Augustus was writing to Virgil from Spain, asking for news of its progress. It was awaited in Rome with no less eager general interest: 'Something greater than the *Iliad*', in the words used of it about the same time by Propertius, who may have heard portions of it read by the author, was the widespread expectation. It was two years or more later that, according to the well-known story, Virgil read three complete books aloud to Augustus and his sister Octavia. One of them was the Sixth, in the conclusion of which he had just incorporated the famous lamentation for Marcellus, Octavia's only son and the destined heir of the Empire.

Gradually the poem grew towards completion. In 19 B.C., three more years were, in Virgil's own mind, to be spent on final revision and readjustment, and on the addition, throughout, of those last almost imperceptible touches by which a poet, like a painter, often kindles a whole work into new life and beauty. In the course of that summer he determined to make a prolonged tour to Greece and the coasts and islands of the Aegean, in the hope, it would seem, that change to fresh scenes would restore a vitality which he felt flagging, and perhaps also to look for fresh incidents and touches of local colour to incorporate in the remodelled third Book. It was an unfortunate project. He was not strong enough to stand the fatigue and discomfort of travel, and determined to return. But the change of plan was made too late. On a visit he made to Megara just before starting for home, he contracted a low fever of malarial type. He had not strength to rally from it. On the voyage to Italy he grew steadily worse; and he died at Brindisi a few days after landing, on the 21st of September. His ashes were taken to Naples, and buried near his seaside villa at Posilipo. By annalistic reckoning he was about a month short of completing his fifty-first year: in reality, owing to the length of the 'year of confusion' when Julius Caesar reformed the calendar, his life extended over quite three months more.

There are few anecdotes of him; and of these the greater number are apocryphal. Throughout life he shrank from publicity; and he is said to have retained, in a marked slowness of speech and rusticity of appearance and habits, the traces of his peasant origin. But it is interesting to know that his reading voice—not a common thing, perhaps, among poets—was of extraordinary beauty.

Of the busts and statues which were made of him when alive and multiplied after his death, none are known to survive even in copies. Those which have at one time or another had his name attached to them are in no case authentic, and most of them bear no likeness at all to the authentic descriptions of his appearance. Purely imaginative portraits of him have been made by many great artists; by Mantegna and Botticelli and Raphael, by Blake and Burne-Jones. But in 1896 there was discovered, in excavations made at Sousse in Tunisia, the Roman Hadrumetum, a fine mosaic floor belonging to the central hall of a Roman villa. The principal panel, which was practically intact, shows Virgil seated between two Muses; he holds on his knees the roll of the *Aeneid*, open at the words *Musa, mihi causas memora*. The date of this mosaic is fixed by experts as not much more than a century after Virgil's death. It is not only in itself well executed, but is clearly copied from a very fine picture, painted at a time when authentic portraits of Virgil were numerous, and when a live tradition of his appearance may have still survived. This portrait shows him such as he is described in his ancient biographies, and such as we can well believe him to have really been in his later years. The face is thin and worn, the complexion sallow; the delicate features bear traces of habitually poor health. The hair is dark brown, showing flecks of grey; the forehead finely moulded; the mouth sensitively delicate; the eyes large, deeply set, and luminous. Such as it is, this is all that we have to bring before us the bodily image of the poet of Rome.

IX

There can be no reasonable doubt that we possess with substantial accuracy, and subject only to such minor errors or variations as are inherent and all but unavoidable in a manuscript tradition, the text of the *Aeneid* as it was published after Virgil's death by his executors. Of the way in which they carried out their task we know little except by its results. It seems certain, though only from negative proof, that they added no explanatory preface to the published volume, and left no record of the details of their treatment. Certain statements in early commentators point, though inconclusively, to the survival of more than one Virgilian autograph; but reports of readings in these different from those of the published text are all made at second or third hand. According to Aulus Gellius (xiii.21), Valerius Probus had, about the middle of the first century A.D., inspected a manuscript 'manu ipsius correctum' and noted from it Virgil's own spelling of certain words in lines of the *Aeneid* which Gellius proceeds to mention. Another passage in the *Noctes Atticae* (ix. 14), 'ut facile his credam qui scripserunt idiographum librum Vergilii se inspexisse', is probably only a generalized variation of this account, but with the difference that the manuscript is stated to have been written, and not merely corrected, by Virgil's own hand.

The draft or drafts left by Virgil, so much is certain, presented the poem in a very incomplete and disordered shape; and the task of the editors was intricate and difficult. When we reflect how the *Aeneid* was, on its publication, received and acclaimed as a complete poem, how it has been and is accepted as such by thousands of readers in all countries and ages, how little it in fact suffers from the irrelevances, displacements, inconsistencies, incompletions, which yield themselves to a more minute scrutiny, we are bound to conclude that the editors did their work with remarkable skill and judgement.

The instructions under which they acted, or the rules which they followed, are given in substantially identical terms by ancient scholars. The life by Aelius Donatus, written about the middle of the fourth century, is our earliest direct authority on the point. The shorter of the two versions in which it has been transmitted incorporates, or perhaps simply transcribes, a life of Virgil by Suetonius. The statement made there is, 'Eidem Vario ac simul Tuccae scripta sua sub ea condicione legavit, ne quid ederent quod non a se editum esset. Edidit autem auctore Augusto Varius, sed summatim emendata, ut qui versus etiam imperfectos, si qui [sicut *conj. Gronovius*] erant, reliquerit.' Philargyrius in the next century varies this account slightly by naming Tucca as co-editor, and adding 'Aeneidos libros emendaverunt, sub ea condicione ut nihil delerent'. Later still, the *Vita Noricensis* repeats these words with the substitution of *nihil adderent* for *nihil delerent*. But the fullest statement is that given at the beginning of the commentary of Servius, a younger contemporary of Donatus, and like him, drawing widely from earlier authorities, some of whom, like Probus, wrote during the First Empire and within half a century or so of the publication of the *Aeneid*.

Servius says that the *lex emendandi* followed by the editors was prescribed by Augustus, in the formula *ut superflua demerent, nihil adderent tamen*; and goes on to mention the *semipleni versiculi*, incomplete lines, which were left as they stood: and also, what is more interesting and more important, the excision by the editors of certain passages, in particular of the four introductory lines of the poem, and of the twenty-two lines in Book II (567–88) which have only come down to us through Servius, but which are included in all printed editions of the *Aeneid*. That other substantial excisions were made may be inferred from the fact that Servius quotes these two passages as instances only, not as a complete list. He does not mention any misplacements of lines or paragraphs, though that there are a few such is practically certain; for instances, reference may be made to the notes on iii. 477–9, iv. 235–6 and 401–7, vii. 664–9, viii. 269–70, ix. 651 and 717–21, x. 258–9, 661–5, 717–8, and 747–54, xi. 264–8 and

636–45. It also seems not improbable that the last two paragraphs of the Etruscan catalogue, x. 198–206 and 207–12, have exchanged places. Nor does Servius make any mention of what is also probable, the retention by the editors of two single lines, or two passages of several lines, which had been written down by Virgil as alternatives. Passages where this duplication may be reasonably suspected are iii. 128–9, iv. 247–51 and 254–8, v. 603–4 and 719–20, vii. 553–4 and 583–4, viii. 457–64, ix. 85–7, and xi. 670–1. One cannot doubt that under the powers given them (or the task assigned them) many alternative Virgilian drafts in Virgil's manuscript were struck out by the editors. In a number of cases, however, not only would the choice between two versions be difficult, but there would be uncertainty whether they were actually alternative, or merely instances of Virgil's habit of setting out the substance of what he wished to express not in a single complex sentence but in two (or even more than two) coordinate and partially overlapping clauses.

It is clear that the editors did not feel themselves called upon to remove minor inconsistencies, as, for instance, the double slaying of Cretheus in ix. 774 and xii. 538, or the attribution to Anchises in vii. 123 of the prophecy uttered by Celaeno in iii. 255.

What Donatus and Servius both mention, that during the composition of the poem Virgil altered the order of the early books, is a matter not relevant to the constitution of the published text: it is dealt with briefly in the introductory note to Book III.

X

Some further analysis of the unfinished lines in the *Aeneid* may be given here, as the inquiry is of much value from the light it throws on Virgil's methods of workmanship. Of these there are 57, or 58 if in v. 595 the second half of the line, for which the authority is very dubious, is rejected. The story of the second half of vi. 165 having been extemporized by Virgil when reading the passage aloud seems to point to an early manuscript tradition in which this line also was left incomplete.

The unfinished lines are distributed over all the twelve books. No safe conclusion can be drawn from their relative frequency. It is noticeable, however, that in VI, XI, and XII, books in which the general workmanship is most elaborate, and in which Virgil is perhaps at his greatest, the number is lowest, two in VI and XI, only one in XII. On the other hand, the highest number of all (10) is in II, which is also a book of extreme elaboration; it exceeds even the number (7) in III, a book which more obviously than any other lacks the *ultima manus*.

As was noted by Donatus, all the hemistichs, except iii. 340, give a complete sense. The theory that iii. 340 is a deliberate aposiopesis, like the *quos ego*— of i. 135, is perhaps rather plausible than probable. But among the others there are distinctions to be drawn.

1. Five are completely detachable, being mere notes marking the beginning or end of a speech (*haec effata*, v. 653; *rex prior haec*, viii. 469; *tum sic effatur*, ix. 295; *cui Liger*, x. 580; *Turnus ad haec*, xii. 631). These might be called not so much incomplete lines as indications of lines to be inserted.

2. Five more also are detachable, in the sense that while they continue, and add to, what precedes them, no gap and no abruptness of transition would be left if they were removed. These are *munera laetitiamque dii*, i. 636; *stans celsa in puppi*, iii. 527; *ergo iussa parat*, iv. 503; *unum pro multis dabitur caput*, v. 815; *audentes fortuna iuvat*, x. 284.

3. In no less than seventeen cases the hemistich forms

part of a passage of a line and a half which is similarly detachable. These are i. 559–60, ii. 232–3, 345–6, 622–3, iii. 660–1, iv. 399–400, 515–16, v. 573–4, vi. 93–4, 834–5, vii. 128–9, 438–9, 454–5, 759–60, viii. 40–1, ix. 166–7, 720–1. It seems not unlikely that some at least of these passages were *marginalia* which the editors decided to incorporate into the text; and it is of course possible that they came to the contrary decision with other passages of a similar kind which have consequently disappeared.

4. In the twenty-nine cases left, the broken line is part of the structure of its context, and could not be removed without leaving a break in the sense or the connexion. It is to be observed that most of them occur in passages which have also other marks of being still under revision.

XI

So far, we have been dealing with passages where the incompleteness is obvious and demonstrable, because there is a patent gap in the metre. But where Virgil left a passage incomplete, it does not follow that he broke off in the middle of a line. Where he stopped at the end of a line, and the syntax happened to be complete as it stood, the traces of non-completion (failing any mark of it left by him on his manuscript and recorded by the editors) must be largely conjectural. Here a finer critical sense must be called in, which may, and sometimes does, seize the fact that the characteristic Virgilian evolution of language or of rhythm is broken off prematurely. This is fascinating but slippery ground. But there are at least three passages in which incompleteness of this kind seems almost certain; for apart from considerations of rhythm, it is really impossible to make sense out of them as they stand.

v. 317. *simul ultima signant.* Here it is sufficient to remark, without comment, the wild work made by commentators in their attempts to force a meaning out of the words as they stand.

viii. 65. *hic mea magna domus celsis caput urbibus exit*; here rhythm, no less than sense, calls for another line to complete the period; and the words of Aeneas in his reply, *quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis*, point in the same direction.

xii. 218. *tum magis, ut propius cernunt non viribus aequis*. Here Ribbeck was unquestionably right in noting a *manca sententia*, though it is equally probable (see note on the line) that the last three words are an early interpolation.

To these may be added, with less confidence, a few other passages which end with an abruptness unlike the characteristic Virgilian movement. Two of these are in Book VI: 119–23, where not only is the syntax irregular without any clear reason for irregularity in the passion of what is said or in agitation of the speaker, but the final rhythm of *et mi genus ab Iove summo* leaves the ear unsatisfied; and 179–82, where *advolvunt ingentes montibus ornos* similarly leaves the cadence suspended (cf. for contrast the long, smooth movement of *Georg*. iii. 378, *congestaque robora totasque* | *advolvere focis ulmos ignique dedere*, and of *Aen*. xi. 135–8, *evertunt actas ad sidera pinus*, | *robora nec cuneis et olentem scindere cedrum*, | *nec plaustris cessant vectare gementibus ornos*). In this connexion it should be noted that it is a feature of the matured Virgilian style to continue the period a line further than where in the hands of a less potent master of rhythm it would conclude. This is also characteristic of Milton; in both poets it is this over-arching superflux of rhythm which gives their period its unique richness. In reading the *Aeneid* or the *Paradise Lost* aloud one has to be always on guard against concluding the cadence prematurely. Instances might be cited by the score; I give two from each poem, marking the 'superflux' in italic:

> sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penatis;
> hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere
> *magna pererrato statues quae denique ponto.*
>
> quam densis frondibus atrum
> urget utrimque latus, tenuis quo semita ducit
> *angustaeque ferunt fauces aditusque maligni.*
>
> And good he made thee: but to persevere
> He left it in thy power, ordained thy will
> By nature free, not overruled by fate
> *Inextricable, or strict necessity.*
>
> Though heaven's King
> Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy compeers
> Used to the yoke, draw'st his triumphant wheels
> *In progress through the road of heaven star-paved.*

It is also, however, to be noted that in the later work of both Virgil and Milton there is some amount of reaction towards short and even broken rhythms. This is particularly marked in the *Paradise Regained*. Instances in the *Aeneid* are xi. 635, *pugna aspera surgit*, and xii. 480, *volat avia longe*, both in sharp contrast to what may be called the normal Virgilian manner as illustrated by xi. 647,

> dant funera ferro
> *certantes, pulchramque petunt per vulnera mortem;*

or by xii. 369,

> fert impetus ipsum
> *et cristam adverso curru quatit aura volantem.*

Indeed the occurrence of these short rhythms is, I think, like the deliberately strung-out construction in passages like xii. 355–8, *sistit equos biiuges, et . . . atque . . . et . . . et . . . atque*, a sign of late composition, and an element in determining the relative date of different parts of the *Aeneid*.

These considerations bear upon two lines of notorious difficulty: vi. 383, *gaudet cognomine terrae* [*terra*], and xii. 790, *adsistunt contra certamine* [*certamina*] *Martis anheli*, where the variant readings of the manuscripts are due to the fact that the language is abrupt and the syntax obscure. Both may be instances of Virgil's later 'shorthand notation'; but in both it may also, and perhaps with equal probability, be suspected that the sentence is left incomplete.

Further, a passage may be incomplete, not only because it breaks off prematurely whether in the middle or at the end of a line, but also because its beginning is wanting. More than once we find in the *Aeneid* a paragraph which is 'finished' in the sense of reaching its full conclusion, but which begins abruptly, and wants one or more lines prefixed in order to engraft it into its place in the poem. A good instance is x. 747–54. This is a detachable passage of fighting, containing a number of otherwise unknown or unimportant names. It has no special relevance where it stands, beyond the fact that some paragraph, of this kind or of another, is needed as a transition from the *aristeia* of Mezentius (ll. 689–746) to the episode which fills the remainder of the book. The lines were written as the material for such a paragraph, and in his final revision Virgil would (unless he had preferred to replace them by something else) no doubt have 'written them on' by prefixing one or more lines of connexion. This kind of case is quite parallel to the other, already noted, in which a speech is temporarily left in the air with a mere note of a couple of words for the introductory line (or lines) before it, or for the continuing and connecting line (or lines) after it (*Turnus ad haec*, or *haec effata*). Other instances, less immediately obvious, are viii. 81–5, five lines describing the sacrifice of the sow and her litter to Juno, which are thrust into the middle of an otherwise continuous narrative, and interrupt the close connexion between ll. 79–80 and ll. 86 sqq.; and the passage beginning *infrenant alii currus*, xii. 287, unless we take the preceding line and a half (*fugit ipse Latinus | pulsatos referens infecto foedere divos*) to be a rather awkward parenthesis.

Once more, there may be a gap, of one or more integral lines, discernible in the middle of a sentence. In vi. 601–3,

> quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona Pirithoumque
> quo super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique
> imminet adsimilis,

several modern editors mark a whole line as being lost between 601 and 602. In this same passage, the difficult *ne quaere doceri quam poenam aut quae forma viros fortunave mersit* (ll. 614–15) suggests another incompleteness, of an even more subtle and undetectable kind; the absence, that is to say, of a whole line, not, however, an integral line, but one consisting (as happens in copyists' work) of the end of one line and the beginning of the next: *ne quaere doceri quam poenam aut . . . quae forma viros fortunave mersit.* A similar suspicion is aroused by the awkward wording of xii. 161. It seems not impossible that what Virgil wrote was *interea reges . . . ingenti mole Latinus quadriiugo vehitur curru.*

In this inquiry it is useful to notice, conversely, instances where such a pair of half-lines in the published text has all the appearance of being an insertion; no doubt from Virgil's own hand, but perhaps only inserted tentatively, and even in a few cases interrupting the continuity of the passage. As examples of such cases may be cited (the insertion is printed in italic type):

x. 20. cernis ut insultent Rutuli Turnusque *feratur*
per medios insignis equis tumidusque secundo
Marte ruat?

x. 262. clamorem ad sidera tollunt
Dardanidae e muris: *spes addita suscitat iras;*
tela manu iaciunt: quales sub nubibus. . . .

x. 586. Lucagus ut pronus pendens in verbera telo
admonuit biiugos *proiecto dum pede laevo*
aptat se pugnae, subit oras hasta per imas
fulgentis clipei.

xi. 473. praefodiunt alii portas aut saxa sudesque
subvectant; *bello dat signum rauca cruentum*
bucina, tum muros varia cinxere corona.

and still more interestingly, for here the insertion, filling as it does a line and a half, does not fit, and leaves a half-line in the air,

v. 294. Nisus et Euryalus primi . . .
Euryalus forma insignis viridique iuventa
Nisus amore pio pueri: quos deinde secutus. . .

It is possible, then, though not more than a possibility, that in passages which leave us with a strong sense of incompleteness, either one whole line or two half-lines may have been mistakenly excised or accidentally omitted in transcription.

There are pretty plainly passages where the author's manuscript gave alternative wordings, and it was not clear what his own final choice would have been. Under this head seem to come the three well-known lines: iv. 436, *quam mihi cum dederit* [*dederis*] *cumulatam* [*cumulata*] *morte remittam* [*relinquam*]; vii. 307, *quod scelus aut Lapithas* [*Lapithis*] *tantum aut Calydona* [*Calydone*] *merentem* [*merente, merentes*]; and vii. 543, *deserit Hesperiam et caeli convexa* [*conversa*] *per auras.* In these the editors presumably published either what appeared to them to be his own latest version, or what they thought the best of the alternatives indicated: but as to this, conjecture is idle. Sometimes they seem to have published both of two lines which were really alternatives. Such a duplication has long been suspected in *Georg.* iv. 291–2:

> et diversa ruens septem discurrit in ora
> et viridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat harena.

But there is a much more probable instance in *Aen.* v. 603–4. At the end of the account of the *lusus Troiae*, Virgil passes on to the destruction of the fleet at the instigation of Juno. This new episode begins with l. 605:

> dum variis tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis
> Irim de caela misit Saturnia Iuno
> Iliacam ad classem.

But it is preceded by two separate single lines, each complete in itself:

> hac celebrata tenus sancto certamina patri.
> hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit.

Neither line is necessary for sense or connexion. It is very likely that they are two alternative suggestions written in the margin by Virgil for consideration, one below the other, and that the editors, finding them there and neither of them 'ringed', put them both in as they were.

XII

The extant manuscripts of the *Aeneid* all derive from the text as originally published: and there is no reason to suppose that any text materially varying from it was ever in circulation. The earlier manuscripts vary from one another in numberless small points; but these are nearly all trivial, and very many of them are matters of indifference. For the determination of an accepted vulgate reliance is in the main to be placed on the manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts in the *quadrata scriptura*, written in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. These are as follows:

1. The Medicean (M), of the early fifth century, with corrections not only by the original scribe or reviser, but by several later hands, probably of the sixth and seventh centuries. It contains the whole of the *Aeneid*: the vulgate text established by Nicolas Heinsius (1676) is mainly based on it. A facsimile of it, in type specially cut for the purpose, was published at Florence in 1741.

2. The Palatine (P), of the fourth century: nearly complete, but with leaves missing which contained in all 879 lines of the *Aeneid*; six leaves containing ll. 1–277 of Book I, eight containing 369 lines in the middle of Book VII, two containing 92 lines of Book XI, and single leaves in Books IV, X, and XII.

3. The Roman (R), of the fifth or perhaps the early sixth century, which is more imperfect, leaves being missing which contained nearly the whole of Books II and III, the greater part of Book IV, and small portions of Books XI and XII, amounting to 2,245 lines in all.

These three are the main authorities.

4. The surviving pages, known as the Schedae Vaticanae (F) of a manuscript of the early fourth century, lamentably few but of very great value. These contain fragments of all the books of the *Aeneid* except X and XII varying in length from 14 to 167 lines, and amounting to 1,906 lines in all.

5 and 6. Two palimpsest fragments, both of the fourth century: the Schedae rescriptae Veronenses (V), fifty-one leaves containing 1,320 lines in all, some of which, however, are undecipherable; and the Schedae rescriptae Sangallenses (G), ten leaves, of which seven contained pieces of the *Aeneid*, Books I, III, IV, and VI, amounting to 266 lines in all, but are mutilated and partly illegible.

It should be added here, to avoid possible misunderstanding, that six leaves are extant of a manuscript probably earlier than any of these, known as the Augustean (A), but containing only fragments of the *Georgics*. Four lines of the *Aeneid* (iv. 302–5) were transcribed from another leaf in the seventeenth century; they give no variation from the other manuscripts (F, M, P) available for that passage. The leaf itself has long been lost.

These six sources are referred to hereafter, for the sake of brevity and convenience, as the primary manuscripts. It will be observed that for the greater part of the *Aeneid*, not less than three, and pretty often four, are available for any particular line; and where these agree, the prima facie case for the text they give is very strong. There are perhaps not more than a dozen instances, in the 10,000 lines of the *Aeneid*, in which the necessity for altering the text materially against the unanimous evidence of the primary manuscripts is so clear that alteration has been generally accepted and has become the modern vulgate. As the most striking of these may be cited *animis*, ix. 676, *Paris*, x. 705, *arce*, x. 805, for the *armis*, *creat*, *arte* of M P R (in the last of these the *arte* of the manuscripts is reinstated in this edition), and *dispiciunt*, vi. 734, for the *despiciunt* of F M P R. Instances not so fully accepted, though hardly inferior in certainty, are *at*, ix. 47, for the *ut* of F M P R, and *nec equo*, xii. 465, for the *aequo* of M P R V.

Of the very large number of manuscripts other than these primary ones, few are of much independent value. The one notable exception is the Gudianus (γ), derived from the same archetype as P, and preserving, probably, a number of readings of that archetype of which there would otherwise be no record; these variations, however, are merely verbal, and none of them is of capital importance. Of less, but of some, value are the three Bernenses, of which 1 derives from the archetype of R, and 2 and 3 from the archetype of V. The lost Codex Oblongus Pierii seems to have ranked with these. Other manuscripts used by Heinsius as supplementary sources for the vulgate text formed by him deserve mention on that account: they are the three Leidenses, the three Menteliani, the three Rottendorphiani, the two Menagiani, the Montalbanius, and the Moretanus. For a fuller account of these and other manuscripts reference should be made to Ribbeck's *Prolegomena*, c. xiii, pp. 265–361, or to the more convenient though much less detailed *Elenchus Codicum* prefixed to Heyne's edition, vol. I, pp. xxxix–lxxvi.

A brief note may be added on the most celebrated of the innumerable printed editions.

The *editio princeps* was printed at Rome by Sweynheim and Pannartz; it is undated, but the first issue (for it was put on the market gradually) is assigned to 1467. The next edition was printed at Venice in 1470: and from then onwards there are several of nearly every year up to the end of the fifteenth century, mostly printed in Italy but some beyond the Alps, at Louvain, Paris, Deventer, and Leipsic. The first Aldine appeared in 1501, and thenceforward the list multiplies, and gradually extends all over Europe. The text received the attention of many distinguished scholars; in the sixteenth century the most conspicuous of critical editions is that of H. Stephanus (Henri Etienne), Paris, 1537; in the seventeenth, those successively published by Nicolas Heinsius from 1664 to 1676, completing the work begun by his father Daniel Heinsius, the favourite pupil of Scaliger (thirty years were spent by him over the task: the list of the numerous manuscripts consulted by him will be found in Heyne's preface, pp. lvi–lxii in the edition of 1793); and in the eighteenth, that of Peter Burmann the younger (his uncle of the same name was also a distinguished Virgilian scholar) in 1746, incorporating the notes, until then unpublished, of N. Heinsius, and that of C. G. Heyne, whose noble edition of Virgil, summing up the work of his predecessors and adding to it from the treasures of his own immense learning and fine judgement, was first published in four successive volumes, 1767–75, at Leipsic, and in its final form (of eight volumes), *emendatior et auctior*, in London, 1793. This last remains indispensable for all serious students of Virgil. But it was not until much later that a complete critical edition, with a scientific classification of the manuscripts, was produced (1859–66) by Ribbeck. His record of MS. readings, except for a few details in which it has to be corrected or supplemented, remains definitive, and for textual study of Virgil must be constantly consulted.

As regards constitution of an established Virgilian text, little remains to be done. There are still a few lines in which the traditional text is clearly at fault, and for which no emendation has met with general acceptance; and a smaller number in which attractive or convincing conjectures have not as yet found their way into either text or commentary of any edition of the *Aeneid*. There are some likewise where the modern vulgate departs needlessly from the manuscripts: for these, see notes on iii. 127, iv. 217, ix. 102, 146, 412, x. 805, xii. 541. In this edition I have adopted without hesitation Housman's alteration of *exagmine* (for *ex agmine*) in ii. 727 and vii. 703, and Slater's of *micuit* (for *timuit*) in v. 505: and, with much diffidence, but with long conviction, verbal emendations of my own in iii. 360, 362, v. 488. It may be suspected that in i. 468 what Virgil wrote was not *instaret curru* but *instaret cursu*, in accordance with the famous battle-scene of *Iliad* xx and xxi, throughout which, except for one point (xx.

498–502) at which he mounts his chariot, Achilles is on foot as he drives the Trojans before him.

An equally important and equally delicate task has been to attend sedulously to paragraphing and punctuation. Here manuscript authority gives little or no guidance. Punctuation is in effect implicit commentary; and while like other forms of commentary it may be overdone, it is of great and unobtrusive service towards intelligent reading. It may be added, that for aid in reading aloud (and poetry ought to be read aloud as much as possible) it may be replaced or supplemented by a different system of pointing, indicating, as in the English Psalter, the rhetorical or musical phrasing in more detail. Over-pointing which breaks up the phrasing, and over-paragraphing which disturbs the continuity, have both to be avoided. The remarks of Seneca on punctuation (*Epist.* IV. xi) hold good to the present day, and may be commended both to authors and to editors.

XIII

Among the qualities which give an epic poem permanent fame and enduring life, two are of the first importance: a great ideal which it embodies as an interpretation of history and of the world in which man finds himself; and a pervading human sympathy to which the human mind and heart, from one age to another, instinctively respond. In both these qualities the *Aeneid* is eminent. But it is probably through the latter that it has to most of its readers made its first and also its last appeal. Virgil is the representative poet of the Imperial idea and of the Latin civilization on which both the Middle Ages and the modern world are based and built. But he is no less, he is even more, the poet in whom mankind have found the most perfect expression of their longings, their questionings, their aspirations; 'giving utterance', in Newman's beautiful words, 'as the voice of Nature herself, to that pain and weariness yet hope of better things which is the experience of her children in every time'.

In Homer, this deep human sympathy is present as an inner life, but only, so to say, in the germ. In Greek poetry of the central period—the poetry which was concentrated in its utmost brilliance at Athens—it was kept under severe control; sensibility was largely the creation of the later Greek or Alexandrian age. In the most popular poets of that school, it tended to get out of control. In their Latin pupils and successors this tendency was further exaggerated. Reaction from the austere Roman tradition, and the charm which sentimental indulgence exercised on the pleasure-loving Italian temperament, led to a sort of deliquescence. The Latin *mollities*, the Italian *morbidezza*, a delicacy passing into pulpy softness, is the word used to describe it. Fibre was weakened; sentiment became sentimentality. It was Virgil's aim, his achievement, to fuse the new romantic sensibility with the epic largeness and the Roman dignity.

To make a human being of the principal figure on his canvas was by no means an easy matter. Aeneas, by the fundamental scheme of the poem, had to be an idealized and symbolic character. He had to carry, *attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum*, the destinies of a race and a nation. He had to be a warrior and legislator, whose own life was subordinated throughout to the claims of public duty. He was weighted with the responsibilities of a founder, a restorer, a governor. The Achilles of the *Iliad* is a prince in the flush and ardour and selfishness of youth, full of the pride of life and only shadowed by foreknowledge of an early death. The Ulysses of the *Odyssey* is a man of wide experience and incomparable adroitness, fighting throughout for his own hand, for reconquest of his home and reunion with his wife and child. Neither of them has any call to be a saint; Achilles has little regard for mercy, Ulysses little regard for truth: but in neither figure is there any obstacle to the development of the purely individual human interest. With Aeneas it is different. He has done with the romance and gladness of youth. He is loaded with responsibilities not his own. He has no home to return to, no ambition to realize, no personal happiness to which he can look forward. He has to make a new home in a strange land, not for himself, but for his followers and his son. He has a loyal staff, but no intimate friend, no one with whom he can share his soul. He hates bloodshed and has no joy in battle, yet he has to wage a sanguinary war. His entanglement at Carthage brings him no pleasure while it lasts, and he breaks it off with a sombre acquiescence. His marriage at the close to the heiress of the Latin kingdom is a wholly political or dynastic arrangement, and for him, as for her, only one more sacrifice to duty. About his last years Virgil is all but silent; he only lets us know that they were decreed to be few, and that he was thereafter to join the ranks of the gods—*si qua est ea gloria*—and in another world find the reward, such as it might be, of his lifelong labour of self-suppression.

A pathetic and a heroic figure, Virgil's Aeneas is nevertheless a little removed from humanity both in his virtues and in his shortcomings. If Aeneas be, as to some extent he is, an idealized Augustus, Marcus Aurelius, two hundred years later, is a re-embodied Aeneas. *Non sponte sequor*, the words wrung out of Aeneas on one of the few occasions when he nearly gives way to simple human emotion, might serve as the motto both for him and for Marcus. In both, they pass more and more from an accent of complaint into what is at once a confession of faith and a religious aspiration, nearly corresponding to *Thy will be done.*

Pietas, conscientiousness, the steady fulfilment of duty to God and man, is the central quality of Virgil's hero. The spring of his conduct from the first, it grows in power as the action proceeds. After the vision or initiation of his passage through the Underworld, he has no thought of self, and is immune to temptations of the senses; he lives for his people and his mission. He is a pattern of patience and self-sacrifice, of courtesy and sympathy. A formidable warrior, he does all he can to avoid the issue of bloodshed, and to stop it when begun. In many great sayings, like the noble

> pacem me exanimis et Martis sorte peremptis
> oratis? equidem et vivis concedere vellem,

he pleads for peace and reconciliation. Only at the death of Pallas, the boy who had been committed to his own special charge, do mingled grief and rage overcome his self-control and kindle into battle-fury. Of his shocking order for bound prisoners of war to be sent for immolation over Pallas's funeral pyre, one can only say that it is Virgil's single lapse into barbarism, and think or hope that the lines might have been cancelled in his final revision. It shows the dark side of the Roman character. The horrible story of the *Arae Perusinae* after the capitulation of Perusia in the civil war of 41 B.C.—if it be true, which is perhaps doubtful; but it was believed—was an event of contemporary history. So thin is the crust which, then as now, separates civilization from the abyss.

It is not, however, in stray relics of savagery that the humanity of Virgil's hero is felt to fail. It is in his conduct to Dido. Many critics have conjectured that in the original scheme Dido was a Cleopatra or Alcina, a temptress from whose clutches Aeneas was to be rescued. In the venomous description given by Rumour of Aeneas and Dido,

> nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere
> regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos,

one can hardly fail to see an oblique reference to Antony and Cleopatra at Alexandria; and it is worth notice that in the Sousse mosaic of Aeneas and Dido, she is represented, like Cleopatra, with the *uraeus* or sacred asp in her head-dress. If this was Virgil's design, art proved greater than the artist; and his human sympathy, his insight into a woman's heart and a queen's passion, swept him away irresistibly. Apology may be invented; palliations may be urged: defence of Aeneas is impossible. 'Upon the whole matter, and humanly speaking, I doubt there was a fault somewhere.' Such is the beautifully felt and beautifully worded summing-up of Dryden. It is as wise as kind in its reticence; and we may leave it at that, for we cannot really go beyond it, and shall hardly improve upon it.

Virgil's Dido is perhaps, when all is said, his greatest single creation. She is suggested by and partly modelled on the Medea of Apollonius; but under Virgil's subtle and masterly hand she expands into something much greater. While she is there, she fills the whole canvas, and beside her, Aeneas fades and chills. Into her Virgil pours all his insight into the human heart and his sense of purely human tragedy.

In the rest of the *Aeneid*, feminine interest is subordinate, unless the superhuman figures of Juno and Venus, so ably modelled and so skilfully contrasted, may be thought of as not merely goddesses but women. Dryden long ago noted that the word *mulier* occurs only once in the poem. Creusa, the adored and adoring wife whom Aeneas lost in the sack of Troy, is but a graceful and lovely phantom. Lavinia, the young princess who carries the Italian kingdom as her dowry, is slightly drawn and kept deliberately in the background; she and her lover Turnus are only allowed to meet once, and then without speech. But in the episode of Camilla Virgil brings one other female figure into the front plane of the action. She is unique and alone: *illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuventus turbaque miratur matrum*: and Virgil lavishes his most delicate art on the portrait of the terrible maiden, *bellatrix* ('soldieress' is the fine Shakespearian word), who from infancy has lived among the lonely hills, with rivers and forests for her companions, in a fierce and flawless virginity. His treatment here allows him to bring the essence of romantic beauty into the august field of the epic. More even than the witchery of the tenth *Eclogue*, this scene makes Virgil the fountain-head of romanticism.

Not that his other women are negligible. Andromache in Epirus, Anna at Carthage, Silvia in the Latin woodland, are all touched by him into life. In the larger portrait of Queen Amata, in the tenderly modelled figure of the mother of Euryalus, and, at the very end, most nobly of all, in the sisterly devotion of Juturna, he unites breadth of sympathy with fineness of touch. But he lavishes that sympathy most on the portraiture of boys: on Ascanius, through his growth, from the child who escaped from Troy clinging to his father's hand, to the princely figure in the flush of untouched youth, *integer aevi*, who begins to take his place in council and battle; on Euryalus, Lausus, Pallas, flower-like forms over whom hangs the shadow of early death.

But it is not merely in this figure or that, it is throughout, that the *Aeneid* is saturated with human tenderness. A half-accidental isolation of two words from one of his great lines has given to the world, as the very essence of Virgil's magic, as the keynote of the music which he draws out of life, the expression of 'the tears of things', *lacrimae rerum*. In those half-lines of his, of which Newman wrote with a delicacy of appreciation that is like Virgil's own, this is the accent which recurs constantly. It is 'the voice of Nature herself', but a human voice which reaches above and beyond Nature. It is present like a haunting music, playing round and interpreting the transitoriness, the brief sweetness of life—*breve et inreparabile tempus; veluti cum flos succisus aratro*; the shadowiness of fame—*si qua est ea gloria; longa oblivia potant*; the weight of gigantic superhuman forces—*stat sua cuique dies; dis aliter visum; ineluctabile fatum*; the longing for rest—*nos alias hinc ad lacrimas; vobis parta quies; felix morte tua neque in hunc servata dolorem*; the sorrow of departing and the keener grief over the departed—*dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos; fleti ad superos belloque caduci; salve aeternum mihi aeternumque vale*; the greatness of the human soul—*sancta ad vos anima descendam; vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi, et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago*; the flickering light of an inextinguishable hope—*ripae ulterioris amore; aut videt aut vidisse putat; coniunx ubi pristinus illi respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem*. In no other poetry are the chords of human sympathy more delicately touched, its tones more subtly interfused. In none is there so deep a sense of the beauty and sorrow of life, of keen remembrance and shadowy hope, and, enfolding all, of infinite pity.

XIV

Virgil's fame and his popularity were both established in his own lifetime. The *Aeneid* was at once accepted as the great national poem. Copies were rapidly multiplied. It was not only in the hands of every educated man and woman, but became what it has ever since remained, a standard school-book for the western world. Knowledge of it spread through all classes; snatches from it have been found cut on the walls of the public baths in Rome, and scribbled on stucco in the buried streets of Pompeii. The *Eclogues* and *Georgics* had already become school-books in their author's own lifetime. This use began, as we happen to know, in an advanced secondary school for boys of over fifteen opened in Rome in or about the year 26 B.C. by one Q. Caecilius, an Epirot by birth, and a freedman of Atticus, Cicero's banker and friend. Later, a well-known line of Juvenal describes the stained and smeared Virgils that were in the hands of ordinary schoolboys. Martial mentions that a portrait of Virgil was often prefixed to them.

There were reactions, such as happen with all writers, even the greatest, before the world settles down (if it ever does) to a final judgement. Caligula's proposal to expel Virgil from all the public libraries was only the eccentricity of a madman. But about that time, Asconius felt called upon to write a formal treatise *Contra Obtrectatores Vergilii*; and, later, the great archaistic revival in the age of the Antonines brought the older poets for a while again into favour. Hadrian headed a fashion of 'preferring Ennius'. Virgil had been so assiduously copied by poets of the intervening century that, when people grew tired of them, the reputation of Virgil himself had a set-back. He suffered, too, from the army of grammarians and commentators who were let loose on him; of these there was a continuous series down to the beginning of the Dark Ages. But his prestige and predominance were not substantially impaired. The whole of post-Virgilian Latin literature, in prose as well as in poetry, is saturated with Virgilian quotations, adaptations and allusions, as much as English literature for the last three hundred years has been with Shakespeare, and even more.

Not only so; but the *Aeneid* became a sort of Bible. The famous *Sortes Vergilianae*, a method of seeking in it for supernatural guidance, came early into vogue. The phrase as well as the thing was already established a century after his death, perhaps sooner. Not only the practice, but a large measure of belief in its efficacy, lingered on into the seventeenth century. Oracles were sought by formal and ritual consultation of the *Aeneid* in temples. It took, for this purpose, the place of the discredited Sibylline Books. Hadrian, according to his biographer, consulted both, and received from both the prophecy of his future elevation to the principate. Clodius Albinus received his *sors* from two lines of Virgil in the temple of Apollo at Cumae; Alexander Severus his in the temple of Fortune at Praeneste: the great Illyrian Emperor Claudius his, towards the end of the third century, 'in the Apennines', not only for himself but for his descendants, the Imperial house of Constantine.

Virgil, indeed, was thought of and treated as in some sense deified, and able from the other world to exercise control or intervention in human affairs. His birthday, like that of Augustus, was registered in the calendar as a saint's day. Poets, like Statius and Silius Italicus, worshipped at his tomb as at a shrine. Alexander Severus placed his bust in the *lararium* or family chapel of the Imperial palace, where divine honours were paid to it. This worship would have ceased with the decay of paganism; but it was taken over by the Christian Church. The Fourth Eclogue was accepted and proclaimed as a direct prophecy of the birth of Christ. It was so expounded, in an address to the whole Christian population of the Empire, by Constantine after he had decreed the recognition of Christianity as the State religion. Thenceforth it was taken for granted, and almost became an article of faith.

St. Augustine not only accepts this doctrine, but actually cites Virgil's own mention of the Sibylline prophecies—the *Cumaeum carmen* of the Fourth Eclogue—as authentic proof of the genuineness and validity of those earlier predictions. In the second childhood of Latin letters, the construction of centos from Virgil was a favourite and elaborate occupation. Masses of these have been preserved. Many were ingeniously forced into a Christian sense, and actually made use of in churches. Pope Gelasius at the end of the fifth century, when making an authoritative revision of the Canon of Holy Scripture, is said—though on the evidence of doubtful documents—to have found it necessary to exclude these from the Canon by name.

Legend after legend was invented on the strength of this belief. St. Paul was said to have visited Virgil's tomb on his way from Puteoli to Rome, and to have wept at the thought that he had died before the Light had come into the world. The story was incorporated in the special office for St. Paul's day at Mantua. In the Christmas services at Rheims, 'Maro, prophet of the Gentiles', was called on with the prophets of the Old Testament to bear witness to Christ. Popular fancies ran into still greater extravagances. Virgil the prophet became Virgil the magician. Round his name grew a mass of fantastic tales, which, originating perhaps at Naples, spread all over Europe. They bulk largely in the *Gesta Romanorum*, the most widely popular of all medieval books. They were the foundation of many romances in prose and verse from the twelfth century onwards. One of these, *Les Faictz merveilleux de Virgille*, passed through edition after edition in the early days of printing in France, and was translated into nearly all the languages of Europe.

Concurrently, among serious scholars, Virgil, while he was admired as a poet, was still more approached and studied as a fountain of philosophy. Already in the fourth century his commentator Donatus had to insist that Virgil was a poet and not a professor of metaphysics. He had come to be called the Plato of poets. Many attempts were made—they have been renewed down to our own day—to extract from the mystical pageantry of the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid* a coherent body of scientific and theological doctrine, to assign to Virgil an exact place among schools of thought and framers of systems. They are all futile. Virgil was not an Epicurean or Stoic, a Pythagorean or Platonist. He was not a philosopher in his ideas any more than he was an historian in his narrative; he was a poet.

But poetry, as has been truly said, is the ultimate expression both of philosophy and of history. It not only interprets, but re-creates both; it is already at the centre towards which they are always endeavouring to approach. It reaches its height but seldom, in few poets and not always in these. But where it does, its vitality and its vitalizing power are both immortal; a thousand years to it are but as one day. Virgil was the imaginative interpreter and the spiritual creator of a great ideal, for human life and for the organization of the nation and the world. Thirteen hundred years after his death, that ideal was re-embodied by Dante.

Dante is the culminating figure of the Middle Ages; he is also the creator of modern literature: and Virgil was Dante's acknowledged and adored master. It is under Virgil's direct guidance that he passes through the realms of punishment and the circles of cleansing, only leaving him when he reaches the edge of the final Purgatorial fire. On him he lavishes, in endless profusion, all names of adoring praise. *Savio duca*, *dolce padre*, *alto dottore*, *gran maliscalco*, *pregio eterno*, *virtù somma*, *scorta fida*, *mar di tutto* *il senno*—these are but a selection from the titles by which Dante names or invokes him. Oftener still he is simply *il poeta*, 'the poet': no epithet is needed. From him Dante took, as one torch kindling from another, not only the vision of the ordained divine government of the world, and the prophetic and operative faith in the unity and supremacy of Roman Italy, but also the long-lost *bello stile*, the beauty of language which he regained for European poetry.

XV

The *bello stile* was lost when the Dark Ages descended upon Europe: it was through return to Virgil more than through any other single influence that it was recovered. It has never been quite lost again, but we still have to go back to the fountain-heads to secure it; no later sources give it in all its strength and purity.

In the study of Virgil as an artist and of the *Aeneid* as a work of art, four separate elements in the poem have to be traced and weighed. First, there is the epic structure, the large architectural lines of composition on the grand scale. Secondly, there is the ornament, the embellishment of the structure in detail, covering the whole of what may be called the artistic evolution of the poem. Thirdly, there is the rhythm and phrasing which gives poetry its musical value. Fourthly, there is the diction. Among our own English poets, it is in Milton, and perhaps in Milton alone, that all these four together are absorbed and re-created. The *Paradise Lost* draws from many sources to which Milton's wide reading and prolonged study gave him access. But of all these, the *Aeneid* takes the foremost place. As regards the first two elements, this is too obvious to require commentary. But no less remarkable is Milton's debt and kinship to Virgil in the management of periodic rhythmical structure, and in the choice and use of words which create, out of a rigorously restricted vocabulary, a language which in its amplitude, dignity, and precision, no less than in its rhetorical quality, is the high-water mark for the art of poetry.

The art of poetry is in continual movement. It follows—and in a very real sense it leads—the movement of life, of which it is the expression and interpretation. Its successive incarnations give place one to another. Lyrical instinct is so grounded in the English genius that it gives to the whole body of English poetry a quality of its own; the epic as such is to some degree foreign to the English mode of creation; and still more is it foreign to the movement which now runs so strongly towards disintegrating and democratizing all art. For the enormous and chaotic production of the present age, it is more than ever essential to have a standard of quality, to preserve and study and appreciate the masterpieces. This standard Virgil gives.

XVI

Some notes may here be made, as a guide to observation in reading, on Virgil's treatment of the hexameter verse.

The moulding of Latin into foreign metres was a laborious task, and the Latin hexameter had hitherto tended to heaviness and monotony. Melodiousness of single lines, within a restricted range of pattern, had been mastered by Catullus, continuous movement in successive waves by Lucretius. But complex harmony and periodic structure remained unachieved. The Catullan hexameter becomes tedious long before we are half-way through the 400 lines of the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis; much of the *De Rerum Natura* gives the feeling of prose hammered by sheer force into metrical shape. The contrasted manipulation of the three poets perhaps comes out more clearly in must be considered as unfinished. By another artifice, Virgil lets a line which metrically conforms to the normal structure divide itself verbally into three equal portions: the effect of this, as in

> an Phoebi soror, an nympharum sanguinis una—
>
> nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis—
>
> haec adeo tibi me placida cum nocte iaceres—

is to give a remarkable liquid quality to the line. He avoids heaviness and a dragging movement by making it the exception to open a line with two spondees. Runs of such lines (that is to say, more than two lines successively) are rare: such a run of four lines as in vi. 358–61,

> paulatim adnabam terrae; iam tuta tenebam
> ni gens crudelis madida cum veste gravatum
> prensantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis
> ferro invasisset praedamque ignara putasset,

is so rare as to be almost unexampled, but the more impressive and effective from its rarity. To gain special effects, runs of monosyllables are similarly employed, very sparingly, as in *et quae sit me circum copia lustro*, or *nec cum se sub leges pacis iniquae*, or *per te per qui te talem genuere parentes*, and, most strikingly of all, in the weighed and counted words of Jupiter, xii. 833,

> do quod vis et me victusque volensque remitto.

XVII

Rhyme or assonance was a marked feature of native Latin poetry. Though mainly submerged by the adoption of Greek metres, it did not quite disappear in the classical period; its effective re-emergence is one of the capital features in the transition from late classical to early medieval Latin poetry.

In the minute tessellation of the *Eclogues* there are traces of the influence of the old Latin rhymed accentual verse; and two lines in the *Lydia*, a piece by a contemporary poet,

> luna, tuus tecum est: cur non est et mea mecum?
> luna, dolor nosti quid sit: miserere dolentis,

suggest, though this may be only a fancy, a stanza from some old Latin ballad,

> luna, tuus est ut tecum
> cur non est et mea mecum?
> luna, dolor quid sit sentis:
> miserere tu dolentis.

So much of this influence still lies beneath the surface in Virgil's own mature poetry as to give to its music a faint but perceptible colour, which in the mechanized hexameter of the Silver Age has disappeared.

In the *Aeneid*, apart from the internal rhymes which were inevitable owing to the structure of the language, but which neither Virgil nor other Latin poets made any particular effort to avoid, there are a considerable number of rhyming couplets, and even a few assonant though not strictly rhyming triplets. In the former, Virgil restricts himself almost entirely to two types of verbal and participial inflexions: *ferebat*, *volebat*, i. 625–6, *canebant*, *videbant* ii. 124–5, *solebat*, *trahebat* ii. 456–7 (following *manebant* in l. 455 and immediately followed by *astra*, *castra* with one line between them in ll. 460, 462), *volabat*, *secabat* iv. 256–7, *tenebat*, *premebat* iv. 331–2, *ciebat*, *tenebat* vi. 468–9, *sedebat*, *gerebat* vii. 187–8, *iubebat*, *premebat* viii. 646–7, *ruebant*, *tenebant* ix. 182–3; *moventem*, *petentem* iii. 656–7, *vomentem*, *rigentem* viii. 620–1, *ruentum*, *parentum* xi. 886–7. Besides these, he has, exceptionally, *Labici*, *Numici* vii. 796–7, and *arator*, *viator* x. 804–5. Assonant couplets are fairly frequent; assonant triplets rare, and found only in the later books, e.g. *sororem*, *sonoris*, *honorem* xii. 138–40, *superbis*, *arvis*, *dictis* xii. 236–8, *dolore*, *malorum*, *furorem* xii. 599–601. With these may be classified five instances of identical endings. Three of them, *semper* in viii. 271–2, *usquam* in viii. 568–9, and *Helenor* in ix. 544–5, are deliberate, for rhetorical emphasis; for the other two, *esset* in vii. 653–4 and *fuisset* in viii. 396–7, there is no obvious reason.

In this connexion, attention should also be paid to the degree in which Virgil retains the alliteration which was another essential feature of native Latin verse. He does so as a rule sparingly; and where it occurs, it is often incidental (or even unavoidable) rather than purposed. But he often uses it deliberately, and for the most part very effectively; a good instance is the *insontem infando indicio* of ii. 84, or the famous *voces et verba vocantis visa viri* of iv. 460. We may feel it occasionally to verge on exaggeration, as, for instance, in the *validas in viscera vertite vires* of vi. 833, and the *mitteret in magnum imperium metuensque moneret* of xi. 47. Less forced, because more spread out, are iv. 238, *patris magni parere parabat imperio et primum pedibus*, and xii. 824, *Teucrosque vocari aut vocem mutare viros aut vertere vestem*.

Noticeable also as a feature in Virgil's use of language is his obsession with a word, which makes him repeat it, sometimes with a difference in meaning, almost immediately: instances are *a vertice . . . vertex* i. 114, 117, *flagrans . . . flagrantibus* xii. 167, 171, *longis . . . longe* xi. 907, 909, *saevasque secures . . . saevumque securi* vi. 819, 824, *ardentis socios . . . stellis ardentibus* xi. 200, 202; and with triple repetition, *casu . . . casus . . . casus* i. 614, 615, 623, *celerem . . . celeri . . . celeris* xii. 853, 855, 859, and the unique *praedulce* and *praedivitis* xi. 155, 213, following on the rare *praecesserat* of 94. Sometimes indeed the repetition of a word almost becomes a jingle: two successive lines end with *amore* and *amorum* i. 349, 350, and the next line but one with *amantem*. The repetition in *maesti comitamur honore*, *supremum comitentur honorem*, *supremum maestus honorem*, xi. 52, 61, 76, though at longer intervals, is no less unpleasing. Some words are used to excess, notably *ingens*, which occurs no less than 168 times in the *Aeneid*, and often gives the effect of being a mere stopgap. Its frequency (as that, in a lesser degree, of the similar epithet *immanis*) must be distinguished from that of key-words, for instance *fatum*, which occurs 126 times: and revision would no doubt have modified it. Virgil was a great innovator in his manipulation of words, but not in his actual vocabulary: the rare instances in which a word used by him is not found in any other extant Latin author, like *suburgere* v. 202 and *remulcere* xi. 812, do not imply that the word was one of his own invention.

The compound adjectives which were so numerous in early Latin, but were felt by the age of Cicero to be alien to the genius of the language, are used by Virgil sparingly. A few like *agricola*, *omnipotens*, *versicolor*, *unanimus*, had been fully received into ordinary usage. Numerical compounds of the type *biformis*, *trilinguis*, *quadrifidus*, *septemplex*, *centumgeminus* (there are 20 such in the *Aeneid*) stand on a footing of their own, as do compounds with *-fer* and *-ger*, of which there are in the *Aeneid* 14 of the former and 3 of the latter. Of less common usage are the two types represented by *armipotens*, *arquitenens*, *bellipotens*, *ignipotens*, *omniparens*, and by *aeripes*, *alipes*, *sonipes*. The others in the *Aeneid* are, *aequaevus*, *armisonus*, *auricomus*, *caprigenus*, *fatidicus*, *horrificus* and *horrisonus*, *luctificus*, *noctivagus*, *nubigena*, *omnigenus*, *primaevus*, *turicremus*, *velivolus*, *vulnificus*: most of these, as also the metrical variant *navifragus* for the common *naufragus*, are found in Lucretius and in the fragments of the earlier Latin poets, and the probability is that Virgil took all of them from his predecessors.

XVIII

Training in the technique of rhetoric was a universal and indispensable element in Latin education, at the numerous schools of Rome and, for those who wished to pursue it further, at the Greek universities of Athens or Rhodes. Manuals based on Greek sources were produced through generations in immense numbers. We possess two of the most authoritative and celebrated: the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* of Cornificius, largely used by Cicero in his early treatise *de Inventione* and thirty years later in the *de Oratore*, and for long attributed to Cicero himself; and the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian, in which the series culminates and practically closes. Between the dates of these two works there is an interval of nearly two hundred years. The rhetorical turn given to Latin poetry by this artificial enhancement of what was in any case a national characteristic has always been remarked; and it is not to Lucan alone that the acute criticism of Quintilian, *magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus*, may be applied.

Analysts of style have amused themselves by tracing, in the great speeches of the *Aeneid*, the close adherence they often present to the 'disposition' inculcated by the technicians and practised by speakers in the law-courts or the senate-house. But in these speeches Virgil is the master, not the slave, of his art. The influence of the schools is more to be felt in the elaboration of his narrative and descriptive passages, where the selection and accumulation of language cannot be called other than artificial and not seldom verges on if it does not even amount to preciosity. We should feel this more were it not for the almost unfailing beauty of his rhythms and melodiousness of his verbal groupings. There is one matter, however, in which he now and then—though, fortunately, seldom—succumbs to a disastrous artifice, inculcated as well as practised in all the literary circles; that of the *sententia* or generalized reflection interposed in a narrative. That Virgil employs it so little must be placed to his credit. The outstanding instances are the notorious *quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames?* (iii. 56), the *heu vatum ignarae mentes!* (iv. 65), the *improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?* (iv. 412), and, though for this there is more justification, the more prolonged sentence interjected after the death of Pallas, x. 501–5, *nescia mens hominum . . . diemque oderit.*

These are perhaps the only passages in which Virgil ceases to be an artist and becomes a moralist. Elsewhere and throughout, he lets his personality be felt, but does not obtrude it. According to the normal epic usage, the first person is employed in proems and invocations, but is almost confined to these: the *cano* and *mihi causas memora* of the proem to Book I; with more emphasis the *expediam, revocabo, dicam, dicam, mihi nascitur, moveo* of the proem to Book VII; the *sit mihi fas* in the invocation of the Powers of the Underworld in Book VI; the *canenti* and *mecum* in the invocation of the Muses preluding the *aristeia* of Turnus in Book IX. With these may be placed, as also an epic formula, the *non ego te* which opens one of the paragraphs of the Etruscan catalogue in Book X and the *nec tu carminibus nostris* similarly placed in the Italian catalogue of Book VII, where, as in the *ad nos* of the invocation preceding that catalogue, the personal note is very faint. Only twice does Virgil allow himself to speak with a full voice in his own person. Both these passages are deservedly famous; in both, the Virgilian pity breaks irresistibly through the Virgilian reticence as he recounts what among all the sorrows of the world moves him most deeply, the loss of young and beautiful lives in their country's cause. The four lines in Book IX beginning *fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt*, the three lines in Book X ending *nec te, iuvenis memorande, silebo*, are not only the noblest of tributes to Euryalus and Lausus, but are sublimations of the epic into a direct lyrical intensity.

XIX

It is in the manipulation of language that Virgil stands apart from other poets. His sensitiveness to language is unique, more especially the way in which he perpetually—it might almost be said in every line of the *Aeneid*—gives words and phrases a new colour by variation, sometimes obvious, sometimes so delicate as to escape notice, of the normal or classical diction. Language always remains with him a fluid medium, and he handles words so as make them different. The interlacement of order to which a highly inflected language like Latin lends itself is carried by him to its utmost limit, and the phrase, within which no division by punctuation is possible, may extend over several lines; words which are logically or syntactically inseparable may be at long distances from one another, and his cross-patterns of language, while they seldom fail to convey the effective meaning desired, almost defy analysis. It was this which led his detractors to say that he did not write Latin; and there is this much of truth in the criticism, that his Latin is a language of his own, and one on which he was up to the last perpetually experimenting. In this respect he may remind us less of Raphael (with whose art in its faultless suavity and dignified tenderness he has so much in common) than of the restlessness, the endless retouchings, the unceasing aim after some new perfection, of Leonardo: who also was, like

Virgil, regarded as a magician. Classification of his subtle and intricate verbal devices, even so far as it is possible, would be of little value; they must be studied and appreciated as they occur.

Almost from the first, Virgil's ear was faultless, his melodiousness exquisite. The progress to be traced in his art is the development of richer harmonies through a larger handling and an ampler movement. The magical single lines of his early work—

molli paulatim flavescet campus arista—

audiit Eurotas iussitque ediscere lauros—

hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori—

melt more and more into periods; the music gains more and more of smooth, swift, and rushing freedom. As a masterpiece of full periodic movement, the invocation at the opening of the *Georgics* (i. 5–42) has never been surpassed. But in the *Aeneid* his art is further sublimated. It even tends in its latest development to discard the rich ornamentation which is a steady note of Virgil's middle period. In his earlier poetry its use wavers, and his touch on it is uncertain: phrases of almost bald simplicity are mixed with others in which one may feel the decoration to be overloaded. In the *Georgics* he has fully mastered this among the other problems of technique; and we may say unhesitatingly that in both style and diction he has reached perfection. It would be idle to cite instances when they crowd on the mind so thickly. But in the *Aeneid* the harmonies become yet more massive, the music yet deeper.

Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram
perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna;
quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
est iter in silvis, ubi caelum condidit umbra
Iuppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.

Beyond this, it might seem impossible for art to go; it might seem impossible to add anything of poise or swell or cadence with the utmost resources of the Latin language in the conquered and perfected hexameter. But Virgil went farther. In passages like

> me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem
> Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile Fatum
> his posuere locis, matrisque egere tremenda
> Carmentis nymphae monita et deus auctor Apollo:

like

> multae illam frustra Tyrrhena per oppida matres
> optavere nurum; sola contenta Diana
> aeternum telorum et virginitatis amorem
> intemerata colit:

like

> interea extremo bellator in aequore Turnus
> palantis sequitur paucos iam segnior atque
> iam minus atque minus successu laetus equorum.
> attulit hunc illi caecis terroribus aura
> commixtum clamorem, arrectasque impulit auris
> confusae sonus urbis et inlaetabile murmur:

the feet of the verse have become wings; the exquisite mechanism ceases to be a mechanism and flashes into air and fire.

XX

Virgil stands out as having achieved the utmost beauty, melody, and significance, of which human words seem to be capable. He has given expression, once for all, to many of our highest thoughts and most profound emotions. Nor has he, like others who in their day have been great germinal forces, become absorbed in or been replaced by his successors. For a work of consummate art is substantive and permanent in its value. It is not a means to an end, but an end attained. Homer, Virgil, Shakespeare remain alive after hundreds or thousands of years. They retain their uplifting and enlarging influence; they speak directly to us and interpret actual life to us as much as ever. They have not a mere historical value or a mere antiquarian interest. To each generation, to each individual reader, they come afresh as revelations of the beauty of the world and the wonder of the human soul. 'Creations' in the full sense of that word, they are 'lordly as at the first day'.

Indeed it may be said of the masterpieces of poetry that they actually grow in vitality and significance with the process of time, as they absorb and incorporate into themselves an added volume of intermediate imagination and experience. For they come to us now not only with their original and essential virtue, against which time is powerless, but with the accumulated associations of all the ages through which they have passed. They are at once set in perspective by distance and enriched by history; they are something new and something different. They are not wholly new, even when we come on them for the first time, because much of their content has been unconsciously inherited by us, or has reached us indirectly through intermediate channels. When we make acquaintance with them, it is a recognition as well as a discovery. But they are not outworn. It is no paradox to say that they may actually mean more to each successive age.

Our appreciation of them, it may be urged, must be incomplete, because we cannot place ourselves at the poet's point of view, because we cannot regain his environment, or live in the world in which he lived and which in his poetry he interpreted and transfigured. This is true; but against the loss—for loss there is—has to be set a real gain. The colours tone rather than fade; the outlines are not blurred so much as softened. The sharp freshness of the work as it first reached the world new from the artist's hand has turned into a mellow glow. The structural lines of the composition come out more significantly. Beauties and subtleties are seen which to a contemporary reader were invisible, and of which even the artist himself may not have been articulately conscious. The masterpiece places itself with a background and a foreground. It becomes for us not a mere detached work of art which has been preserved from the past, but a focus of the multiplex human movement, a lamp whose rays stream out over the whole integrated fabric of human life. In a very real sense, it is possible for us to appreciate Shakespeare more, to understand him better, than he was appreciated and understood by his Elizabethan audiences, for whom he was only one among many other popular dramatists. So likewise is it possible for us to appreciate Virgil more, though he was for them 'the divine poet', than he was appreciated by those who, in the newly founded Augustan Empire, and amid the memories of the Republic, spoke Latin at Rome.

THE AENEID
TEXT AND COMMENTARY

SIGLA

(See Introduction, p. lix)

F = Schedae Vaticanae
G = Schedae rescriptae Sangallenses
M = Codex Mediceus
P = Codex Palatinus
R = Codex Romanus
V = Schedae rescriptae Veronenses

BOOK I

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Book I is worked upon up to a point nearly approaching completion, and does not bear the traces of having passed through any large changes after its scope and contents had been generally determined. For rapidity and variety of action it ranks very high; there is no point (with the few trifling exceptions noted below) at which the interest flags or the movement stagnates. There are three unfinished lines; the only line-ending which is obviously a stop-gap is the *fidus quae tela gerebat Achates* of l. 188, unless we regard the *miserabile visu* and *mirabile dictu* of ll. 111 and 439 as such. There is a slight but interesting inconsistency, the *vos Scyllaeam rabiem accestis* of l. 200: this, like Juno's angry complaint, vii. 302 *quid Scylla mihi, quid Charybdis profuit?* points to an actual passage through the Straits having been an incident in some earlier version of the narrative of the Wanderings. The naming of Latium as their goal, by Aeneas in l. 205 and by Ilioneus in l. 554, is premature. But these are discrepancies that only meticulous critics discover, and that do not trouble the reader. The structure of the narrative is throughout closely-knit, and its progress continuous. Some half dozen lines are open to exception as irrelevant or superfluous; these may be set out as typical of others here and there throughout the *Aeneid*.

l. 28 et genus invisum et rapti Ganymedis honores.

So prominent a mention of the Rape of Ganymede in the prologue of the epic is an unhappy concession to Alexandrianism. Juno's splendid outburst in vii. 293 foll. does not let its effect be disturbed by introducing any such side-issue. In a final revision one may suspect that Virgil would have struck out the line; and would also have avoided the repetition of the *id metuens* of l. 23 in the *hoc metuens* of l. 61 by some alteration in one or the other line.

l. 109 saxa vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras

This explanatory parenthesis, like *immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta* iii. 702, or *locos qui post Albae de nomine dicti Albani, tum rex stabula alta Latinus habebat* ix. 387–8, is also a piece of the pedantry in which Virgil was brought up by his teachers and from which he found it hard to free himself completely. There is no sufficient ground for obelizing it as an interpolation, though commentators nearly all agree that they would be glad to omit it.

ll. 245–6 unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis
it mare proruptum et pelago premit arva sonanti.

While in narrative this picturesque amplification would be quite admissible, it is out of place in the impassioned speech of Venus. The probable explanation is that the whole passage, *Antenor potuit...quiescit*, ll. 242–9, was, like a good many others, separately written, and inserted here as it stood to await further revision.

ll. 367–8 mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,
taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.

A similar criticism may be made, and a similar explanation suggested, as regards this couplet; though it is not exactly out of place in the historical sketch which Venus, *summa sequens fastigia rerum*, is giving in her assumed character. It may even be a touch of conscious humour on Virgil's part—for he can now and then, though rarely, be delicately humorous—that he makes 'the Tyrian girl' whom Venus is impersonating, when on the point of becoming garrulous, pull herself up and abruptly come back to the point in the *sed vos qui tandem?* which immediately follows.

l. 646 omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis.

The line is itself, where it stands, a rather feeble addition, and it detracts by anticipation from the effectiveness of the fine *regius accitu cari genitoris ad urbem Sidoniam puer ire parat, mea maxima cura* in ll. 677–8.

These are small matters; they are mentioned here as typical, and as thus suggesting exercise of individual judgement with regard to many other lines or passages in the rest of the *Aeneid*. More important is the problem raised by the last two lines (755–6) of this Book. They seem to have been added when Book III was recast, and a fuller discussion of the matter is best deferred until that Book comes under consideration. Here it will be sufficient to observe that the rhythm of the final paragraph is complete with l. 754, although the 'superflux' of the two lines which follow is entirely in Virgil's manner.

AENEIDOS

LIBER PRIMUS

Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena
carmen, et egressus silvis vicina coegi
ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono,
gratum opus agricolis: at nunc horrentia Martis

The four lines 'Ille ego . . . Martis' are no part of the published and authoritative text of the *Aeneid*. They are not given in any MS. anterior to the *Codex Bernensis a* of the ninth or tenth century, where they are inserted in the margin, but in a later hand of uncertain date. In themselves they are quite Virgilian in style and substance, and there is no reason to doubt the early tradition recorded in the Life by Donatus: 'Nisus grammaticus audisse se a senioribus aiebat Varium . . . primi libri correxisse principium his versibus demptis, *Ille ego*,' etc. Nisus wrote and lectured during or soon after the reign of Tiberius, and the *seniores* spoken of would therefore belong to a generation almost contemporary with the publication of the *Aeneid*. The tradition is mentioned in practically the same terms in the Life prefixed to the Servian Commentary, where the names of both editors, Varius and Tucca, are given as responsible for the omission of the lines. Whether Virgil meant to publish them we cannot tell.

They represent him 'writing himself in', and linking up his new poem to the *Georgics*, as in the concluding lines of the *Georgics* themselves he had linked up that poem to the *Eclogues* and named himself as the author. *gracili avena* is meant to recall the *tenui avena* of l. 2 in *Ecl.* i, just as l. 1 of that Eclogue is, with slight modification, repeated in the last line of the *Georgics*; and *quamvis avido colono* to recall the *illa seges demum votis respondet avari agricolae* of *Georg.* i. 47. *horrentia* has perhaps a similar oblique reference to the *campum horrentem* and *segetes horrescunt* of *Georg.* iii. 161, 199.

modulatus in the first line = *modulatus sum*, as *pollicitus* in i. 237 = *pollicitus es*. This ellipse of the auxiliary verb is common in the 3rd person both singular and plural (*sic orsus*, *haec ubi dicta*), but less usual in the 1st and 2nd: other instances in the *Aeneid* are *rati* = *rati sumus* ii. 25, *exosus* and *laetatus* = *exosus es* and *laetatus es*, v. 687, x. 827, and probably *experti* = *experti estis* i. 202.

In any case, the *Aeneid* proper begins on the *Arma virumque*, which became a sort of sub-title for it. It opens with a double proem; or rather, with an elaborated proem in two sections. The first (ll. 1–7) sets forth its scope and subject; then in ll. 8–33 Virgil makes the traditional invocation of the Muse with which all epics were supposed to begin, and sets forth more fully the 'wrath of Juno' already mentioned by him, and its causes. Latin grammarians made a technical distinction between the former as the 'principium' of the whole poem and the latter as the 'initium' of the first Book.

VERGILI AENEIDOS

Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam fato profugus Lavinaque venit
litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.

Musa mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso

1–8 *MRV*   2 Laviniaque M^1V, Lavinia M^2

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1. From 'first' the meaning of *primus* easily slides into 'in the beginning' or 'of yore', and the word carries this meaning here, as it probably does in *prima gesserat* l. 24, though there it may rather mean 'in the forefront' as it does in ii. 613. So in viii. 319 *primus venit Saturnus* may best be rendered 'Saturn came of old'; and in v. 596 *haec certamina primus rettulit et priscos docuit celebrare Latinos*, the words *primus* and *priscus* are practically equated. In vii. 118 *ea vox prima tulit finem, primamque eripuit pater*, it is almost equivalent to 'at once'.

2. *venit profugus*, 'came in flight': the separation of the two words is characteristically Virgilian. *fato* stands by itself, 'by decree of fate'.

Lāvina (or *Lāvinia*) here and also iv. 236; on the other hand *Lăvinium* (substantive) regularly, i. 258, 270, vi. 84. The name of the Latin princess occurs as *Lāvinia* ten times, as *Lăvinia* once (vii. 359). Whether the discrepancy, as with the quantity in *Sȳchaeus* (l. 343) which elsewhere is regularly *Sўchaeus*, and in *Dīana* (l. 499) which elsewhere is regularly *Dĭana*, would have been removed in Virgil's final revision is quite uncertain; we cannot assume that it would.

7. *patres* are 'heads of houses', *patresfamilias*. *alta* as an epithet of Rome is unique: it is different from the other epithets (*magna, maxima, incluta, pulcherrima*) applied to Rome by Virgil, and cannot of course mean 'high-set' like *altum Praeneste* in vii. 682: probably it has the force of 'towering' and must be taken closely with *moenia*: *altae moenia Romae* in effect being = *alta moenia Romae*. This shifting of epithets is a favourite device of Virgil's, so much so as to be one of the notes of his style.

In this proem it should be noted (1) that the *virum cano* of l. 1 and the *Musa mihi memora* of l. 8 give between them in a more fully developed and discriminated form the simpler *Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα,* with which the *Odyssey* opens; (2) that the metrical and rhetorical stress laid on the opening and closing words in the periodic structure of ll. 2–7, *Italiam* and *Romae*, emphasizes the great political aim and achievement of the age, the fusion of Rome with Italy and the creation of a Roman Italy and an Italian Rome.

8. *quo numine laeso* = *qua laesione numinis*, 'for what attaint on her divinity'. Reluctance to coin or use abstract words was a feature of Latin until and even after the age of Cicero; and in poetry, this

quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus
insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?
  Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere coloni,
Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe
ostia, dives opum studiisque asperrima belli;
quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
posthabita coluisse Samo: hic illius arma,
hic currus fuit; hoc regnum dea gentibus esse,

9–17 *MRV*

---

instinct was reinforced by the fact that the majority of such words were not only felt as technical and unpoetical, but were metrically incapable of use in hexameter verse. Even as late as the fourth century, when the author of the *Pervigilium Veneris* wishes to say 'spring is the re-birth of the world', he has to put this in the form *ver renatus orbis est*. In such phrases, *laesum numen* and *renatus orbis* may be regarded syntactically as compound substantives. *laesa maiestas* has actually so survived to the present day in the hyphenated *lèse-majesté*. In ii. 183 *pro numine laeso*, the syntax and meaning are straightforward.

12. *Urbs antiqua* is in rhetorical antithesis to *Karthago*, which as a Punic word (Ḳarth-ḥadasht) means 'the new town'.

13. *Tiberina longe ostia*, 'the far-off Tiber entrances'. Both to avoid double epithets, which Latin poetry disliked, and as a stylistic device where that particular reason does not exist, Virgil habitually has recourse to a quasi-adjectival use of a noun in the ablative (for which see App. A), and sometimes as here to a similar quasi-adjectival use of an adverb: so ii. 495 and ix. 190 *late loca*, iii. 489 *super Astyanactis imago*, vi. 711 *ea flumina porro*, vii. 681 *legio late agrestis*, vii. 727 *Sidicina iuxta aequora*, viii. 603 *haud procul hinc locis*. In iii. 409 *hortamur quae deinde agitet fortuna fateri*, and iv. 561 *nec quae te circum stent deinde pericula cernis*, though the displacement of *deinde* in its ordinary usage is in the Virgilian manner (see note on l. 195 below), it is so closely attached to *fortuna* and *pericula* as to have a similar adjectival force, ='subsequent fortune', 'subsequent dangers'. Ostia, 'The Gateways' (compare the French Le Havre) was the name of the port of Rome at the mouth of the Tiber; later, when, to promote and secure commerce by sea, a Roman colony was planted in what had previously been the *ager ostiensis*, and the name Ostia given to it, the word became used as a feminine singular instead of a neuter plural; but the prior usage is still employed in the earlier books of Livy. Ostia faces Carthage across the Tyrrhene sea, the direct passage being about 300 nautical miles.

15. Tanith, the tutelary goddess of Carthage, was identified or equated with the Greek Hera, as Hera was with the Latin Juno. Her great temple there (mentioned by Pliny, *N.H.* vi. 36) was destroyed at the capture of Carthage in 146 B.C., and even its site cannot now be identified. The temple of the Samian

si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fovetque.
progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci
audierat Tyrias olim quae verteret arces;
hinc populum late regem belloque superbum
venturum excidio Libyae: sic volvere Parcas.
id metuens veterisque memor Saturnia belli,
prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis,
necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores
exciderant animo; manet alta mente repostum
iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae
et genus invisum et rapti Ganymedis honores;
his accensa super, iactatos aequore toto
Troas, rēliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli,
arcebat longe Latio, multosque per annos
errabant acti fatis maria omnia circum.
tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

Vix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum
vela dabant laeti et spumas salis aere ruebant,
cum Iuno aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus

18–26 *MRV* 27–36 *MR*

Hera, of which one column and a few fragments survive, was the largest and one of the most splendid in the Greek world; it is coupled by Herodotus ii. 148 with that of the Ephesian Artemis. The Latin Juno Sospita was regularly represented as in armour, Cicero, *N.D.* i. 82; there seem to be no records of any representation of her as charioted; but Hera in the *Iliad* speaks of her chariot (xiv. 31).

18. *tenditque fovetque*, with the two verbs thus close-coupled, is a paratactic alternative for *intente fovet*; grammatically, the infinitive clause *regnum gentibus esse* depends on *fovet* alone: similarly *testatur et docet*, 'calls to witness as he relates', viii. 346, *poterat videri et tendebat*, 'could be seen as it lay encamped', viii. 605, *figitque volatque*, 'fixes as he flies', x. 883.

Cf. for this close-coupling by *que*, *molemque et montis*, 'a mountain-mass', l. 61, *praedae dapibusque futuris*, 'the booty that is to be their meal', l. 210, *fronde et felici oliva*, 'leafage that is of prosperous olive', vii. 751.

22. It is uncertain whether *volvere* means 'turn their spindle' or 'unroll their volume'. Both interpretations are mentioned by Servius.

25. *irarum*, 'of wrathful deeds'. This concrete meaning given to the plurals of abstract words is characteristic of

haec secum: ‘mene incepto desistere victam
nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem?
quippe vetor fatis. Pallasne exurere classem
Argivum atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto
unius ob noxam et furias Aiacis Oilei?
ipsa Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem
disiecitque rates evertitque aequora ventis,
illum exspirantem transfixo pectore flammas
turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto;
ast ego, quae divum incedo regina Iovisque
et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos
bella gero, et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat
praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem?’
Talia flammato secum dea corde volutans
nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus Austris,
Aeoliam venit. hic vasto rex Aeolus antro
luctantis ventos tempestatesque sonoras
imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat.
illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis
circum claustra fremunt; celsa sedet Aeolus arce

37–56 *MR*

Virgil: cf. *furias*, ‘mad deeds’, l. 41, *bella*, ‘acts of war’, l. 541, *auxilia*, ‘acts of aid’, ii. 163, *odia*, ‘deeds of hatred’, iv. 623, xii. 938, and *acuunt iras*, ‘sharpen their angry stings’ of the bees in xii. 590. Similarly *morae*, ‘the lingerers’, iv. 407.

29. *super*, ‘besides’, sc. in addition to the reasons given in ll. 19–22.

33. It is curious, and seems calculated, that Virgil never speaks of the *Populus Romanus*. *Romana gens* here is unique; with the same meaning (so far as we can judge) he speaks elsewhere of *Romana stirps* (xii. 166) and *Romana propago* (vi. 870, xii. 827).

35. *ruere* as a transitive verb may mean either ‘to throw down’ or ‘to throw up’: here, as in *Georg.* ii. 308 (a forest-fire which *ruit atram ad caelum nubem*), the latter sense is clearly indicated. Sometimes, though rarely, as in xi. 211 (on which see note), the context leaves the meaning undefined. Cf. also, for the force of *ruere* as an intransitive verb, note on ii. 250.

48. The MSS. of Quintilian, who quotes the line *Inst. Or.* ix. 2, read *adoret*. If this were correct, we should expect *imponat* in the next line. But *adorat praeterea* is in effect equivalent to *adorabit*; and in any case the variation of tense is quite Virgilian: cf. note on xii. 52.

sceptra tenens mollitque animos et temperat iras.
ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum
quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras.
sed pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris
hoc metuens molemque et montis insuper altos
imposuit, regemque dedit qui foedere certo
et premere et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas.
ad quem tum Iuno supplex his vocibus usa est:
'Aeole, namque tibi divum pater atque hominum rex
et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento,
gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor
Ilium in Italiam portans victosque penatis.
incute vim ventis submersasque obrue puppis,
aut age diversos et disice corpora ponto;
sunt mihi bis septem praestanti corpore nymphae,
quarum quae forma pulcherrima Deiopea

57–72 MR   70 aut disice M^1

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59. For the inversion of order by which *quippe* is placed in the middle of its clause, there is no occasion to seek any reason beyond metrical convenience and the added stress thus laid on the word. So iv. 217 *nos munera templis quippe tuis ferimus*, and xii. 422 *subitoque omnis de corpore fugit quippe dolor*. But it must further be noticed that Virgil never uses *quippe* at all except as the opening word of a line, whether the clause which it introduces begins there or not.

This passage, ll. 58–63, may be criticized as languid; it adds little to what precedes, and retards the flow of the narrative. It suggests a piece of early work which Virgil might on revision have compressed or discarded. See also Introductory note to this Book.

rapidi here, as below l. 117, has an active sense, nearly equivalent to *rapientes*. This use is characteristic of, and almost peculiar to, Virgil. Other instances of it are *tumidus*, 'inflating', iii. 357; *tardus*, 'clogging', vi. 720, ix. 610; *tristis*, 'spreading gloom', vii. 408; *pinguis*, 'fattening', ix. 31.

63. *laxas dare* = *laxare*: a common Virgilianism. So ix. 323 *vasta dabo* = *vastabo*, xii. 437 *defensum dabit* = *defendet*: so too by a slight extension of usage xii. 575, *dant cuneum*, 'form themselves into a wedge' (where there is no single verb that expresses the meaning).

69. *incute vim ventis*, 'strike hard with your winds'. For this use of the Virgilian ablative see App. A.

Most editors have taken *ventis* as a dative, an interpretation already mentioned as an alternative by Servius: 'parva est eorum, etiam tu eis da magnam vim'. But any such stimulus, as is clear from the whole context, especially from ll. 58–9 and 81–3, is just what the winds do not need. The line which Servius cites from Ennius, *Annales*,

conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo,
omnis ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos
exigat et pulchra faciat te prole parentem.' 75
Aeolus haec contra: 'tuus, o regina, quid optes
explorare labor; mihi iussa capessere fas est.
tu mihi quodcumque hoc regni, tu sceptra Iovemque
concilias, tu das epulis accumbere divum
nimborumque facis tempestatumque potentem.' 80
Haec ubi dicta, cavum conversa cuspide montem
impulit in latus: ac venti velut agmine facto,
qua data porta, ruunt et terras turbine perflant;
incubuere mari totumque a sedibus imis
una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis 85
Africus et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus.
insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum.
eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque

73–88 *MR*

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fr. incert. 12, 'dictis Romanis incutit iram' does not tell one way or the other. Usener's conjectural alteration, *vim venti*, while plausible palaeographically, is needless.

73. The Servian note here sets out interestingly the cumulative force given to Juno's promise by the successive words *stabili*, *propriam*, *dicabo*: the marriage is to be (1) permanent, (2) unqualified, (3) formally executed.

77. *labor* almost = 'responsibility': so Juno says iv. 115, *mecum erit iste labor*, 'I will make myself responsible for that'. When she has determined what it is she wishes done, Aeolus will be in his duty (*fas est*) by simply carrying it out, as owing all his authority (*quodcumque hoc regni*) to her, both his regal powers (*sceptra*) and the honour of being associated with the divine hierarchy and with Jupiter himself.

81. *conversa cuspide*, not 'with the butt-end of his spear' but 'turning his spear-head on the mountain side'. *cuspis* in Virgil always means the head of the spear, except in xii. 386, where it is used loosely for the whole spear, head and all.

82. *impulit in latus* is an Ennian phrase; 'percutit in latus', *Annales*, fr. incert. 48.

85. Less than a century after Virgil's death, the criticism was already being made by Seneca, *Q.N.* v. 16, that this collocation of winds is an impossibility or absurdity, and the reproach has been repeated by many editors who contented themselves with citing *Odyssey*, v. 295, until Sir A. Geikie pointed out (*The Love of Nature among the Romans*, c. x) that this is an accurate description of a normal Mediterranean cyclone, in which a furious wind, beginning from the SE., shifts rapidly by S. to SW. *ruunt* here = 'upheave': *creber procellis*, 'thick with squalls', i.e. in a rapid succession of squalls.

Teucrorum ex oculis; ponto nox incubat atra;
intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether,
praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.
extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra;
ingemit et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas
talia voce refert: 'o terque quaterque beati,
quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis
contigit oppetere! o Danaum fortissime gentis
Tydide, mene Iliacis occumbere campis
non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,
saevus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens
Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis
scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit!'
   Talia iactanti stridens Aquilone procella
velum adversa ferit, fluctusque ad sidera tollit.
franguntur remi, tum prora avertit et undis
dat latus, insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons.
hi summo in fluctu pendent; his unda dehiscens

89–106 *MR*   103 fluctum *M*^{1} 104 proram *MR*

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90. *polus*, the axis of the heavens, and hence used in poetry for the upper sky more largely, is a favourite word of Virgil's, but the plural is used by him only here. The enormous exaggeration involved in the plural if pressed to its literal meaning would perhaps be no more of a shock to a Roman reader than Burns's 'The lightnings flash from pole to pole' is to us. Later Latin poets copied this plural usage from Virgil.

91. *viris* means little more than *eis*. Virgil is very sparing in his use of the pronoun *is*; there are thirty cases in the *Aeneid* where he uses an inflexion of *vir* instead of the corresponding inflexion of *is* (*vir*=*is* once; *viri*=*eius* thirteen times; *viro*=*ei* twelve times; *viri* (nom. pl.)=*ei* twice; *viro*=*eo* once; and *viris* =*eis* here) though in some of these cases the use of *vir* adds, or may add, an appreciable emphasis. The inflexions of the pronoun or pronominal adjective which he does not use at all are, in the singular, the genitive, the dative, and the feminine ablative; in the plural, the masculine and feminine nominative, the genitive, the dative, the feminine accusative, and the ablative.

92. The name of Aeneas comes here for the first time, and as it were incidentally, when the narrative is already fully launched. In the *Odyssey*, the name of Odysseus is not given until l. 21; that of Achilles is given in the first line of the *Iliad*.

93. *duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas*= 'with both arms raised and the hands held palm upwards': *duplices*='coupled', not 'doubled'; so *duplices parentes* vii. 140.

[illegible] als er sprach, plus der [illegible]

terram inter fluctus aperit, furit aestus harenis.
tris Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet,
saxa vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras,
dorsum immane mari summo; tris Eurus ab alto
in brevia et syrtis urget, miserabile visu,
inliditque vadis atque aggere cingit harenae;
unam, quae Lycios fidumque vehebat Oronten,
ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
in puppim ferit: excutitur pronusque magister
volvitur in caput; ast illam ter fluctus ibidem
torquet agens circum et rapidus vorat aequore vortex.
apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,
arma virum tabulaeque et Troïa gaza per undas.
iam validam Ilionei navem, iam fortis Achatae,
et qua vectus Abas, et qua grandaevus Aletes,
vicit hiems; laxis laterum compagibus omnes
accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscunt.
  Interea magno misceri murmure pontum

107–124 *MR*   109 mediisque *M*   117 vertex *M*

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99. *iacet*, like the Greek κεῖται, conveys the sense 'fell', and so can have the instrumental ablative *telo* attached to it.

102. For the use of the ablative in *stridens Aquilone procella*, 'a shrieking blast from the North', and also for the ablatives in ll. 105, 107, 117, 209, see App. A.

104. Whether Virgil wrote *prora* or *proram* in this line it is impossible to say. Both readings go back as far as the earliest extant MSS. and commentaries. If we accept *prora*, *avertit* is intransitive: elsewhere in Virgil it is always transitive (some twenty times), except that the participle *avertens* is intransitive in l. 403 below.

108. From what follows in l. 110 it is clear that *latentia* means 'lurking' rather than 'hidden'.

109. Most critics have agreed with Jacob Bryant in condemning this parenthetic line as flat and pedantic; and one must sympathize with Heyne's note, 'totum versum ab impura grammatici manu accessisse censeo'. But this feeling does not justify us in striking it out. See Introductory Note, p. 1.

114. *a vertice*, 'atop', i.e., 'from overhead', or 'straight down', as in v. 444, and perhaps in xi. 577.

118. *nantes* is used substantivally, 'swimmers'.

123. *imber*, a 'drench of rain' to use Keats's phrase, is here used to give a vivid picture of the water gushing in at numberless points through the started seams of the ships' hulls. 'Omnibus compagibus aquam accipere' (Livy, xxxv. 26) is the regular phrase.

emissamque hiemem sensit Neptunus et imis
stagna refusa vadis, graviter commotus; et alto
prospiciens summa placidum caput extulit unda.
disiectam Aeneae toto videt aequore classem,
fluctibus oppressos Troas caelique ruina.
nec latuere doli fratrem Iunonis et irae;
Eurum ad se Zephyrumque vocat, dehinc talia fatur:
'tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri?
iam caelum terramque meo sine numine, venti,
miscere et tantas audetis tollere moles,
quos ego — ? sed motos praestat componere fluctus.
post mihi non simili poena commissa luetis.
maturate fugam regique haec dicite vestro:
non illi imperium pelagi saevumque tridentem,
sed mihi sorte datum. tenet ille immania saxa,
vestras, Eure, domos; illa se iactet in aula
Aeolus et clauso ventorum carcere regnet.'
  Sic ait et dicto citius tumida aequora placat
collectasque fugat nubes solemque reducit.
Cymothoe simul et Triton adnixus acuto
detrudunt navis scopulo; levat ipse tridenti

125–145 *MR*   129 ruinam R^1

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126. *vada*, 'channels', or to use Milton's word, 'sea-paths'. *stagna*, 'standing waters', is used here of the deep water left unstirred by any ordinary weather, but now churned up (*refusa*) by the violence of the tempest. *alto* standing thus by itself is unique in Virgil, and its exact sense is not clear. *prospectum pelago*, 'a view over the sea', in l. 181, is hardly a parallel, and comparison of phrases like *gurgite ab alto* (vi. 310 and vii. 704) or *alto se gurgite tollunt* (xii. 114) suggests that it must be taken closely with the following words to form a picture of Neptune rising from the deep sea and looking along the surface as his head emerges.

127. *placidum caput* following on *graviter commotus* may be best explained by giving *placidus* the active sense of 'pacifying' which it also has in iii. 266 and iv. 578; see note on l. 59 above.

130. For *irae* see note on l. 25 above.

138. In writing *saevumque tridentem* one can hardly doubt that Virgil had in his mind the 'saevasque secures' of Lucretius v. 1234, these being at once the symbol of possession of the unqualified *imperium* including the power of life and

et vastas aperit syrtis et temperat aequor
atque rotis summas levibus perlabitur undas.
ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
seditio saevitque animis ignobile vulgus,
iamque faces et saxa volant; furor arma ministrat;
tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus adstant;
ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet:
sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, aequora postquam
prospiciens genitor caeloque invectus aperto
flectit equos curruque volans dat lora secundo.
Defessi Aeneadae quae proxima litora cursu
contendunt petere, et Libyae vertuntur ad oras.
est in secessu longo locus: insula portum
efficit obiectu laterum, quibus omnis ab alto
frangitur inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.
hinc atque hinc vastae rupes, geminique minantur
in caelum scopuli quorum sub vertice late
aequora tuta silent; tum silvis scaena coruscis
desuper horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra;
fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum,

146–166 *MR*

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death, and the actual instruments in its capital exercise.

140. *vestras, Eure, domos*, 'the homes, Eurus, of you and your brethren'. So ix. 525 *vos, o Calliope*, 'you, Calliope, and your sisters', and x. 188 *crimen, Amor, vestrum*, 'your and your mother's attaint, o Love'. In the normal order in which the four cardinal winds were named, Eurus stood first, and so had a sort of undefined primacy.

145. *levat et aperit syrtis*, 'scoops practicable channels in the shoals'.

149. The plural *animi* is habitually used by Virgil (like the English 'spirits'), not only as here of a collective subject, but of an individual: good instances of the latter are i. 722, iii. 342, iv. 414, x. 250, xi. 366.

156. *secundo*, literally 'following' and so in effect 'lightly-running'.

157. *cursu* is probably dative and attached to *proxima*, 'for their course'. See iii. 362 and note there.

162. *minantur in caelum*, 'rise frowningly into the sky'.

164–5. The best commentary on these two lines is the passage in *Paradise Lost* (iv. 137 foll.) suggested by them:

—Over head up grew
Insuperable highth of loftiest shade . . .

intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo,
nympharum domus. hic fessas non vincula navis
ulla tenent, unco non alligat ancora morsu.
huc septem Aeneas collectis navibus omni
ex numero subit; ac magno telluris amore
egressi, optata potiuntur Troes harena
et sale tabentis artus in litore ponunt.
ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates
succepitque ignem foliis atque arida circum
nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam.
tum Cererem corruptam undis Cerealiaque arma
expediunt fessi rerum, frugesque receptas
et torrere parant flammis et frangere saxo.
  Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit, et omnem
prospectum late pelago petit, Anthea si quem
iactatum vento videat Phrygiasque biremis

167–182 *MR*

> A Silvan Scene, and as the ranks ascend
> Shade above shade, a woodie Theatre
> Of stateliest view.

scaena is the back wall or back-cloth of a stage; it came to be used loosely for the stage itself, as it is in iv. 471. The columns being hewn at Carthage, l. 429, *scaenis decora alta futuris*, are probably thought of as engaged columns in the *scaena* proper.

It is interesting to observe that these three passages are the only allusions, direct or indirect, to the stage or to dramatic performances in the *Aeneid*. The *circus theatri*, *caveae consessus*, *cunei theatri* of v. 288, 340, 664, refer merely to the shape of the place in which the games are held.

175 No distinction of meaning can be drawn between *succipere* and *suscipere*, here or elsewhere (iv. 391, vi. 249, xi. 806) According to Servius, *succipere* was an archaism: '*succipiunt* antique, nam modo *suscipiunt* dicimus.

176. The description of the lighting of the fire is elaborate, without being very clear for an age in which this method of kindling a fire has long been obsolete. A spark is struck from a flint inside a little circular heap of dry leaves and twigs (the *arida nutrimenta*), and any spurt of flame thus raised is caught hastily (*rapuit*) while still alight on a piece of touchwood (*fomes*), 'the soft substance into which wood is converted by the action of certain fungi, and which has the property of burning for many hours when once ignited' (N.E.D.). The *Cerealia arma* of the next line is merely a 'kenning' or literary synonym for the quern. The soaked grain is first dried over the fire and then pounded in the quern.

178. *fessi rerum* sc. *rerum a fortuna*

aut Capyn aut celsis in puppibus arma Caici.
navem in conspectu nullam, tris litore cervos
prospicit errantis; hos tota armenta sequuntur
a tergo et longum per vallis pascitur agmen.
constitit hic arcumque manu celerisque sagittas
corripuit, fidus quae tela gerebat Achates,
ductoresque ipsos primum capita alta ferentis
cornibus arboreis sternit, tum vulgus et omnem
miscet agens telis nemora inter frondea turbam;
nec prius absistit quam septem ingentia victor
corpora fundat humo et numerum cum navibus aequet.
hinc portum petit et socios partitur in omnis.
vina bonus quae deinde cadis onerarat Acestes
litore Trinacrio dederatque abeuntibus heros
dividit, et dictis maerentia pectora mulcet:

183–184 *MR*　　185–197 *FMR*

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venientium, as Servius explains it; 'tired of their plight'.

181. *Anthea si quem videat*, 'if he may see any Antheus', where in English we prefer to say 'see anything of Antheus'.

183. *arma* is probably to be taken in its ordinary sense, the armour of the captain glittering as he stood on the raised quarter-deck. But it may, as La Cerda suggested, mean his heraldic arms on a flag flown at the stern.

194. *partitur*='makes division': the verb therefore does not require any direct object.

195–6. The intricate arrangement, or disarrangement, of the words in these two lines is a device of style, often deliberately employed by Virgil, though sometimes more or less forced on him by metrical exigencies. This instance of it, as typical, deserves careful study.

1. The first difficulty which meets the reader is in determining whether *heros* means Acestes or Aeneas. One or the other is necessarily determined to the ear in reading the passage aloud, but to the eye can only be indicated by punctuation. The early commentators give no help. The reading *hospes*, in one MS. (the Mediceus Pierii) of some value, is no doubt an attempt to get rid of the difficulty. Modern editors (comparing xii. 901–2, where *ille* . . . *heros* are the first and last words of the couplet) take the former view, which is so far supported by the fact that in the other eighteen instances where *heros* occurs in the *Aeneid* (in all of these except one, vi. 103 *incipit Aeneas heros*, as the last word in the line), it is in close connexion with the preceding words. In these eighteen passages, the word is applied to Aeneas ten times, to Entellus and Turnus twice, and once to Helenus, Misenus, Anchises,

'O socii, neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum,
o passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem.
vos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis
accestis scopulos, vos et Cyclopia saxa
experti: revocate animos maestumque timorem
mittite; forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.
per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas
ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.
durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.'
Talia voce refert curisque ingentibus aeger
spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.
illi se praedae accingunt dapibusque futuris:
tergora diripiunt costis et viscera nudant;

198–211 *FMR* 209 vultus F^1

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and Evander. In iv. 447 and v. 289 Aeneas is spoken of as *heros* simply, without any further name or epithet attached; and to point here after *abeuntibus* and go on with *heros dividit* gives a rather richer and more satisfying rhythm.

2. The separation of the epithet and noun, *bonus . . . Acestes*, by four interposed words is a common feature in the mechanism of Latin poetry; more peculiarly Virgilian is the subtle variation of parallelism between *onerarat cadis* (abl.) as in *onerant canistris dona Cereris* viii. 180, and *dederat abeuntibus* (dat.).

3. The postponement of *deinde* (which Virgil dislikes placing as the opening word of its clause) to the fourth place, is paralleled by *non me impia namque* v. 733, *adflata est numine quando* vi. 50, *genitor mihi talia namque* vii. 122, and *non hoc mihi namque* x. 614, and even exceeded by *impius ex quo Tydides sed enim* ii. 163, *stans celsa in puppi clipeum cum deinde sinistra extulit* x. 261, *esset par aetas et idem si robur ab annis* xi. 174. By a similar licence Virgil writes *in medioque* and *per regesque* xii. 118, 530, and *superet coniunxne* ii. 597. The prose or logical order of the words here, on the assumption that we point after *abeuntibus*, would be *deinde vina, quae bonus Acestes litore Trinacrio cadis onerarat abeuntibusque dederat, heros dividit*.

198. *ante* is closely attached to *malorum*; it is another instance of the quasi-adjectival use of an adverb noted on l. 13 above, and is equivalent to *priorum malorum*. In Greek one can say either *τῶν προτέρων κακῶν* or *τῶν πρὶν κακῶν*.

200. *penitus* is attached to *sonantes*, 'sounding from their recesses', like *penitusque cavernas complent* ii. 19 *or penitusque cavae plangoribus aedes ululant* ii. 486. The alternative mentioned in Servius of taking *penitus* with *accestis*, 'valde accessistis, id est iuxta', may be dismissed, though it could be supported to some extent by *penitusque*

pars in frusta secant veribusque trementia figunt,
litore aëna locant alii flammasque ministrant;
tum victu revocant viris, fusique per herbam
implentur veteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae.
postquam exempta fames epulis mensaeque remotae,
amissos longo socios sermone requirunt,
spemque metumque inter dubii, seu vivere credant
sive extrema pati nec iam exaudire vocatos.
praecipue pius Aeneas nunc acris Oronti,
nunc Amyci casum gemit et crudelia secum
fata Lyci fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum.
  Et iam finis erat, cum Iuppiter aethere summo
dispiciens mare velivolum terrasque iacentis
litoraque et latos populos, sic vertice caeli

212–225 *FMR*   224 despiciens *FMR*

---

alias avexerat oras l. 512 or *penitus repostas gentes* vi. 59.

203. *forsan* (or the fuller form *forsitan*) as introducing a dubitative clause or 'indirect question' is usually followed by a subjunctive in classical prose; but the earlier use of the indicative in such cases is not uncommon in both prose and poetry of all periods.

204–6. These three lines look like a marginal insertion not fully incorporated into the context. The mention of Latium by Aeneas now, as by Ilioneus a little later (l. 554) is strictly speaking premature. The prophecy of Helenus in Book III does not mention it, and only gives vague indications of the part of Italy where the goal of the voyage was to be reached; and since then, so far as Virgil indicates, Aeneas had received no further guidance. For poetical purposes the inconsistency, if there be one, is negligible.

210. See note on l. 18 above.

211. The *viscera*, 'lumps of flesh', are the *tergora*, i.e. the flesh of the saddle stripped off from the ribs on each side of the backbone; this is cut into small pieces, *frusta*, which are at once stuck on spits and roasted.

216. The artificial word-order in this line allows of *epulis* attaching itself both backwards and forwards, to *exempta fames* as an instrumental and to *mensae remotae* as an adjectival ablative. See Appendix A, p. 513.

224. All the good MSS. here read *despiciens*; but on such a point (see Lachmann and Munro on Lucr. iv. 418) MS. authority is inconclusive; and *despicere*, a verb seldom used by Virgil, elsewhere regularly means 'look down upon' in the sense of 'despise'. For the literal sense he uses *despectare*, as below, l. 396. The beautiful compound *velivolum* Virgil took from Ennius and other early Latin poets.

225. The *vertex caeli* (*vertex*=Greek πόλος) is of course not, as etymologically it should be, and as it is in *Georg*. i.

constitit et Libyae defixit lumina regnis.
atque illum talis iactantem pectore curas
tristior et lacrimis oculos suffusa nitentis
adloquitur Venus: 'o qui res hominumque deumque
aeternis regis imperiis et fulmine terres,
quid meus Aeneas in te committere tantum,
quid Troes potuere, quibus tot funera passis
cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis?
certe hinc Romanos olim volventibus annis,
hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucri,
qui mare, qui terras omnis dicione tenerent,
pollicitus. quae te, genitor, sententia vertit?
hoc equidem occasum Troiae tristisque ruinas
solabar fatis contraria fata rependens;
nunc eadem fortuna viros tot casibus actos
insequitur. quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?
Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achivis
Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus
regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timavi,
unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis
it mare proruptum et pelago premit arva sonanti:

226–234 *FMR*   235–246 *FMRV*   236 omni *MR*, omnes F^2V 246 praeruptum F^1V^2

242, the astronomical pole, but the zenith point of the visible sky-hemisphere.

230. The plural *imperia*=acts or exercises of command, as in vii. 487, viii. 381, ix. 716, and in the *exerce imperia* of *Georg*. ii. 370.

234. *certe* goes closely with *pollicitus* in l. 236, the two words enclosing the sentence; 'thou didst promise assuredly': so xii. 881, *possem tantos finire dolores nunc certe*, 'to end these griefs now conclusively'.

237. *quae te sententia vertit*, 'what resolution changes you?', a characteristic Virgilian variation on the normal 'what changes your resolution?'

242–9 are pretty clearly a passage taken bodily from some earlier draft and tentatively inserted here. The details, particularly ll. 245–6, appropriate as they would be in a narrative, are not relevant to Venus's speech, and overload it. It may safely be assumed that Virgil would have modified the passage, like a number of similar ones in Book III, on final revision.

247. With *urbem Patavi* instead of the normal *urbem Patavium* cf. *urbe Mycenae* vi. 52. *Patavium* would be inadmissible in hexameter verse.

hic tamen ille urbem Patavi sedesque locavit [illegible]
Teucrorum et genti nomen dedit armaque fixit
Troïa, nunc placida compostus pace quiescit:
nos, tua progenies, caeli quibus adnuis arcem,
navibus infandum amissis unius ob iram
prodimur atque Italis longe disiungimur oris.
hic pietatis honos? sic nos in sceptra reponis?'
  Olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum
vultu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat,
oscula libavit natae, dehinc talia fatur:
  'Parce metu, Cytherea, manent immota tuorum
fata tibi; cernes urbem et promissa Lavini
moenia sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli
magnanimum Aenean; neque me sententia vertit.
hic tibi, fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet,
longius et volvens fatorum arcana movebo,
bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis
contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet,
tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas,
ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.
at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo

247–260 *FMRV*   261–267 *FMR*

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251. *infandum* is practically an adverb, qualifying the whole clause but attached to *amissis*, 'woefully lost': so vi. 21 *iussi miserum pendere poenas*, 'bidden to pay penalty wretchedly'.

256. *oscula libavit natae*, 'took a light kiss from his daughter's lips': so xii. 434 *per galeam delibans oscula*. *osculum*, a pet-diminutive of *os*, fluctuates between the sense of 'mouth' as we speak of 'making a mouth', and 'kiss'. For metrical reasons Virgil only uses it in the plural. In l. 687 *oscula figet*='shall press kisses'; in ii. 490 *oscula figunt* may be alternatively rendered 'plant kisses' or 'press their lips' on the door-posts.

257. *parce metu* (dative), 'refrain from fear': so *parce bello*, 'refrain from war', ix. 656.

262. The metaphor in *volvens* is probably 'unrolling the secret volume of fate'. *longius* qualifies both the clauses between which it is inserted, i.e. both *fabor* and *movebo*.

263. *ferox* (as always in Virgil) means 'proud', not 'fierce'.

264. For *viris* see note on l. 91 above.

266. *terna hiberna* means more than *tres hiemes*; it implies that for these three

additur, Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno,
triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis
imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini
transferet, et Longam multa vi muniet Albam.
hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos
gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos
Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.
inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet
moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet;
his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono:
imperium sine fine dedi. quin aspera Iuno,
quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.
sic placitum. veniet lustris labentibus aetas
cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenas
servitio premet ac victis dominabitur Argis.
nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,
imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,

268 *FMR* 269–276 *MR* 277–287 *MPR*

---

years the conquered Rutulian country will still be, as we would say, in military occupation.

269. *volvendis mensibus orbis* is a single phrase, 'circuits of the rolling months'. The gerundive is here as elsewhere used by Virgil, following Ennius, as the nearest Latin equivalent to a present ? participle passive, κύκλους περιτελλομένων μηνῶν. So *volvenda dies* ix. 7. There is no difference of meaning between *volvendis* here and *volventibus* in l. 234; they are respectively the aoristic participles of the transitive and intransitive verb.

271. *multa vi*, 'strongly', is an archaism, very probably taken by Virgil from Ennius. This use of *multus* is distinct from its distributive use in l. 334 below, *multa hostia*, 'many a victim'. The singular *multus* is not very frequent in classical prose, though Cicero says for instance 'multo labore', but frequent in Virgil, e.g. *multam paludem* vi. 414.

274. *partu dabit=pariet*: see note on l. 63.

279. *imperium sine fine* is a single phrase, 'limitless empire'. It would suggest to a Latin reader the *infinitum imperium* which under the Republic could at a special crisis be conferred by decree of the people on a single person, and which gave the precedent for the powers exer-

Assaracus Ilus Trojan
Capys Themis d = Capys
Anchises

Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.
hunc tu olim caelo spoliis Orientis onustum
accipies secura; vocabitur hic quoque votis.
aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis;
cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus
saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aënis
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.'
  Haec ait et Maia genitum demittit ab alto,
ut terrae utque novae pateant Karthaginis arces
hospitio Teucris, ne fati nescia Dido
finibus arceret. volat ille per aëra magnum
remigio alarum ac Libyae citus astitit oris,
et iam iussa facit, ponuntque ferocia Poeni
corda volente deo; in primis regina quietum
accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam.
  At pius Aeneas per noctem plurima volvens,
ut primum lux alma data est, exire locosque
explorare novos, quas vento accesserit oras,

288–307 *MPR*   297 dimittit *P*   298 terra P^1

---

cised for life throughout the empire by the Princeps: see Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, ii. 855. This line accordingly leads up to l. 287.

289. The *spolia Orientis* are primarily the accumulated treasure of Egypt, which was still immense in spite of the extravagance of its later sovereigns. Ptolemy II had at his death left £200,000,000 in his treasury; what Augustus confiscated on his annexation of Egypt enabled him not only to pay off his disbanded legions, but to give 'security' to the State finance of Rome.

292. *Remo cum fratre Quirinus*, sc. 'the hostile brothers reconciled'.

294. The Peace of the Empire had been signalized by the formal closing of the gates of the Temple of Janus in the autumn of 29 B.C., on the return of Octavianus Caesar to Rome after the campaign of Actium, the annexation of Egypt, and the pacification of the East.

298. See note on l. 12 above.

299. *fati nescia* has a double significance: in ignorance of the decrees of destiny, and in ignorance of her own tragic doom.

301. *citus astitit* taken by itself would be a forced phrase; but *citus* in fact resumes the *ille* of the previous line and qualifies the whole sentence, as in xi. 462 *corripuit sese et tectis citus extulit altis*.

qui teneant, nam inculta videt, hominesne feraene,
quaerere constituit sociisque exacta referre.
classem in convexo nemorum sub rupe cavata 310
arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris
occulit; ipse uno graditur comitatus Achate
bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro.
cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva
virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma 315
Spartanae, vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat
Harpalyce volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.
namque umeris de more habilem suspenderat arcum
venatrix dederatque comam diffundere ventis,
nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentis. 320
ac prior 'heus,' inquit, 'iuvenes, monstrate, mearum
vidistis si quam hic errantem forte sororum
succinctam pharetra et maculosae tegmine lyncis,
aut spumantis apri cursum clamore prementem.'
Sic Venus; et Veneris contra sic filius orsus: 325
'nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum,
o quam te memorem virgo; namque haud tibi vultus

308–327 *MPR* 323 faretram *R*²

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309. *exacta*, literally '(these particulars) when weighed', 'the net result' of his inquiries.

310. *in convexo nemorum*, 'in an overhang of woods': the picture is the same as that of the famous line in Milton, *P. L.* i. 303, 'where th' Etrurian shades High overarch't imbowr'.

311. *arboribus atque horrentibus umbris*, 'with trees and their quivering shadows', the usual Virgilian way of expressing 'with the quivering shadows of trees'.

317. The note on *volucrem Hebrum* in D Servius is 'Multum quidem laudis flumini epitheto addidit: sed falsum est, nam est quietissimus etiam cum per hiemem crescit'. But the text is uniform in all the MSS. and was not questioned by any of the ancient commentators or grammarians. Bentley's alteration (following the suggestion of Rutgers, the brother-in-law of D. Heinsius) of *Hebrum* into *Eurum* was accepted by Heyne and is printed in many subsequent editions.

319. *dederat diffundere*, 'had let stream', is a further extension of the use of *dare* noted on l. 63 above. *dederat diffusam* would be the normal Virgilian expression. Both are practically equivalent to *diffuderat*; for the infinitive see note on l. 527.

320. The 'flowing folds' of the long tunic reaching to the ankles (see l. 404) are gathered up and knotted, high

mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat; o dea certe,
an Phoebi soror, an Nympharum sanguinis una!
sis felix nostrumque leves, quaecumque, laborem,
et quo sub caelo tandem, quibus orbis in oris
iactemur doceas; ignari hominumque locorumque
erramus vento huc vastis et fluctibus acti:
multa tibi ante aras nostra cadet hostia dextra.'
  Tum Venus: 'haud equidem tali me dignor honore;
virginibus Tyriis mos est gestare pharetram
purpureoque alte suras vincire coturno.
Punica regna vides, Tyrios et Agenoris urbem;
sed fines Libyci, genus intractabile bello.
imperium Dido Tyria regit urbe profecta,
germanum fugiens. longa est iniuria, longae
ambages; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.
huic coniunx Sychaeus erat, ditissimus agri
Phoenicum, et magno miserae dilectus amore,
cui pater intactam dederat primisque iugarat
ominibus. sed regna Tyri germanus habebat
Pygmalion, scelere ante alios immanior omnis.

328–347 *MPR*   333 et vastis M^1R

---

enough to leave the knees bare above the long hunting-boot, *coturnus*, of l. 337.

324. *clamore*, 'clamorously': for the Virgilian ablative see App. A.

327. *quam te memorem* is in effect a compound epithet of *virgo*: in English this turn of expression is only used in familiar or comic poetry like 'good Mr. What-d'ye-call' in Cowper's *jeu d'esprit* of *The Yearly Distress*. The *quaecumque* of l. 330 is much on the same footing; with it may be compared the famous *exoriare aliquis ultor* of iv. 625. In both passages Virgil puts what was perhaps in Latin also a colloquialism to strikingly noble use.

340. *imperium regit* is a unique phrase: it is generally explained (or left unexplained) by saying that *imperium* is a prolative or 'cognate' accusative. But here as often elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, *imperium* has a sense equivalent to, or undistinguishable from, our 'empire', as in the Livian 'crescentibus provinciis et latius patescente imperio' xxxii. 27, and the meaning is simply 'rules an empire'. See also note on vii. 654.

343. For the anomaly of *Sȳchaeus* here and *Sy̆chaeus* in l. 348 see note on l. 2 above.

344. La Cerda's note on this line is worth quoting: 'Est hic nodus. An misera, id est, infortunata? an quae misere et perdite amabat Sichaeum? Quod malis.'

346. The 'plural of amplification' *regna*,

quos inter medius venit furor. ille Sychaeum
impius ante aras atque auri caecus amore
clam ferro incautum superat, securus amorum
germanae; factumque diu celavit et aegram
multa malus simulans vana spe lusit amantem.
ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago
coniugis; ora modis attollens pallida miris,
crudelis aras traiectaque pectora ferro
nudavit, caecumque domus scelus omne retexit.
tum celerare fugam patriaque excedere suadet
auxiliumque viae veteres tellure recludit
thesauros, ignotum argenti pondus et auri.
his commota fugam Dido sociosque parabat.
conveniunt quibus aut odium crudele tyranni

348–361 *MPR*   348 medios *M*

---

like the plural *imperiis* in vii. 654, according to Sabbadini's convincing explanation of that line, does not mean anything different from *regnum*. In English we can speak almost indifferently of a king's realm or his realms.

347. *immanior ante alios omnes* varies and heightens the more strictly grammatical *immanior aliis omnibus*: 'auctionem auctioni addit' is the apt comment of Priscian 599.

350. *securus amorum germanae*, 'without a thought for his own sister's whole affections'. *amorum* is stronger than *amoris* (cf. Dido's *meos amores* and *tantos amores* iv. 28, 292, and 'Take all my loves, my love, yea take them all' in Shakespeare, Sonnet 40) and *germanae* stronger than *sororis*. Where the phrase *securus amorum* is repeated, x. 326, the plural has its normal meaning of 'loves' in the sense of 'love of more than one person', as in *Macbeth* III. i, 'certain friends whose loves I may not drop'.

354. *modis miris*, 'in wondrous wise', is taken by Virgil, who saw its beauty, from Lucretius: he had already used it, with even greater effect, in the *Georgics* (i. 477) *simulacra modis pallentia miris*.

361. In *odium crudele*, *metus acer*, the stress is on the adjectives: 'those whose hatred was pitiless, or their terror acute'. *tyrannus*, here as always in Virgil, does not mean 'tyrant' but 'prince' or 'monarch'. The word was taken over, in Greek (perhaps by Archilochus first) from Anatolia, in Latin from Etruria. In its ordinary usage, it implies a power not confined by constitutional limits: so in the curious passage of Livy (xxxiv. 31), 'nomen tyranni et facta me premunt, quod servos ad libertatem voco, quod in agros inopem plebem deduco.' In the *Aeneid* it is used of Aeneas by Latinus (vii. 266) and by

aut metus acer erat; navis, quae forte paratae,
corripiunt onerantque auro. portantur avari
Pygmalionis opes pelago; dux femina facti.
devenere locos ubi nunc ingentia cernes 365
moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem,
mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam,
taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo.
sed vos qui tandem, quibus aut venistis ab oris,
quove tenetis iter?' quaerenti talibus ille 370
suspirans imoque trahens a pectore vocem:
'O dea, si prima repetens ab origine pergam
et vacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum,
ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo.
nos Troia antiqua, si vestras forte per auris 375

362–375 *MPR* 365 cernis *M* 369 audvenistis *M*¹, advenistis *R*
374 componat *P*¹*R*

Turnus (xii. 75), of Latinus and Turnus themselves (vii. 342 and x. 448), and of the Etruscan Mezentius (viii. 483): also of the North African sheikhs, *Nomadum tyranni*, iv. 320: nowhere with any depreciatory sense. For the Etruscan *turan* and its adoption into Latin, reference may be made to Fell's *Etruria and Rome*, 1924.

362. *forte*, a favourite word of Virgil's—it occurs between thirty and forty times in the *Aeneid*—has shades of meaning which require careful discrimination. Sometimes, and regularly in the phrase *si forte*, it conveys its strict etymological sense of 'perchance'. But oftener it has the force of 'as it happened' or 'so it was that': this is so especially when it is used as a connective conjunction introducing a new sentence or a new paragraph (iii. 22, viii. 102, x. 653, xi. 768, xii. 766) corresponding to the 'Now it was so that' familiar to all readers of the English Bible. *Cum forte* (iii. 301, vi. 190, vii. 494) is, as Phillimore acutely points out, almost exactly equivalent to 'just when'; and similarly, *ut forte* (vii. 509, xii. 270) and *tum forte* (vi. 171, ix. 3, 638) to 'just where' and 'just then'. For the special cases of *forte sua* i. 377 and *sic forte precatur* vi. 186 see the notes on these lines.

362–8. The abrupt annalistic manner of the first three lines here, and the detail, rather irrelevant for the purpose of Venus's explanation, of the last two, suggest strongly that the passage is incorporated from an early draft in which the foundation of Carthage was narrated not in a speech but directly, and which in its present place may have been still subject to further revision. Ribbeck actually bracketed ll. 367–8 as an unfinished stop-gap. There is perhaps a trace of this earlier annalistic treatment in the *annalis* of l. 373. For *novae Karthaginis* see note on l. 12 above.

Troiae nomen iit, diversa per aequora vectos
forte sua Libycis tempestas appulit oris.
sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste penatis
classe veho mecum; fama super aethera notus
Italiam quaero patriam; et genus ab Iove summo.
bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor,
matre dea monstrante viam data fata secutus;
vix septem convulsae undis Euroque supersunt.
ipse ignotus, egens, Libyae deserta peragro,
Europa atque Asia pulsus.' nec plura querentem
passa Venus medio sic interfata dolore est:
'Quisquis es, haud, credo, invisus caelestibus auras
vitalis carpis, Tyriam qui adveneris urbem;
perge modo atque hinc te reginae ad limina perfer.
namque tibi reduces socios classemque relatam
nuntio et in tutum versis Aquilonibus actam,
ni frustra augurium vani docuere parentes.
aspice bis senos laetantis agmine cycnos,
aetheria quos lapsa plăga Iovis ales aperto
turbabat caelo; nunc terras ordine longo

376–380 *MPR*   381–395 *GMPR*

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377. *fors* as a noun is used only in the nominative case by Virgil except here (the *si qua forte* of *Ecl.* vi. 57 is different and quite normal). It is a bold but successful neologism, on the analogy of *sponte sua*. Tennyson's 'at his own wild will' has precisely the same meaning.

380. *et genus ab Iove summo* (*est*, as often, being omitted) is a new clause. The punctuation in the text makes meaning and syntax quite clear: otherwise *genus* might easily be taken as accusative and a further direct object to *quaero*. It was this mistake which has led some editors to propose alteration of the text, either by omitting *et* or by altering it into *est*. It is possible, however, that in Virgil's autograph there was a broken line, and that *et genus ab Iove summo* was inserted from vi. 123 in order to fill up the gap; it certainly interrupts the continuity of the speech.

384. *ignotus* is in emphatic rhetorical contrast to the *notus* of l. 379: unknown in these barbarous deserts, though known as high as heaven.

389. This line is logically a parenthesis: it may be suspected that it and l. 401 are two provisional variants of a concluding line to Venus's speech, ll. 390–400 having been inserted later.

397. The picture in this line is expanded and made more vivid by l. 398; the

– aut capere aut captas iam despectare videntur:
ut reduces illi ludunt stridentibus alis
et coetu cinxere polum cantusque dedere,
haud aliter puppesque tuae pubesque tuorum
– aut portum tenet aut pleno subit ostia velo.
perge modo et, qua te ducit via, derige gressum.
Dixit et avertens rosea cervice refulsit,
ambrosiaeque comae divinum vertice odorem
spiravere; pedes vestis defluxit ad imos;
et vera incessu patuit dea. ille ubi matrem
agnovit tali fugientem est voce secutus:
'quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis
ludis imaginibus? cur dextrae iungere dextram
non datur ac veras audire et reddere voces?'
Talibus incusat gressumque ad moenia tendit.
at Venus obscuro gradientis aëre saepsit,
et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu,
cernere ne quis eos neu quis contingere posset
molirive moram aut veniendi poscere causas.
ipsa Paphum sublimis abit sedesque revisit 693 62

396–415 *GMPR* 396 respectare *P* 401 dirige *MR*^{2} 412 et multum *G*
413 eos ne quis *P*^{1}, possit *GR*

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swans 'circle overhead' (this is all that *cinxere polum* means) trumpeting as they do so. The correspondence between ll. 396 and 400 is exact.

400. *portum tenet*, 'holds (its course) for harbour', 'makes for harbour': so ii. 209 *arva tenebant*, 'were making for the fields', v. 159 *metam tenebant*, v. 171 *tenet aequora*, viii. 203 *vallem amnemque tenebant*, and viii. 657 *per dumos aderant arcemque tenebant*. This simple and convincing explanation was made by Warde Fowler. The line had given much trouble to earlier commentators, who taking *portum tenet* to mean 'is lodged in harbour' found no correspondence between the alternatives of this line and those of l. 396.

403. This line is of course suggested by *Il.* i. 529 ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, and *vertice* represents ἀπὸ κρατός. But *ambrosiae* is the genitive of the noun and goes with *odorem* as in *Georg.* iv. 415, and *ambrosiae sucos* xii. 419. Virgil never uses the adjective *ambrosius*; and he was not translating the Homeric line; had he been doing so, he would have written *divino vertice*.

413. This is the only instance in the *Aeneid* where Virgil uses *eos*; it is also once used in the *Georgics*, iii. 252. See note on l. 91 above.

laeta suas, ubi templum illi, centumque Sabaeo
ture calent arae sertisque recentibus halant.
corripuere viam interea, qua semita monstrat.
Iamque ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi
imminet adversasque aspectat desuper arces.
miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,
miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum.
instant ardentes Tyrii: pars ducere muros
molirique arcem et manibus subvolvere saxa,
pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco;
iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum.
hic portus alii effodiunt; hic alta theatris
fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas
rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora alta futuris.
qualis apes aestate nova per florea rura
exercet sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos
educunt fetus, aut cum liquentia mella

416–418 *GMPR* 419–432 *FMPR* 420 aspectant *F* 425 aptare *R*
427 lata *F*, theatri *MP*^{2} 428 petunt *F*^{1}

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419. *plurimus*, 'in all its mass': so vi. 659 *plurimus amnis*, 'in full volume'.

425. *concludere* (only used here in Virgil), 'to enclose all round'.

426. This line is in all the MSS. and was recognized by Servius, nor is there any record of its having been rejected or queried by any of the ancient commentators. Itself it is quite Virgilian, and the compressed *iura magistratusque legunt* for the full *iura dant magistratusque legunt*, like the *nec ferrea iura insanumque forum vidit* of *Georg*. ii. 499, is particularly so. But it is inappropriate here, and since its authenticity was questioned by Heyne, most editors have agreed that, if it is not a very early insertion by some other hand, it must be a marginal line set down by Virgil here and incorporated into the published text by his editors. For a full and able discussion of the problem see Heinze, *Virgil's Epische Technik*, p. 402.

427. The reading of the text, *alta theatris* is that of two (P and R) of the four primary MSS.; F reads *lata theatris* and M *alta theatri*; there are similar differences in the text of quotations of the line by the grammarians. It is impossible to be certain; and quite possible that Virgil's own autograph left his final choice uncertain. It should be added, however, that the *alta futuris* of l. 429 is no valid objection to *alta theatris* here, as such repetitions of a word at short intervals are very frequent in Virgil and sometimes even when the word is used in different senses ('deep' and 'high' here), e. g. *casus* in ll. 614–15, 623 (on which see note); hence Bentley's proposal to substitute *apta* for *alta* in l. 429 is quite needless.

stipant et dulci distendunt nectare cellas,
aut onera accipiunt venientum, aut agmine facto
ignavum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent; 435
fervet opus redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.
'o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!'
Aeneas ait et fastigia suspicit urbis.
infert se saeptus nebula, mirabile dictu,
per medios miscetque viris, neque cernitur ulli. 440
  Lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbra,
quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni
effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno
monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore bello
egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem. 445
hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido
condebat, donis opulentum et numine divae,
aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina nexaeque
aere trabes, foribus cardo stridebat aënis.

433–449 *FMPR*   433 dulcis P^1 441 umbrae F^1

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438. *ait et suspicit*, 'says while he looks': so *ait atque animum pascit* in l. 464, and *dabat et servabat* iv. 485; also *tenet, iacit, ferit atque ita fatur* v. 382, x. 480, xii. 295.

439. The parenthetic *mirabile dictu* at the end of a line, here and in iv. 182, vii. 64, and viii. 252, must be regarded in some if not in all cases as one of Virgil's *tibicines* or stop-gaps, to be reconsidered or replaced in final revision: the same applies to the line-endings *miserabile visu* i. 111, *mirabile dictu* ii. 174, *visu memorabile monstrum* x. 637, and *mirabile visu* xii. 252; also to the parenthetic *horrendum dictu* at the beginning of a line, viii. 565, and *visu miserabile* in the middle of a line, ix. 465.

440. The *se* of the previous line is carried forward and attached to *miscet*: cf. iv. 389 *seque ex oculis avertit et aufert.* Conversely, the *se* attached to the latter of two verbs has to be read back to the former in v. 279 *nexantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem*, and x. 796 *proripuit iuvenis seseque immiscuit armis.*

444. The legend, which in Virgil's telescoped version leaves *facilem victu* unaccounted for, is given more fully in Justin's epitome of Trogus, xviii. 5 'in primis fundamentis caput bubulum inventum est, quod auspicium fructuosae quidem sed laboriosae perpetuoque servae urbis fuit; propter quod in alium locum urbs translata, ibique equi caput repertum, bellicosum potentemque populum futurum significans, urbi auspicatam sedem dedit'.

448. *nexae aere trabes*, 'the tie-beams were of bronze'.

hoc primum in luco nova res oblata timorem
leniit, hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem
ausus et adflictis melius confidere rebus.
namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo
reginam opperiens, dum quae fortuna sit urbi
artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem
miratur, videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas
bellaque iam fama totum vulgata per orbem,
Atridas Priamumque et saevum ambobus Achillem.
constitit et lacrimans 'quis iam locus,' inquit, 'Achate,
quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?
en Priamus. sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi;
sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.
solve metus; feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem.'
  Sic ait atque animum pictura pascit inani
multa gemens, largoque umectat flumine vultum.
namque videbat uti bellantes Pergama circum
hac fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuventus,
hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.
nec procul hinc Rhesi niveis tentoria velis
agnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodita somno
Tydides multa vastabat caede cruentus,

450–471 *FMPR*   469 ec procul F^1, et procul P^1, hau procul P^2

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455. The text of this line is established by the agreement of all the MSS. and is not known to have been questioned by any ancient commentator. 'Hoc est, habebat artificum comparationem' is the brief comment of Servius; to which D adds, in further explanation, '*inter se* autem inter se certantium, an aliquid tale.' While therefore *inter* and *intra* are no doubt confused in good MSS. of Virgil (xi. 267, 882) there is no occasion here for Madvig's substitution of *intra se*. It is certainly unusual Latin, but may be paralleled by the *tectorum inter se Priami* of ii. 454, and the *inter se luxu* of iv. 193. The curious verbal echo in xii. 210–12, where *artificis manus* is almost immediately followed by *inter se*, is rather interesting than important. 'Hand' in the sense of handiwork is an English as well as a Latin usage, as for instance in *Paradise Lost*, ix. 438, 'Arborets and Flours Imborderd on each Bank, the hand of *Eve*'.

463. *feret aliquam salutem*, 'will somehow bring safety': see note on l. 181 above, and compare *ea signa*, 'signs of that', ii. 171.

472–3. These two lines are, at least to modern taste, superfluous and rather flat. We may be permitted to fancy that Virgil

ardentisque avertit equos in castra prius quam
pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent.
parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis
infelix, puer atque impar congressus Achilli,
fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani,
lora tenens tamen; huic cervixque comaeque trahuntur
per terram, et versa pulvis inscribitur hasta.
interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant
crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant
suppliciter, tristes et tunsae pectora palmis;
diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat.
ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros
exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles;
tum vero ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo,
ut spolia, ut currus, utque ipsum corpus amici
tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis.
se quoque principibus permixtum agnovit Achivis,
Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma.
ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet,
aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae
bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.

472–493 *FMPR*   488 adgnoscit *F*, agnoscit *R*

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would have struck them out on revision, or that he only put them in here to see how they would look. The change of tense from *vastabat* to *avertit* is of course quite normal, and no argument against them.

474. *parte alia* (the Homeric ἑτέρωθι or ἑτέρωθεν) is a favourite formula of transition with Virgil, repeated iv. 153, viii. 433, 682, ix. 521, x. 362: the variant *diversa parte* ix. 1, 691, xi. 203.

488. *permixtum* here is 'locked in the mellay with the Greek captains': in x. 238, *permixtus Etrusco Arcas eques*, it has the other meaning, 'joined up into a single force'.

490–3. This final picture (with the placing of which should be compared that of Camilla at the end of the muster-roll of the Italian armies in Book VII) is introduced rather abruptly, and seems an addition which still requires the final hand for its adjustment. But as a description of a picture it is extremely vivid: special note should be taken of *ardet*, 'blazes', 'is a brilliant figure', and of *subnectens*, not, as the commentators mostly say, 'put for *subnexa*', but describing her as painted in the act of buckling her golden belt.

Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur,
dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno,
regina ad templum forma pulcherrima Dido
incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva.
qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi
exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae
hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram
fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis;
Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus:
talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat
per medios instans operi regnisque futuris.
tum foribus divae, media testudine templi,
saepta armis solioque alte subnixa resedit.
iura dabat legesque viris, operumque laborem
partibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat,
cum subito Aeneas concursu accedere magno
Anthea Sergestumque videt fortemque Cloanthum

494–510 *FMPR* 501 dea *PR*, deas upereminet M^1 505 mediaemedia P^1

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494. *miranda videntur*, not 'seem marvellous to', but 'are seen and marvelled at by' Aeneas: the gerundive being here as elsewhere used as the equivalent of a present participle passive: see note on l. 269 above. So in the portraiture on the shield of Aeneas, viii. 707, of Cleopatra's flight at Actium, *ipsa videbatur vela dare*, 'she was seen in the act of shaking out sail'.

499. For the anomalous lengthening of the first syllable of *Diana*, see note on l. 2 above.

501. *dea supereminet*, the text of the majority of the best MSS., can hardly be called impossible as a Virgilian archaism, with some touch perhaps of a supplementary Grecism (*dea* equated with *θεά*): but it would have no certain parallel in Virgil or in classical Latin poetry: see notes on iii. 464 and xii. 648.

505–6. The seat on which Dido is 'throned aloft', *alte subnixa*, is placed at the gates of the screen shutting off the *cella* or sanctuary in which the statue of the goddess is, and under the centre of the *testudo*, the vaulted and panelled roof of the temple.

507–8. *iura*, the whole body or system of law; *leges*, the statutes in which various parts of it are enacted. Particular public duties are being either equitably distributed, or assigned to individuals drawn by lot from a panel.

516. *dissimulant* is used by a stretch of language to carry the meaning, 'they remain in hiding'. Their curiosity is put in the form of dependent questions grammatically left in the air, i.e. not attached to any verb. There is a similar

Teucrorumque alios, ater quos aequore turbo
dispulerat penitusque alias avexerat oras.
obstipuit simul ipse, simul percussus Achates
laetitiaque metuque; avidi coniungere dextras
ardebant; sed res animos incognita turbat.
dissimulant et nube cava speculantur amicti,
quae fortuna viris, classem quo litore linquant,
quid vĕniant; cunctis nam lecti navibus ibant
orantes veniam et templum clamore petebant.
  Postquam introgressi et coram data copia fandi,
maximus Ilioneus placido sic pectore coepit:
'o regina, novam cui condere Iuppiter urbem
iustitiaque dedit gentis frenare superbas,
Troes te miseri, ventis maria omnia vecti,
oramus: prohibe infandos a navibus ignis,
parce pio generi et propius res aspice nostras.
non nos aut ferro Libycos populare penatis

511–521 *FMPR* 522–527 *MPR* 512 averterat *F*, advexerat M^2
513 perculsus MP^2 518 cuncti *FMR*, lectis P^2R

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compression or ellipsis in l. 644, *praemittit Achaten Ascanio ferat haec*, 'he sends on Achates [with orders] that he carry this news to Ascanius'.

519. *venia*, 'indulgence', a favourable or courteous reception: here, the *copia coram fandi* of the next line.

521. *maximus* in Virgil has two distinct senses, 'mightiest' and 'oldest' (*maximus natu*); or, more widely, 'lordly' or 'princely', and 'aged' or 'venerable'. Sometimes the particular sense is expressly defined, as in *maximus armis* (ii. 339) and *maximus aevo* (xi. 237). When used of warriors, as of Ilioneus here, and of Aeneas, Hector, and Hercules, it bears the former meaning: in *maximus Atlas* (i. 741, iv. 481, viii. 136) probably the latter.

For the use of *placidus* in the sense of soothing or conciliating see note on l. 59 above.

524. This transitive use of *vehor* ('who have ridden all the seas') is rare and perhaps unique; elsewhere, as in *trans aethera vectae* vii. 65, Virgil follows the ordinary usage. Curiously enough, the converse of this, i. e. the intransitive use of the active *veho*, is found in early Latin, *vehens equo*, Claudius Quadrigarius quoted by A. Gellius II. ii. 13.

526. By an easy extension of meaning, *propius* is here, as also in viii. 78, used in the sense of 'propitiously', as in English phrases like 'The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart'. *propitius* is metrically inadmissible in hexameter verse.

527. *venimus populare*, 'are come a-ravag-

venimus, aut raptas ad litora vertere praedas;
non ea vis animo nec tanta superbia victis.
est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt,
terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glaebae;
Oenōtri coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem.
hic cursus fuit . . .
cum subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion
in vada caeca tulit penitusque procacibus Austris
perque undas superante salo perque invia saxa
dispulit; huc pauci vestris adnavimus oris.
quod genus hoc hominum, quaeve hunc tam barbara morem
permittit patria? hospitio prohibemur harenae;
bella cient primaque vetant consistere terra.
si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,
at sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi.
rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter
nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis:
quem si fata virum servant, si vescitur aura
aetheria neque adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris,
non metus, officio nec te certasse priorem
paeniteat: sunt et Siculis regionibus urbes
armaque, Troianoque a sanguine clarus Acestes.

528–550 *MPR*   550 arvaque *M*

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ing'; the infinitive is like the *diffundere*, 'a-streaming', of l. 319.

531. *uber*, 'milky breast', is a favourite word with Virgil to express a fertile soil, whether defined, as here and in iii. 164, by *glaebae*, and as in vii. 262 by *agri*, or simply, as in iii. 95 and often in the *Georgics*.

537. *salum*, 'sea-water' (the Homeric ἅλς), is only used by Virgil here and in ii. 209 *spumante salo*.

541. *bella*, 'acts of war': see note on l. 25 above.

547. *crudelis* means 'grim', as in l. 361 above.

550. Commentators have found difficulty in *armaque*, and some editions replace it by the *arvaque* of one good MS. But, if we are not inclined to accept the explanation in D Servius, that the word conveys a veiled threat, 'latenter minatur', *urbes armaque* need not mean more than 'well-armed cities'.

552. *stringere remos*, 'to dress oars', i. e. to shape them with the adze. It is the Homeric ἀποξύνουσιν ἐρετμά, *Od.* vi. 269.

quassatam ventis liceat subducere classem
et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos,
si datur Italiam sociis et rege recepto
tendere, ut Italiam laeti Latiumque petamus;
sin absumpta salus, et te, pater optime Teucrum,
pontus habet Libyae nec spes iam restat Iuli,
at freta Sicaniae saltem sedesque paratas,
unde huc advecti, regemque petamus Acesten.'
  Talibus Ilioneus; cuncti simul ore fremebant
Dardanidae . . .
tum breviter Dido vultum demissa profatur:
'Solvite corde metum, Teucri, secludite curas.
res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt
moliri et late finis custōde tueri.
quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem,
virtutesque virosque aut tanti incendia belli?
non obtunsa adeo gestamus pectora Poeni,
nec tam aversus equos Tyria Sol iungit ab urbe.
seu vos Hesperiam magnam Saturniaque arva
sive Erycis finis regemque optatis Acesten,
auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuvabo.
vultis et his mecum pariter considere regnis?
urbem quam statuo, vestra est; subducite navis;

I Sat VI 15 4||655

551–573 *MPR*   572 pariter mecum *P*

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554. *tendere Italiam* (so also *tendere limina* vi. 696) is an unusual variation of the normal *tendere ad Italiam.*

556. *spes Iuli,* 'the hope we had in Iulus', 'Iulus who was our hope': so also in iv. 274, vi. 364, x. 524.

559. *ore fremebant,* 'murmured' (in assent).

561. *vultum demissa,* not 'with downcast face' the Latin for which would be *vultum summissa,* as in xii. 807 *summisso Saturnia vultu*; but 'lowering her eyes', from the throne on which (l. 506) she sat so that they fell direct on the Trojans below. So *demissa voce,* iii. 320, 'with lowered voice' and *demisso lumine,* xii. 220, 'with eye bent down'.

567. The breast, *pectus,* was in common Latin usage regarded as the seat of the intelligence; and *obtusa pectora* is in effect equivalent to 'thick-headed', not to 'hard-hearted'.

571. In *auxilio tutos, tutus* has its participial force, 'protected by my aid'; so vi. 238 *tuta lacu,* 'protected by a lake'.

573. The 'attraction of the antecedent'

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.
atque utinam rex ipse Noto compulsus eodem
adforet Aeneas! equidem per litora certos
dimittam et Libyae lustrare extrema iubebo,
si quibus eiectus silvis aut urbibus errat.'
His animum arrecti dictis et fortis Achates
et pater Aeneas iamdudum erumpere nubem
ardebant. prior Aenean compellat Achates:
'nate dea, quae nunc animo sententia surgit?
omnia tuta vides, classem sociosque receptos.
unus abest, medio in fluctu quem vidimus ipsi
submersum; dictis respondent cetera matris.'
vix ea fatus erat cum circumfusa repente
scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum.
restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit
os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram
caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventae
purpureum et laetos oculis adflarat honores:
quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo
argentum Pariusve lapis circumdatur auro.

574–585 *MPR* 586–593 *FMPR* 590 iuventa *P* 591 adflavit P^1 593 Pariusque *P*

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here, like the converse 'attraction of the relative' in Horace's 'iudice, quo nosti, populo' *I Sat*. vi. 15, was common in familiar speech, but rare in literary Latin. This is the only instance of it in Virgil.

576. The use of *certos*, in its legal or technical sense of 'specified persons' would be rather odd here; but Virgil no doubt meant it as a compressed elliptical equivalent of the *viros qui certa reportent* of ix. 193. The messengers in the one case, the news they bring in the other, are 'to be depended on'.

580. The use of *erumpere* as a transitive verb meaning 'to burst open' is an archaism. The transition from this older usage to the normal intransitive use of the classical period is marked by such phrases as Caesar's 'portis se erumpunt' *B. C.* ii. 14, and Virgil's own *se erumpit Enipeus* in *Georg*. iv. 368.

587. For the position in the sentence of *se*, which attaches to both *scindit* and *purgat*, see note on l. 440 above.

591. As elsewhere, *honor* has here the sense of 'grace' or 'adornment'. A good instance of this use is *Georg*. ii. 404 *silvis Aquilo decussit honorem*; cf. Fletcher, *Henry VIII*, iii. 2, 'blossoms And bears his blushing honours thick upon him': and, for *laetos*, viii. 680 *tempora flammas laeta vomunt*.

tum sic reginam adloquitur cunctisque repente
improvisus ait: ‘coram, quem quaeritis, adsum,
Troïus Aeneas, Libycis ereptus ab undis.
o sola infandos Troiae miserata labores,
quae nos, reliquias Danaum, terraeque marisque
omnibus exhaustis iam casibus, omnium egenos,
urbe domo socias, grates persolvere dignas
non opis est nostrae, Dido, nec, quidquid ubique est,
gentis Dardaniae magnum quae sparsa per orbem.
di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid
usquam iustitia est et mens sibi conscia recti,
praemia digna ferant. quae te tam laeta tulerunt
saecula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?
in freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae
lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,
semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt,
quae me cumque vocant terrae.’ sic fatus amicum
Ilionea petit dextra laevaque Serestum,
post alios, fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum.
  Obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido,

594–611 *FMPR*   612–613 *MPR*   599 exhaustos F^2*MPR*   604 iustitiae M^2
608 pascit *M*

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600. *urbe domo socias* is not, as usually explained by the editors, an asyndeton: it means ‘associate us in your city as a home’. *domo socias* would be equivalent to *domicilias*, if there were such a verb as *domiciliare*.

601. *opis nostrae*, ‘of our store’, i.e. within our means.

607. The full beauty of the image here, the shadows trailing in procession round the slopes of the hills as the sun traverses its orbit, was first pointed out by Warde Fowler. No less vivid is the image which follows, of the night-sky as a field in which the stars are scattered like a flock at pasture. Throughout the two lines, the stress is laid not on the permanence of Nature but on her regular and unceasing movement.

613. *primo aspectu, deinde tanto casu viri*, ‘first at his sight, then at his extraordinary case’. The juxtaposition of *primo* and *aspectu* seems not to have been felt by Virgil as at all awkward, any more than that of *libato* and *summo* in l. 737. *casus* both here and in the next line does not mean ‘misfortune’ but more widely ‘hap’; in l. 614 it is half-personified as a power which pursues him. Below in l. 623 *casus urbis* (like *casus tuorum* in l. 754) has the distinct implication of ‘misfortune’. The *casus*

casu deinde viri tanto, et sic ore locuta est:
'quis te, nate dea, per tanta pericula casus
insequitur? quae vis immanibus applicat oris?
tune ille Aeneas quem Dardanio Anchisae
alma Venus Phrygii genuit Simoentis ad undam?
atque equidem Teucrum memini Sidona venire,
finibus expulsum patriis, nova regna petentem,
auxilio Beli; genitor tum Belus opimam
vastabat Cyprum et victor dicione tenebat.
tempore iam ex illo casus mihi cognitus urbis
Troianae nomenque tuum regesque Pelasgi.
ipse hostis Teucros insigni laude ferebat
seque ortum antiqua Teucrorum a stirpe volebat.
quare agite o tectis, iuvenes, succedite nostris.
me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores
iactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra:
non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.'
  Sic memorat; simul Aenean in regia ducit

614–631 *MPR*   620 patris P^1 625 insignis *P*   629 considere *P*

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and *vis* of ll. 615 and 616 echo the *vi superum* and *tot volvere casus* of the prologue ll. 4 and 9.

616. *immanis*, one of Virgil's most favourite epithets—it occurs fifty times in the *Aeneid*—covers a range of meanings similar to, but wider than, those of the English 'monstrous'. Etymologically, it is simply 'not good'; hence 'not according with standard or usage'. It is very often coupled with, or used alternatively to, *ingens*, with no implication beyond 'huge'; thus there is no substantial difference between *telum immane* and *telum ingens*, or between the description of the stone thrown by Turnus as *saxum ingens* and *saxum immane* in xii. 897 and 904. The *immania templa* of iv. 199 and vi. 19 merely means 'huge'. To translate the word here as 'savage' (Conington) or 'cruel' (Page) misses the point. Dido is not speaking of her own realm, but of all the strange, vast, 'monstrous' coasts to which the voyages of Aeneas, *ventis maria omnia vecti*, have led him.

621. *auxilio Beli* goes with *venire*, not with *petentem*. Teucer and his men, exiled from their own country in Salamis, were a band of condottieri, ranging the Mediterranean on the outlook for some new place of settlement, and meanwhile ready to hire their services to any king who had need of soldiers and would employ them.

636. Both text and meaning of this incomplete line are uncertain. All the primary MSS. read *dei*; A. Gellius IX.

tecta, simul divum templis indicit honorem.
nec minus interea sociis ad litora mittit
viginti tauros, magnorum horrentia centum
terga suum, pinguis centum cum matribus agnos,
munera, laetitiamque dei . . .
at domus interior regali splendida luxu
instruitur, mediisque parant convivia tectis:
arte laboratae vestes ostroque superbo,
ingens argentum mensis, caelataque in auro
fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum
per tot ducta viros antiqua ab origine gentis.
  Aeneas, neque enim patrius consistere mentem
passus amor, rapidum ad navis praemittit Achaten,
Ascanio ferat haec ipsumque ad moenia ducat;
omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis.
munera praeterea Iliacis erepta ruinis
ferre iubet, pallam signis auroque rigentem
et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho,

632–649 *MPR*   642 antiquae *MP*^{2}

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xiv. 8 says it is 'beyond doubt' that Virgil wrote *dii*, an archaic genitive of *dies*. *dei*, *dii*, and *die* are all mentioned as variants in the Servian commentary. It seems to have been assumed, if not by the original editors, at least by all the early commentators, that the sense was complete though the line was incomplete, as in all the other half-lines except iii. 340 and viii. 41 (see notes on those lines). But this is a mere assumption, just as the reading *dii* seems to have been a mere conjecture. Comparing the *adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator* of l. 734, it appears highly probable that the MSS. text should be retained, that *munera* refers to and sums up the provision of food detailed in the two preceding lines, and that *laetitiamque dei* is the opening of a new clause describing the further provision of wine.

639. These *vestes* are not 'garments' but 'draperies', embroidered covers and hangings, the *aulaea superba* of l. 697. This is clearly the sense of the word in *Georg*. ii. 464 where *inlusae auro vestes* are admired as part of the furniture in a Roman palace, and probably in vi. 221 and xi. 72, of the coverlets laid on the biers of Misenus and Pallas, as also of the *vestis* which the mother of Euryalus could not spread over his corpse, ix. 488.

646. The sense of *carus* here is rather 'loving' than 'beloved', as in *tua cara parens* ix. 84 and *cara sororum pectora*, 'loving-hearted sisters', xi. 215; perhaps also in *cari praecepta parentis* v. 747 and the satirical *cara Iovis coniunx* iv. 91.

ornatus Argivae Helenae, quos illa Mycenis,
Pergama cum peteret inconcessosque hymenaeos,
extulerat, matris Ledae mirabile donum;
praeterea sceptrum, Ilione quod gesserat olim
maxima natarum Priami, colloque monile
bacatum, et duplicem gemmis auroque coronam.
  Haec celerans iter ad navis tendebat Achates;
at Cytherea novas artis, nova pectore versat
consilia, ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido
pro dulci Ascanio veniat, donisque furentem
incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem.
quippe domum timet ambiguam Tyriosque bilinguis,
urit atrox Iuno et sub noctem cura recursat.
ergo his aligerum dictis adfatur Amorem:
  'Nate, meae vires, mea magna potentia solus,
nate, patris summi qui tela Typhoëa temnis,
ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco.
frater ut Aeneas pelago tuus omnia circum
litora iactetur odiis Iunonis acerbae,

650–653 *MPR*   654–668 *FMPR*   668 iacteturque F^2MR, iniquae F^2MP^2R

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655. For *duplicem* see note on v. 251.

662. *atrox Iuno*, 'fierce', not 'angry' (as Page renders it): cf. *saevit atrox Volcens* ix. 420. *sub noctem* merely indicates that the course of the action has now arrived at evening and the critical scene of the banquet.

664. *solus* (as also *meus* vi. 835, *fluvius* viii. 77, and *Messapus* xi. 464) is best taken as a vocative. The shortened form of the vocative in *e*-, though normal, was far from universal, and in some words, e.g. *deus* and *populus*, was not used at all. In Livy i. 24 and i. 32 we find 'Audi tu Iane Quirine' alongside of 'Audi tu populus Albanus', both quoted from early Republican formulae. That the use of both forms in a single line, as here, did not grate on the Latin ear in the Augustan age, may be inferred from a sentence in a letter of the Emperor himself quoted by A. Gellius xv. vii. 3, 'Ave mi Gai, meus asellus iucundissimus'.

668. The reading *iacteturque*, found in the majority of the best MSS. and vouched for by Servius and Nonius, is puzzling. The insertion of *que* merely in order to regularize the metre is unlikely in view of the frequency of similar metrical licences in Virgil. The only other explanation is that the whole passage is incomplete. This derives some support from the fluctuation of the primary MSS. between *acerbae* and *iniquae*, and from the fact that the use

nota tibi, et nostro doluisti saepe dolore.
hunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur
vocibus, et vereor quo se Iunonia vertant
hospitia: haud tanto cessabit cardine rerum.
quocirca capere ante dolis et cingere flamma
reginam meditor, ne quo se numine mutet,
sed magno Aeneae mecum teneatur amore.
qua facere id possis nostram nunc accipe mentem:
regius accitu cari genitoris ad urbem
Sidoniam puer ire parat, mea maxima cura,
dona ferens pelago et flammis restantia Troiae;
hunc ego sopitum somno super alta Cythera
aut super Idalium sacrata sede recondam,
ne qua scire dolos mediusve occurrere possit;
tu faciem illius noctem non amplius unam
falle dolo et notos pueri puer indue vultus;
ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido

669–80 *FMPR* 681–684 *MPR* 685 *GMPR* 670 nunc F^1P

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of *nota* instead of *notum* suggests that more than one thing is meant, and that Virgil may have intended to insert another clause, filling a whole line, between *litora* and *iactetur*.

675. The force of *mecum* is not 'along with me', but 'on my side', 'mine'. So iv. 115 *mecum erit iste labor*, 'that task shall be mine'. It is so used in phrases like *tecum habeto*, 'keep for yourself'. It is one of the many usages common to Virgil with Livy, e.g. *secum victoriam esse* iv. 32.

676. For *mentem* see note on xii. 554.

679. For the Virgilian use of a simple ablative here, where in prose *de* or *ex flammis* would be required, see App. A. Many editors treat it as a dative and make grotesque attempts to prove that 'left to the flames' may mean the same thing as 'saved from the flames'.

680. The meaning of *super* is merely 'upon', not 'above'. So for instance Cicero says 'super aspidem adsidere', 'to sit down upon a serpent', *Fin.* ii. 59.

684. The verb *fallere* with a direct object has normally one or other of two senses, (1) deceive, (2) elude observation of: an instance of (1) is *spem fefellit* viii. 218, of (2) *comites fefellit* (Creusa) ii. 744. These of course, while distinct logically, tend in fact to merge into one another. Where it is used without an object it may be adequately rendered in English by 'feign' as in xi. 701 *dum fallere fata sinebant*, or xii. 634 *nequiquam fallis dea*, though the meaning of 'escape notice' is at least implied. The extension of this use to a transitive use of the verb with an

regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum,
cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,
occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno.'
Paret Amor dictis carae genetricis, et alas
exuit et gressu gaudens incedit Iuli.
at Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem
inrigat, et fotum gremio dea tollit in altos
Idaliae lucos, ubi mollis amaracus illum
floribus et dulci aspirans complectitur umbra.
iamque ibat dicto parens et dona Cupido
regia portabat Tyriis duce laetus Achate.
Cum venit, aulaeis iam se regina superbis
aurea composuit sponda mediamque locavit,
iam pater Aeneas et iam Troiana iuventus
conveniunt, stratoque super discumbitur ostro.
dant manibus famuli lymphas Cereremque canistris
expediunt tonsisque ferunt mantelia villis.
quinquaginta intus famulae, quibus ordine longo
cura penum struere et flammis adolere penatis;

686–704 *GMPR* 701 famulae *MP* 703 longam *P*

object stating what is feigned, *faciem illius falle*, 'feign his face', is in English at least simple enough, but no parallel can be cited in Virgil, nor apparently in any Latin author. Failing this, the alternative is to accept Deuticke's punctuation and read *tu faciem illius* (*noctem non amplius unam falle dolo*) *et notos pueri puer indue vultus*, which, however, is rhythmically unsatisfactory, and very awkward in its phrasing.

698. *aurea* is an ablative, as in *aurea virga* vii. 190.

703. An interesting note in A. Gellius IV. i. 15 gives us the information that little more than a century after Virgil's death the question whether the true reading were *longo* or *longam* was much discussed. It does not greatly signify, for in either case the *ordo*, the arrangement in a row, is of the dishes, not of the servants. *penus* (a word never elsewhere used by Virgil) is the 'larder', the stored food of all kinds in a house, under protection of the *penates* or 'Kitchen-gods' mentioned in this same line.

704. *adolere*, according to the Latin grammarians, originally meant simply *augere*, 'to replenish'. It came to be specially used of feeding the sacred fire on an altar, or the no less sacred cooking-fire in a house; and so Virgil says, *Ecl.* viii. 65 *verbenas adole et tura*, 'heap

centum aliae totidemque pares aetate ministri,
qui dapibus mensas onerent et pocula ponant.
nec non et Tyrii per limina laeta frequentes
convenere; toris iussi discumbere pictis,
mirantur dona Aeneae, mirantur Iulum,
flagrantisque dei vultus simulataque verba,
pallamque et pictum croceo velamen acantho.
praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae,
expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo
Phoenissa, et pariter puero donisque movetur.
ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit
et magnum falsi implevit genitoris amorem,
reginam petit. haec oculis, haec pectore toto
haeret et interdum gremio fovet inscia Dido
insidat quantus miserae deus. at memor ille
matris Acidaliae paulatim abolere Sychaeum
incipit et vivo temptat praevertere amore
iam pridem resides animos desuetaque corda.
  Postquam prima quies epulis mensaeque remotae,

705–722 *GMPR* 723 *MPR* 706 onerant . . . ponunt *GR*
719 insideat *GR*

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twigs and incense' on the fire by which the witch is performing her incantations; iii. 547 *Iunoni adolemus honores*, 'we heap offerings to Juno' upon her altars; and vii. 71 *adolet altaria taedis*, 'feeds the altars with firewood'. Here 'to feed the Penates with flames' means in plain prose 'to keep the kitchen-fire up'; but that action has a religious or mystical significance, 'keep the sacred hearth-fire fed'.

The whole passage, ll. 701–6, is remodelled and enlarged from a similar description in *Georg*. iv. 376–9. The fact that in the Medicean MS. it is, together with ll. 707–708, misplaced, coming after l. 716, together with the variant reading *famulae* in l. 701 both in that MS. and in P, suggests that it may have been, in part or in whole, omitted in some still earlier MS.

711. 'Versum hunc post superiorem abesse aequo animo ferrem' is the concise comment of Heyne.

716. *falsi* is not the adjective 'false', but the participle 'beguiled' or 'deceived'.

718. It has been remarked that Virgil here seems to think of Ascanius as still the little child of seven years before, the *parvus Iulus* of Book II, not as the stripling who, a year later, is beginning to take his place among the young warriors.

crateras magnos statuunt et vina coronant.
fit strepitus tectis vocemque per ampla volutant
atria; dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
incensi et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.
hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit
implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes
a Belo soliti; tum facta silentia tectis:
'Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur,
hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis
esse velis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores.
adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator et bona Iuno;
et vos o coetum, Tyrii, celebrate faventes.'
dixit et in mensam laticum libavit honorem
primaque, libato, summo tenus attigit ore;
tum Bitiae dedit increpitans; ille impiger hausit
spumantem pateram et pleno se proluit auro;
post alii proceres. cithara crinitus Iopas

Demodo
Alcinous

724–740 *MPR*

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724. *vina coronant*, like the *cratera coronant* of *Georg*. ii. 528, here and in vii. 407 is generally taken as an imitation of the Homeric κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο, and as meaning 'fill the wine to the brim'. But the expanded phrase, iii. 525 *cratera corona induit implevitque mero*, can hardly be forced into that sense; and in all these passages it is simplest, and quite satisfactory, to take the phrase at its face value.

725. The *fit strepitus tectis* of this line is the text of all the primary MSS., but Servius only mentions it as 'also read', the received text in his time being *it strepitus tectis*, for which he cites the *it clamor caelo* of v. 451. Either word would be unexceptionable. In the *fit sonitus* of ii. 209 and the *fit sonus* of ix. 752 there is no record of a variant reading *it*.

730. For the ellipse of the verb after *soliti* compare ix. 300 *per caput hoc iuro per quod pater ante solebat*.

733–4. The tragic irony in *nostros huius meminisse minores* and *bona Iuno* hardly needs to be pointed out. But particular reference should be made to the great speech of Dido in iv. 590–629 with its imprecation of perpetual hatred between the two peoples and its cry to Juno for vengeance.

736. Virgil uses the singular and plural of *latex*, 'stream' and 'streams', indifferently, as in the two more fully expressed phrases where it is applied to wine, *laticem Lyaeum* l. 686 above and *latices*

personat aurata, docuit quem maximus Atlas.
hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores,
unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes,
Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones;
quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles 745
hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.
ingeminant plausu Tyrii, Troesque sequuntur.
nec non et vario noctem sermone trahebat
infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem,
multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa; 750
nunc quibus Aurorae venisset filius armis,
nunc quales Diomedis equi, nunc quantus Achilles.
'immo age et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis
insidias' inquit 'Danaum casusque tuorum
erroresque tuos; nam te iam septima portat 755
omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas.'

741–756 *MPR*

Lenaeos in *Georg*. iii. 509. The word *latex*, which elsewhere apparently only occurs in poetry, is used once by Livy in a very interesting passage (xliv. 33): 'montes ingentis altitudinis spem faciebant, eo magis quia nullos apertos evergerent rivos, occultas continere latices, quorum venae in mare permanantes undae miscerentur. vix deducta summa arena erat, cum scaturigines turbidae primo et tenues emicare, dein liquidam multamque fundere aquam coeperunt.'

737. The 'absolute' use of the ablative participle *libato*, 'libation having been made', is normal Latin, as in *cognito*, 'it having been ascertained', *permisso*, 'leave having been given'. See also note on l. 613 above; and compare *optato*, 'at a chosen opportunity', x. 405.

738. The loving-cup was passed round the table from right to left: consequently we must think of Dido seated with Aeneas on her right and Bitias on her left. *increpitans*, 'urging him to make haste', as in iii. 454 *quamvis increpitent socii*, and *Georg*. iv. 138 *aestatem increpitans seram*.

741. *personat*, 'fills the hall with music', with ellipsis of the object. The fuller and more normal usage is found in vi. 171 *personat aequora concha* and vi. 418 *personat haec regna latratu*.

755–6. For the 'seventh summer' named here and the question whether this Book originally ended with l. 754 see Introductory Note to Book III.

BOOK II

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Book II is completely occupied by the narrative of the Fall of Troy. It is remarkable not only for magnificence, but, with one exception, for complete structural finish in the succession and connexion of its episodes. That exception is the Laocoon episode, in two parts, ll. 40–56 and 199–233. Both are insertions, which have only a slight organic connexion with the main current of the story. Either, or both, could be omitted without leaving any gap, and in fact with some added continuity; and the latter and longer of the two has a touch of overloadedness which suggests a comparatively early date of composition, and the absence of final revision after it had been inserted in its present place.

There is no clear instance throughout the book of a stop-gap ending to a line; which makes it the more interesting that it contains the largest number (10) of unfinished lines in any single book. From this, together with other indications, the inference may be drawn that unfinished lines generally are in the *Aeneid* marks rather of a late than of an early stage in the composition and placing of the passages in which they occur.

The celebrated Helen passage, ll. 567–588, struck out according to a well-founded tradition by the original editors, and only preserved in the Servian commentary, is discussed more fully in the commentary. It has been admitted into the vulgate text in all printed editions of Virgil. For its excision by Varius and Tucca at least three possible reasons are assignable: (1) its unfinished condition—its versification being uneasy and there being a certain forcing of the note, though not, beyond what may be found in some other undisputed passages, in its rhetorical evolution; (2) its inconsistency with the account given by the ghost of Deiphobus, vi. 494–530, of the part played by Helen on the last night of Troy; and (3) an aesthetic objection to the killing of a woman by the hero, even as a thing contemplated. But how far these or other considerations weighed with them is a matter of pure conjecture. There is no extant tradition of the passage having been 'ringed' in Virgil's autograph as certain others were.

Notice may also be taken of the fine rhythmical effect with which the division between Aeneas' introductory words and his main narrative is made in the middle of a line (13). The device is repeated with equal success at the opening (l. 45) of Book VII. So far as is known, it is an invention of his own.

AENEIDOS
LIBER SECUNDUS

Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant.
inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto:
'Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem.
Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum
eruerint Danai, quaeque ipse miserrima vidi
et quorum pars magna fui, quis talia fando
Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulixi
temperet a lacrimis? et iam nox umida caelo
praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.
sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros
et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem,
quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,
incipiam.
Fracti bello fatisque repulsi
ductores Danaum tot iam labentibus annis

1–14 *MPR*

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1. The precision of the wording, and the change of tense, require careful notice: 'there was immediate universal silence, and all kept speechless in attention'. *ora tenebant*, here as also in viii. 520, does not mean 'fixed their faces', but 'held their mouths', or as we say held their tongues; and so in xi. 121 *oculos atque ora tenebant* means 'held their eyes and mouths unstirred', did not either glance aside or speak. The phrase is the exact equivalent of the Biblical 'I have not refrained my lips' (Psalm xl. 9) or 'he that refraineth his lips is wise' (Prov. x. 19). More generally, *os* and *ora*, even where they appear to be applied to the face as a whole (e.g. *os humerosque deo similis* i. 589) retain something of their proper meaning; thus in the *pallida ora* *fame* of iii. 217 and the *morientis ora pallentia* of xi. 821, it is the bloodlessness of the lips that is primarily indicated.

8. 'Night hurries swiftly from the sky, and the waning stars counsel sleep'. *cadere* and *surgere* are used of the stars by Virgil in the sense of fading away and shining out; thus *astra ignea surgunt* iv. 352. See also note on vi. 453. The wind 'rises' and 'falls' in Latin as in English. By a similar unconscious transference of image, it has been observed, we speak in English of the sun 'going' behind a cloud, but 'coming' out of one. In l. 801 *iugis surgebat Lucifer Idae* the verb has its normal sense of rising.

12. For the Virgilian ablative *luctu*, 'in grief', like *metu*, 'in fear', iii. 213, see App. A.

instar montis equum divina Palladis arte
aedificant, sectaque intexunt abiete costas;
votum pro reditu simulant; ea fama vagatur.
huc delecta virum sortiti corpora furtim
includunt caeco lateri penitusque cavernas
ingentis uterumque armato milite complent.
  Est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama
insula, dives opum Priami dum regna manebant,
nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis:
huc se provecti deserto in litore condunt.
nos abiisse rati et vento petiisse Mycenas.
ergo omnis longo solvit se Teucria luctu:
panduntur portae, iuvat ire et Dorica castra
desertosque videre locos litusque relictum:
hic Dolopum manus, hic saevus tendebat Achilles;
classibus hic locus, hic acie certare solebant.
pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Minervae
et molem mirantur equi; primusque Thymoetes
duci intra muros hortatur et arce locari,
sive dolo seu iam Troiae sic fata ferebant.

15–34 *MPR*

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19. The *cavernas uterumque* here and the *cavas uteri latebras* of l. 38 mean exactly the same thing; for the so-called 'hendiadys' cf. l. 296 *vittas Vestamque*, l. 534 *voci iraeque*, iii. 223 *in partem praedamque*.

21–3. The guide-book detail of these three lines, as of several passages to be noticed later in Book III, is both superfluous and irrelevant in the mouth of Aeneas, and the lines seem to be taken over from some earlier draft in which they were part of the poet-annalist's direct narrative.

26. The spondaic line is used here, with admirable art, to give the effect not of weight or solemnity, but of quiet relief.

30. The Latin *classis*, exactly like the English 'squadron', was used both of war-ships and of cavalry; and Servius, or the authorities whom he followed, preferred to take it here in the latter sense. It occurs about sixty times in the *Aeneid*, elsewhere always in the sense of a squadron of ships, a fleet, except in the *Ortinae classes* of vii. 716; but here the other sense perhaps gives a better picture; the Greek ships were drawn up along the whole length of shore which was in occupation, but the picketing-ground for the cavalry would be a special and clearly marked spot. Cavalry were of course not used in Homeric fighting, but Virgil makes much use of them in the later books of the *Aeneid*.

31. The shifting of subject in *pars stupet*,

at Capys, et quorum melior sententia menti,
aut pelago Danaum insidias suspectaque dona
praecipitare iubent subiectisque urere flammis,
aut terebrare cavas uteri et temptare latebras.
scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.
Primus ibi ante omnis magna comitante caterva
Laocoon ardens summa decurrit ab arce,
et procul 'o miseri, quae tanta insania, cives?
creditis avectos hostis? aut ulla putatis
dona carere dolis Danaum? sic notus Ulixes?
aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi,
aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros,
inspectura domos venturaque desuper urbi,
aut aliquis latet error; equo ne credite, Teucri.
quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentis.'
sic fatus validis ingentem viribus hastam
in latus inque feri curvam compagibus alvum
contorsit. stetit illa tremens, uteroque recusso
insonuere cavae gemitumque dedere cavernae.
et, si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset,

35–54 *MPR*   37 iubet P^2 38 utero P^1

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et mirantur is a favourite device of Virgil's; it has no significance beyond the mere desire of variation. So in l. 64 *iuventus ruit certantque*: it is needless to multiply instances.

34. *sic ferebant*, 'were bearing in that direction'; so *si fert ita voluntas* vi. 675. It is a common Latin use in both prose and verse.

37. The *que* is here disjunctive, as in the *saxum volvunt radiisque rotarum pendent* of vi. 616.

40. For the question whether the Laocoon episode in both its separate parts (ll. 40–56 and 199–233) is not a later insertion, see Introductory Note.

49. *quidquid id est*, 'whatever the thing is': so *id sedet* v. 418, vii. 368, and *id placet* xi. 435, 'the thing is settled'.

51. *curvam compagibus* is a characteristically Virgilian way of saying *curvis trabibus compactam*: see App. A.

54. There can be little or no doubt that *mens non laeva* is a single phrase and that *non laeva* does not also qualify *fata*. Page, taking the opposite view, argues that *si fata fuissent* makes no sense, but he can only get over the repetition of the identical phrase in l. 433 by a very awkward repunctuation of that passage. *laeva fata* would be an unexampled expression; and as Servius notes, 'laevum cum de humanis rebus est, contrarium, cum de caelestibus, prosperum'.

impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras,
Troiaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta maneres.
Ecce, manus iuvenem interea post terga revinctum
pastores magno ad regem clamore trahebant
Dardanidae, qui se ignotum venientibus ultro,
hoc ipsum ut strueret Troiamque aperiret Achivis,
obtulerat, fidens animi atque in utrumque paratus,
seu versare dolos seu certae occumbere morti.
undique visendi studio Troiana iuventus
circumfusa ruit certantque inludere capto.
accipe nunc Danaum insidias et crimine ab uno
disce omnis . . .
namque ut conspectu in medio turbatus, inermis,
constitit atque oculis Phrygia agmina circumspexit:
'heu, quae me tellus' inquit 'quae me aequora possunt
accipere? aut quid iam misero mihi denique restat,
cui neque apud Danaos usquam locus, et super ipsi
Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt?'
quo gemitu conversi animi compressus et omnis
impetus. hortamur fari quo sanguine cretus,

55–72 *MPR* 73–74 *MP* 56 stares *PR*, maneret M^2 62 certe MP^2, occurrere P^1

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62. *versare dolos*, 'to wind his snares', is the text of all the primary MSS., and is repeated xi. 704 where the text is certain. Servius mentions an alternative reading *versare dolo*, explained (impossibly) as meaning *dolo Troianos evertere*; and the line is so quoted by Nonius.

66. The broken line leaves it necessarily uncertain whether Virgil meant *omnis* to be the object of *disce* and refer to *insidias*, or to be the first word of an object-clause in which it would have meant 'all the Greeks'. The phrase *ab uno disce omnes*, detached from its context and so changing its meaning, like the *sunt lacrimae rerum* of i. 462, has become proverbial.

74–5. Editors vary much in their punctuation of these lines. The huddled language is of course deliberately so used, and adroitly used, as to produce the feeling of the stream of rapid questions poured in on a seemingly bewildered and frightened prisoner. But to carry this device to its full limit and translate, with Page, 'Of what race are you? What is your object? Answer! What do you rely on?' seems to carry the dramatization rather beyond Virgil's usage.

quidve ferat memoret, quae sit fiducia capto.
ille haec deposita tandem formidine fatur:
'Cuncta equidem tibi, rex, fuerit quodcumque, fatebor
vera' inquit; 'neque me Argolica de gente negabo;
hoc primum; nec, si miserum fortuna Sinonem
finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget.
fando aliquod si forte tuas pervenit ad auris
Belidae nomen Palamedis et incluta fama
gloria, quem falsa sub proditione Pelasgi
insontem infando indicio, quia bella vetabat,
demisere neci, nunc cassum lumine lugent;
illi me comitem et consanguinitate propinquum
pauper in arma pater primis huc misit ab annis.
dum stabat regno incolumis regumque vigebat
conciliis, et nos aliquod nomenque decusque
gessimus. invidia postquam pellacis Ulixi,
haud ignota loquor, superis concessit ab oris,
adflictus vitam in tenebris luctuque trahebam
et casum insontis mecum indignabar amici.
nec tacui demens et me, fors si qua tulisset,

75–79 *MP*   80–94 *MPV*   76 *om.* M^1 *P: added at foot of page in M*
77 quaecumque *P*   89 consiliis V^1 90 fallacis *P*, . . . llacis *V*

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76. This line is not in any primary MS., except that it is written in a later hand at the foot of the page in M, and it is not mentioned by any of the ancient commentators. It is not only superfluous, but in view of the *inquit* of l. 78 unjustifiable, and is no doubt an unauthorized transfer from iii. 612, where it is in its proper place. For a further discussion of the relation of the Sinon episode here and the Achaemenides episode of Book iii, see App. B.

77. *quodcumque fuerit*, 'whatever may come of it', i.e. of telling the truth; like the *quidquid id est* of l. 49 above.

83. *proditione* (the word is not used elsewhere by Virgil), 'charge of treason'; a common elliptical usage: not 'information', which is the *indicium* of the next line.

84. *bella*, 'operations of war': see note on i. 25.

87. 'Sent me here from my earliest years' is inconsistent with Sinon's mention of his 'dear children' in l. 138. This, which has perplexed some editors, is a stroke of subtle art. In both places Sinon is saying, without regard for consistency, what will appeal most at the moment to the pity of his hearers.

si patrios umquam remeassem victor ad Argos,
promisi ultorem et verbis odia aspera movi.
hinc mihi prima mali labes, hinc semper Ulixes
criminibus terrere novis, hinc spargere voces
in vulgum ambiguas et quaerere conscius arma.
nec requievit enim, donec Calchante ministro—
sed quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata revolvo?
quidve moror, si omnis uno ordine habetis Achivos,
idque audire sat est? iamdudum sumite poenas:
hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Atridae.'
  Tum vero ardemus scitari et quaerere causas,
ignari scelerum tantorum artisque Pelasgae.
prosequitur pavitans et ficto pectore fatur:
  'Saepe fugam Danai Troia cupiere relicta
moliri et longo fessi discedere bello;
fecissentque utinam! saepe illos aspera ponti
interclusit hiems et terruit Auster euntis.
praecipue cum iam hic trabibus contextus acernis
staret equus, toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi.

95–105 *MPV*   106–113 *MP*   105 casus P^1

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98. *terrere*, without any expressed object, means 'to excite alarm'. So l. 102 *quid moror?*, 'why do I put things off?', and l. 121 *cui fata parent*, 'for whom the fates are laying their plan'. In all three cases the wording expresses the pretended agitation of the speaker: see also the notes on ll. 101, 103.

99. The words *conscius* and *inscius*, 'with knowledge' and 'without knowledge' or 'aware' and 'unaware', are used by Virgil with a considerable range of meaning, to be determined by the context in each case. In *conscius audacis facti* xi. 812, the word *conscius* has exactly its English sense; in *agmina conscia iungunt* ii. 267, the meaning is 'unite their mutually informed forces', 'unite their forces according to plan'. Here *conscius*, like *haud inscius* x. 907, is pretty nearly equivalent to 'deliberately'. For the analogous range of meaning in *inscius* see note on l. 307 below.

101. According to the grammarians *sed autem* is a colloquialism, used to give a further touch of realism to Sinon's speech. *revolvo*, 'untwist', as in ix. 391 *perplexum iter omne revolvens*, or ix. 476 *revolutaque pensa*.

103. The vivid if illogical 'take your vengeance long ago', for 'take the vengeance now that you might have taken long ago' is in character with the feigned agitation of the speaker. Ovid admired and (not very aptly) copied the device, *Met.* xi. 482 and xiii. 457.

suspensi Eurypylum scitatum oracula Phoebi
mittimus, isque adytis haec tristia dicta reportat:
“sanguine placastis ventos et virgine caesa,
cum primum Iliacas, Danai, venistis ad oras:
sanguine quaerendi reditus animaque litandum
Argolica.” vulgi quae vox ut venit ad auris,
obstipuere animi gelidusque per ima cucurrit
ossa tremor, cui fata parent, quem poscat Apollo.
hic Ithacus vatem magno Calchanta tumultu
protrahit in medios; quae sint ea numina divum
flagitat. et mihi iam multi crudele canebant
artificis scelus, et taciti ventura videbant.
bis quinos silet ille dies tectusque recusat
prodere voce sua quemquam aut opponere morti:
vix tandem, magnis Ithaci clamoribus actus,
composito rumpit vocem et me destinat arae.
adsensere omnes et, quae sibi quisque timebat,
unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere.
iamque dies infanda aderat; mihi sacra parari

114–132 *MP*   114 scitantum M^1, scitantem *P*   129 rupit *M*

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108. The aptness of the phrase *moliri fugam*, ‘to effect evacuation’, hardly needs to be pointed out to any modern reader. ‘Hoc verbo difficultatem rei ostendit’ is the comment in D Servius.

111. In the phrase *ponti hiems*, ‘the storm at sea’, there is at least a reminiscence, if not an actual use, of the locative case. The more common Virgilian usage would be *ponto hiems* (see App. A), but that would be awkward here as suggesting that *ponto interclusit*, ‘shut off from the sea’, was meant. The force of *euntis* is ‘when in the very act of starting’.

114. As Sinon’s story is a fiction from beginning to end, it is idle to inquire with some editors what oracle of Apollo is here meant. Obviously it must, in order to make the story at all plausible, be understood as at some place not far off and accessible by land, such for instance as Chryse and Cilla in the Troad with their special cults of Apollo mentioned at the opening of the *Iliad*.

121. For *cui fata parent* see note on l. 98.

123. The word *numina* has here its primary sense ‘significations of will’ with the force of the plural noted on i. 25: so *numina Phoebi* iii. 359, *conversa numina* v. 466, *tua numina firmes* viii. 78, *saeva Iovis numina* xi. 901.

129. *rumpit vocem* (as in iii. 246), ‘breaks utterance’; we say ‘breaks into utterance’.

131. *conversa tulere*, ‘turned and directed upon’.

132. *sacra parari* is in effect a substantival

et salsae fruges et circum tempora vittae.
eripui, fateor, leto me et vincula rupi,
limosoque lacu per noctem obscurus in ulva 135
delitui dum vela darent, si forte dedissent.
nec mihi iam patriam antiquam spes ulla videndi,
nec dulcis natos exoptatumque parentem,
quos illi fors et poenas ob nostra reposcent
effugia, et culpam hanc miserorum morte piabunt. 140
quod te per superos et conscia numina veri,
per si qua est quae restet adhuc mortalibus usquam
intemerata fides, oro, miserere laborum
tantorum, miserere animi non digna ferentis.'
Hic lacrimis vitam damus et miserescimus ultro. 145
ipse viro primus manicas atque arta levari
vincla iubet Priamus dictisque ita fatur amicis:
'quisquis es, amissos hinc iam obliviscere Graios,
noster eris; mihique haec edissere vera roganti:
quo molem hanc immanis equi statuere? quis auctor, 150
quidve petunt? quae religio, aut quae machina belli?'
Dixerat. ille dolis instructus et arte Pelasga
sustulit exutas vinclis ad sidera palmas:

133–153 *MP* 138 duplicis P^1 142 restat M^1, umquam M^1

---

phrase, 'the preparation of the ceremonies'. It is needless to explain it as an instance of the so-called historic infinitive.

139. *fors* here is an adverb, as also in v. 232, vi. 537, xi. 50, xii. 183.

151. There is no English word corresponding to the Latin *religio*. The scope of its meaning in Virgil may best be gathered from comparison of the other ten instances in which he uses it. In *religione patrum* ii. 715 and viii. 598, *religione parentum* vii. 172, and *hac maneant in religione nepotes* iii. 409, it conveys the sense of 'consecrated usage'. In *populum antiqua sub religione tueri* ii. 188, *omnis religio mihi dixit* iii. 362, *portae religione sacrae* vii. 608, and *religio loci* viii. 349, as also in *nulla religio vetuit Georg.* i. 270, it expresses the sense, or the sanction, of sacredness. Finally, in *aetheris alti religio* (coupled with *quae caeruleo sunt numina ponto*) xii. 182, it is the concrete embodiment of such sacredness, unspecified except as existing in a particular sphere of the universe. Here this embodiment is further particularized to a single object, and identified with the object itself: is the horse a *religio*, 'a thing of awe', Priam asks, or is it an engine of war? So with the adjective *religiosus* (only once used

'vos, aeterni ignes, et non violabile vestrum
testor numen,' ait, 'vos, arae ensesque nefandi,
quos fugi, vittaeque deum, quas hostia gessi:
fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere iura,
fas odisse viros atque omnia ferre sub auras,
si qua tegunt; teneor patriae nec legibus ullis.
tu modo promissis maneas servataque serves
Troia fidem, si vera feram, si magna rependam.
omnis spes Danaum et coepti fiducia belli
Palladis auxiliis semper stetit. impius ex quo
Tydides sed enim scelerumque inventor Ulixes
fatale adgressi sacrato avellere templo
Palladium, caesis summae custodibus arcis
corripuere sacram effigiem manibusque cruentis
virgineas ausi divae contingere vittas,
ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri
spes Danaum, fractae vires, aversa deae mens.
nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstris.
vix positum castris simulacrum: arsere coruscae
luminibus flammae arrectis, salsusque per artus
sudor iit, terque ipsa solo, mirabile dictu,

154–157 *MP*   158–169 *MPV*   170–174 *FMPV*   164 scelerum inventor *P*^{1}*V*

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by Virgil): the *religiosa deorum limina* of ii. 365 may be most adequately rendered by 'the awful thresholds of the gods'.

One may compare, for further illustration, and particularly for the sense of 'awe' which the word implies, Genesis xxxi. 53 'And Jacob swore by the Fear of his father Isaac', and Daniel's famous line, 'Sacred Religion, mother of Form and Fear'.

158. The veiled irony in *omnia ferre sub auras si qua tegunt* should not escape notice; this is exactly what Sinon does when he unbars the horse in l. 259.

163. For *auxiliis*, 'acts of aid', see note on i. 25.

168. From comparison of this line and l. 175 it has been noted, by those who are curious on such points, that the picture Virgil had in his mind was of an armed but unhelmeted statue.

171. 'Those signs', *ea signa*, meaning 'signs of that' is a favourite Virgilian usage: so *hic nostri nuntius esto*, 'be thou our messenger of this', iv. 237, *has poenas*, 'the penalty for this', vii. 595, and in many other instances.

173. The grammarian Probus objected to the epithet *salsus*, apparently as being superfluous. Its relevance is that it emphasizes that this was actual, and therefore supernatural, sweat, not merely the

emicuit parmamque ferens hastamque trementem.
extemplo temptanda fuga canit aequora Calchas,
nec posse Argolicis exscindi Pergama telis
omina ni repetant Argis numenque reducant
quod pelago et curvis secum avexere carinis.
et nunc quod patrias vento petiere Mycenas,
arma deosque parant comites pelagoque remenso
improvisi aderunt. ita digerit omina Calchas.
hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro numine laeso
effigiem statuere, nefas quae triste piaret.
hanc tamen immensam Calchas attollere molem
roboribus textis caeloque educere iussit,
ne recipi portis aut duci in moenia posset,
neu populum antiqua sub religione tueri.
nam si vestra manus violasset dona Minervae,
tum magnum exitium, quod di prius omen in ipsum
convertant! Priami imperio Phrygibusque futurum;
sin manibus vestris vestram ascendisset in urbem,
ultro Asiam magno Pelopea ad moenia bello
venturam et nostros ea fata manere nepotes.'
  Talibus insidiis periurique arte Sinonis
credita res, captique dolis lacrimisque coactis
quos neque Tydides nec Larisaeus Achilles,
non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae.

175–183 *FMPV*   184–198 *FMP*   187 possit *FM*   191 Phrygiis F^1

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sort of moisture that we mean when we speak of the sweating of a wall.

192–4. This is one of the alarming prophecies (like that of Celaeno in iii. 247–57) destined to an unexpected and happy fulfilment afterwards. Virgil has in his mind the conquest of Greece by the Romans, 'the seed of Troy', a recurrent note throughout the *Aeneid*, and given special emphasis in the noble lines vi. 836–40.

199–202. These four lines introduce the second Laocoon episode rather awkwardly, and bear marks of not being wrought fully into the structure of the narrative. They present three difficulties, none of them perhaps important, but when taken together indicating a provisional and unrevised text.

1. What previous portent, 'less alarming' than this, has been mentioned?

2. Why should the Trojans be specially now called 'improvident'?

3. Why should any one be 'drawn by lot' to act as priest of Neptune?

Hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum
obicitur magis atque improvida pectora turbat.
Laocoon, ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos,
sollemnis taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras.
ecce autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta,
horresco referens, immensis orbibus angues
incumbunt pelago pariterque ad litora tendunt;
pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta iubaeque
sanguineae superant undas; pars cetera pontum
pone legit sinuatque immensa volumine terga.
fit sonitus spumante salo; iamque arva tenebant
ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni
sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora.
diffugimus visu exsangues. illi agmine certo
Laocoonta petunt; et primum parva duorum
corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque
implicat et miseros morsu depascitur artus;
post ipsum auxilio subeuntem ac tela ferentem
corripiunt spirisque ligant ingentibus; et iam
bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum
terga dati superant capite et cervicibus altis.
ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos
perfusus sanie vittas atroque veneno,
clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit:

199–222 *MP*   201 Neptuni *P*

The simplest answers to these questions are:

1. The horse, *moles immanis equi*, whatever its purpose, was an unusually portentous object.

2. *improvida* may be explained as referring back to it, and meaning not 'thoughtless' (its usual sense, but the word does not occur in Virgil elsewhere) but 'that failed to foresee' i.e. to foresee the results of admitting the horse into the city.

3. Virgil's assumption may be that there was no stated priesthood of Neptune in Troy, and that now, when there was immediate occasion for a sacrifice being made to him, a choice had to be made at once of some one to perform it, and the choice by lot was not a random procedure but a committing of the selection to Providence.

205. *incumbunt pelago*, 'lean forward over the sea': so *tacitis incumbere remis* viii. 108.

209. For the meaning of *arva tenebant* see note on i. 400.

qualis mugitus, fugit cum saucius aram
taurus et incertam excussit cervice securim.
at gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones 225
effugiunt saevaeque petunt Tritonidis arcem,
sub pedibusque deae clipeique sub orbe teguntur.
tum vero tremefacta novus per pectora cunctis
insinuat pavor, et scelus expendisse merentem
Laocoonta ferunt, sacrum qui cuspide robur 230
laeserit et tergo sceleratam intorserit hastam.
ducendum ad sedes simulacrum orandaque divae
numina conclamant . . .
dividimus muros et moenia pandimus urbis.
accingunt omnes operi pedibusque rotarum 235
subiciunt lapsus, et stuppea vincula collo
intendunt: scandit fatalis machina muros
feta armis. pueri circum innuptaeque puellae
sacra canunt funemque manu contingere gaudent:
illa subit mediaeque minans inlabitur urbi. 240
o patria, o divum domus Ilium et incluta bello
moenia Dardanidum! quater ipso in limine portae

223–242 *MP*   226 diffugiunt *M*

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235. The MSS. here do not vary, and there is no record of any ancient objection to the intransitive use of *accingunt*, which is not found elsewhere in Virgil; for in xi. 707 *te crede solo pugnaeque accinge pedestri*, the *te* is the object of both verbs. Virgil, however, does use other transitive verbs intransitively (see note on l. 98 above, and for the converse usage, note on v. 438), and though to insert *se* after *omnes* would be an easy correction of an easily made scribe's mistake, the case is hardly strong enough to warrant any change in the text.

236. A phrase like *lapsus rotarum*, 'slidings of wheels', was a recognized Grecism, and Virgil in using it was following rather than setting a fashion. He does not use the plural *lapsus* elsewhere. Here, however, *rotae* strictly means not 'wheels' but 'rollers': it has this technical sense in Vitruvius and Frontinus.

244. *immemor*, like its English equivalent 'unmindful', is often, indeed generally, used by Virgil to convey the sense of heedlessness rather than of anything definite being forgotten. So *prodidit immemorem* (the helmet of Euryalus) ix. 374, and more obviously, *nec sonitus memor* xi. 802, of Camilla not catching the sound of the spear hurled at her.

250. It has been much debated whether *ruit Oceano* means 'rushes up from the

substitit atque utero sonitum quater arma dedere;
instamus tamen immemores caecique furore
et monstrum infelix sacrata sistimus arce.
tunc etiam fatis aperit Cassandra futuris
ora dei iussu non umquam credita Teucris:
nos delubra deum miseri, quibus ultimus esset
ille dies, festa velamus fronde per urbem.
Vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox
involvens umbra magna terramque polumque
Myrmidonumque dolos; fusi per moenia Teucri
conticuere; sopor fessos complectitur artus.
et iam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat
a Tenedo tacitae per amica silentia lunae
litora nota petens, flammas cum regia puppis
extulerat, fatisque deum defensus iniquis
inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim
laxat claustra Sinon. illos patefactus ad auras
reddit equus, laetique cavo se robore promunt
Thessandrus Sthenelusque duces et dirus Ulixes,
demissum lapsi per funem, Acamasque Thoasque

243–253 *MP* 254–262 *FMP* 251 magnam *P* 261 divus *F*¹

Ocean' or 'rushes down over the Ocean'. The former sense would apply in x. 256 *ruebat matura iam luce dies*, the latter in iii. 508 *sol ruit*. But in these, as in the *nox ruit* of vi. 539 and viii. 369, *ruit* need not mean more than 'speeds along'.

255. Servius has an extremely interesting note on this line: 'Sciendum, septima luna captam esse Troiam; hinc est quod dicit [l. 340] *oblati per lunam* et alibi [l. 397] *per caecam noctem.*' *septima luna* is explained in an added note as *dividuo orbis modo*, i.e. 'when the moon was at her first quarter'; she would still be shining at l. 340, but would be setting at l. 360, and would have set before l. 397. This may be over-refinement; but it is pleasant to know that Virgil need not here be accused, any more than in vi. 453 (on which see the note), of carelessness in his observation of nature.

257. The accuracy of the change of tense from *extulerat* to *laxat* should not escape notice. The flares had been sent up from the flag-ship, Sinon has seen them, and he now unbars the horse.

261–4. In the two accounts of the horse in the *Odyssey*, Books iv and xi, the occupants are referred to in general terms as *πάντες ἄριστοι Ἀργείων* and *Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι*. Whether Virgil took his list of nine from the *Iliupersis* or some other source, or

Pelidesque Neoptolemus primusque Machaon
et Menelaus et ipse doli fabricator Epeos.
invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam;
caeduntur vigiles, portisque patentibus omnis
accipiunt socios atque agmina conscia iungunt.
   Tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris
incipit et dono divum gratissima serpit.
in somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector
visus adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus,
raptatus bigis ut quondam, aterque cruento
pulvere perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis.
ei mihi, qualis erat, quantum mutatus ab illo
Hectore qui redit exuvias indutus Achilli,
vel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis!
squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crinis
vulneraque illa gerens, quae circum plurima muros
accepit patrios. ultro flens ipse videbar
compellare virum et maestas expromere voces:
'o lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum,
quae tantae tenuere morae? quibus Hector ab oris

263–282 *FMP*

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made it up arbitrarily, we do not know. Later mythographers gave long catalogues; Quintus Calaber (xii. 314 foll.) names thirty, including seven of those mentioned by Virgil, but not Thessandrus nor Machaon; Hyginus *Fab.* 108 copies Virgil's list, but adds the name of Diomede. Rationalizing interpreters tried to make the legend more credible by explaining the so-called horse as a ship, completely decked over for the purpose, and fitted with a horse's head and tail for figure-head and stern-ornament, '120 [feet?] long and 30 broad' according to a note in D Servius, and kept upright by stays which would represent, or suggest, a horse's legs; and in some such contrivance, misunderstood and distorted in tradition, the legend of the horse may actually have arisen.

Over-curious commentators, ancient and modern, have puzzled themselves over *primusque Machaon*: 'primus, aut princeps, id est inter primos, aut sua arte primus, aut numeri sui, nam per ternos dixit' is the Servian note. It merely means what it says, that Machaon got out first—a touch which makes the narrative more vivid. To the question, Why should he have been the first to get out?, the only and the sufficient answer is, Why not?

267. For *conscia* see note on l. 99 above.

275. *indutus* is a 'middle' participle like

exspectate venis? ut te post multa tuorum
funera, post varios hominumque urbisque labores
defessi aspicimus! quae causa indigna serenos
foedavit vultus? aut cur haec vulnera cerno?'
ille nihil, nec me quaerentem vana moratur,
sed graviter gemitus imo de pectore ducens,
'heu fuge, nate dea, teque his' ait 'eripe flammis.
hostis habet muros; ruit alto a culmine Troia.
sat patriae Priamoque datum: si Pergama dextra
defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.
sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penatis;
hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere
magna pererrato statues quae denique ponto.'
sic ait et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem
aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.
  Diverso interea miscentur moenia luctu,
et magis atque magis, quamquam secreta parentis
Anchisae domus arboribusque obtecta recessit,
clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror.
excutior somno et summi fastigia tecti

283–287 *FMP*   288–302 *FMPV*   299 at M^1

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iaculatus: 'the Hector who returns from having put on the armour of Achilles or from having launched firebrands on the Greek ships'. Here, as in l. 663 below, the force of the present tense in *redit* and *obtruncat* is to convert a single act into a characteristic. In the *generat* of viii. 141 and the *educat* of x. 518, the shade of meaning is slightly different.

285. In the phrase *quae causa*, here and in iii. 584, vii. 197, viii. 112, xi. 250, the word *causa* is approximating to the sense which it has taken in the Italian *cosa* and French *chose*.

296. *vittas Vestamque* is in effect equivalent to *vittatam Vestam*: see note on l. 19 above.

298. Virgil's use of the verb *miscere*, one of his favourite words, may best be followed by remembering its primary sense, 'to stir', and so incidentally 'to mix'. It can usually be rendered by 'stir' or 'stir up', so *incendia miscet* l. 329 below, *maria miscuit* v. 790, *miscentur harenae* iii. 557: sometimes a periphrasis is required to bring out the meaning, as in i. 191 *miscet agens*, 'drives in a confused crowd', iv. 210 *murmura miscent*, 'make confused rumblings', xii. 444 *pulvere campus miscetur*, 'the plain is in a whirl of dust'.

300. *obtecta*, 'screened in front', as distinct from *tecta*, 'covered overhead'.

302. *fastigia* are properly gables or pedi-

ascensu supero atque arrectis auribus asto:
in segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris
incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens
sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores
praecipitisque trahit silvas: stupet inscius alto
accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor.
tum vero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt
insidiae. iam Deiphobi dedit ampla ruinam
Volcano superante domus, iam proximus ardet
Ucalegon; Sigea igni freta lata relucent.
exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum.
  Arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
praecipitat, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.

303–309 *FMPV* 310–313 *MPV* 314–317 *MP* 311 Volcanesuperante *P*
317 praecipitant *M*

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ments (as when Livy xl. 2 mentions a storm which 'fastigia aliquot templorum a culminibus abrupta foede dissipavit'), the *fastigia culminis* of l. 458, the *fastigia tecti* of viii. 366, the *summa fastigia*, 'gable-peaks' of l. 758: so too, probably, in l. 444 *prensant fastigia* means 'clutch at the projecting edges of the gables'. *ascensu* in the next line (the word is only used here by Virgil) probably bears its normal prose meaning of a slope, i.e. a sloped passage leading up to the roof as distinct from a stepped staircase.

307. In the majority of the ten cases where *inscius*, 'unaware', the opposite of *conscius*, 'aware', is used by Virgil, it is merely equivalent to 'ignorant'. But in the description of the foal in *Georg.* iii. 189 as *inscius aevi*, and of the group of children whipping a top in vii. 381 as *inscia impubesque manus*, it has the force of 'callow', 'inexperienced': while in *stupet inscius* here and in x. 249 (but not in vii. 381) it has that of 'puzzled' or 'perplexed'. Quintilian VIII. vi. 10 quotes the line with *sedet* instead of *stupet*.

311. The reading of P, *Volcanesuperante*, points to a variant text, *Volcano exsuperante*, which might be thought preferable if it were better supported. Cf. the variation of the primary MSS. between *cingor* and *accingor* l. 671 below.

312. According to Varro *fretum* originally meant a strong current or 'race'; 'dictum a similitudine ferventis aquae'. Thence it was extended to mean a reach of sea, specially a strait or channel, in which there were such currents. In Virgil (who only uses the plural) *freta* means little more than 'reaches of sea', without any suggestion of 'straits' except in iii. 127 (on which see the note) and in the *freta Sicaniae* of i. 557, which

ecce autem telis Panthus elapsus Achivum,
Panthus Othryades, arcis Phoebique sacerdos,
sacra manu victosque deos parvumque nepotem
ipse trahit cursuque amens ad limina tendit.
'quo res summa loco, Panthu? quam prendimus arcem?'
vix ea fatus eram gemitu cum talia reddit:
'venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus
Dardaniae. fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens
gloria Teucrorum; ferus omnia Iuppiter Argos
transtulit; incensa Danai dominantur in urbe.
arduus armatos mediis in moenibus astans
fundit equus victorque Sinon incendia miscet
insultans. portis alii bipatentibus adsunt,
milia quot magnis umquam venere Mycenis;
obsedere alii telis angusta viarum

318–332 *MP*

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is a reminiscence of the *fretum Siciliense*, the Straits of Messina, habitually called by the Romans simply *Fretum*, as we speak of 'the Straits', meaning the Straits of Gibraltar.

316. For the plural *animi* see note on i. 149.

317. Of the only two primary MSS. available for this passage, one reads *praecipitant*, which was also the reading followed, without comment, by Servius. But *praecipitat*, which would almost inevitably be turned into *praecipitant* by a clever copyist, is defensible if *furor iraque* is thought of as a single thing, 'mad anger'. See note on iv. 275. Elsewhere in Virgil *succurrere* always means 'bring aid to' and is followed by a dative. The word he uses for 'rise to the mind' is *subire*, as in ll. 560, 562 below. There is no reason to question the text here; but though the commentators who notice the phrase at all merely repeat the note in D Servius '*succurrit*, in animum venit', to say 'it occurs to me' in this context is rather flat; the half-line may perhaps be one of Virgil's stop-gaps.

322. The best comment on *quo res summa loco*, 'where is the decisive point?', is Livy's 'ibi rem summam agi cernentes' xxiii. 49. The second half of the line, 'what position are we occupying as our citadel?', repeats the same inquiry in a different form. 'Notanda orationis brevitas, quae in periculis congruit' is the apt comment in Servius.

330. The Ennian word *bipatentibus* is not here, as perhaps it is in x. 5, an ornamental epithet, but adds colour to the picture of the immense numbers of the enemy streaming in through the gateway with both leaves of the great gate flung fully open.

oppositi; stat ferri acies mucrone corusco
stricta, parata neci; vix primi proelia temptant
portarum vigiles et caeco Marte resistunt.'
  Talibus Othryadae dictis et numine divum
in flammas et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys
quo fremitus vocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor.
addunt se socios Rhipeus et maximus armis
Epytus, oblati per lunam, Hypanisque Dymasque
et lateri adglomerant nostro, iuvenisque Coroebus
Mygdonides; illis ad Troiam forte diebus
venerat insano Cassandrae incensus amore
et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat,
infelix qui non sponsae praecepta furentis
audierit . . .
quos ubi confertos audere in proelia vidi,
incipio super his: 'iuvenes, fortissima frustra
pectora si vobis audentem extrema cupido
certa sequi, quae sit rebus fortuna videtis;
excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
di quibus imperium hoc steterat; succurritis urbi
incensae: moriamur et in media arma ruamus.
una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.'

333–354 *MP*   333 oppositis *M*   349 audendi *M*, auden . . . *P*

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333. *oppositis*, the reading of M (P is illegible), is very harsh unless we point after *viarum*, which would impair the rhythm seriously. In a case like this, as in *dea(s) supereminet* i. 501, *cursu(m) mihi* iii. 362, and many other instances, even the best MSS. are an unsafe guide. For the syntax of *ferri acies mucrone corusco*, 'the glittering-pointed edge of steel', see App. A.

348. Servius' explanation is no doubt correct, '*incipio super his*, his incipio, id est verbis; *super* autem, insuper, quia iam audebant': cf. *his accensa super* i. 29. Elsewhere Virgil writes not *super his*, 'in these words moreover', but *super haec*, 'these words moreover', *haec* being governed by *fatur* in x. 556 and xi. 685, and by a similar verb understood in x. 897 *et super haec*, where the sentence is resumed by *haec loquitur* at the end of the speech. For *insuper his* in the doubtful line ix. 274, see note there.

349. Servius notes on this line, 'obscuritatem facit hoc loco falsa lectio: nam multi *audendi* legunt, multi *audenti*: sed neutrum procedit: ergo *audentem* legendum est'. The scribe of P in this perplexity has only written *auden*,

Sic animis iuvenum furor additus. inde, lupi ceu
raptores atra in nebula, quos improba ventris
exegit caecos rabies catulique relicti
faucibus exspectant siccis, per tela, per hostis
vadimus haud dubiam in mortem mediaeque tenemus
urbis iter; nox atra cava circumvolat umbra.
quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
explicet aut possit lacrimis aequare labores?
urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos;
plurima perque vias sternuntur inertia passim
corpora perque domos et religiosa deorum
limina. nec soli poenas dant sanguine Teucri;
quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus
victoresque cadunt Danai. crudelis ubique
luctus, ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago.
Primus se Danaum magna comitante caterva
Androgeos offert nobis, socia agmina credens
inscius, atque ultro verbis compellat amicis:
'festinate, viri! nam quae tam sera moratur
segnities? alii rapiunt incensa feruntque
Pergama: vos celsis nunc primum a navibus itis?'
dixit, et extemplo, neque enim responsa dabantur

355–376 *MP*

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leaving the rest of the word blank. *sequi extrema audendi* is of course quite good sense, and unexceptionable though rather mannered Latin, like the *pelagique extrema sequentem* of viii. 333, and if the vulgate *audendi* be retained, there is no need to make any arbitrary alteration in the next line like the *certa sedet* proposed by Baehrens or the *certa, atqui* suggested by Sabbadini.

353. This line has been much criticized (in praise or in blame) as a 'hysteron-proteron', but the expression is perfectly straightforward and natural: 'All is lost; let us die; and (accordingly) let us hurl ourselves on the thickest of the enemy.'

369. This use of *plurimus* in the sense of 'to its fullest extent', 'in its greatest amount', 'most abundant', is a favourite idiom of Virgil's both in the *Georgics* (i. 187, ii. 166, iii. 52, iv. 419) and in the *Aeneid*, where he writes *plurima pietas* (ii. 429), *purpura* (v. 250), *canities* (vi. 299), *turba* (vi. 667), *flamma* (ix. 536), *virtus* (xi. 312), *terra* (xii. 690). 'The multiplied shape of death' gives an approximate English equivalent here.

373. *moratur* is the transitive, not the in-

fida satis, sensit medios delapsus in hostis.
obstipuit retroque pedem cum voce repressit.
improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem
pressit humi nitens trepidusque repente refugit
attollentem iras et caerula colla tumentem,
haud secus Androgeos visu tremefactus abibat.
inruimus densis et circumfundimur armis,
ignarosque loci passim et formidine captos
sternimus. aspirat primo fortuna labori.
atque hic successu exsultans animisque Coroebus
'o socii, qua prima' inquit 'fortuna salutis
monstrat iter, quaque ostendit se dextra, sequamur:
mutemus clipeos Danaumque insignia nobis
aptemus. dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?
arma dabunt ipsi.' sic fatus deinde comantem
Androgei galeam clipeique insigne decorum
induitur laterique Argivum accommodat ensem.
hoc Rhipeus, hoc ipse Dymas omnisque iuventus
laeta facit: spoliis se quisque recentibus armat.
vadimus immixti Danais haud numine nostro
multaque per caecam congressi proelia noctem

377–397 *MP* 383 circumfudimus *P* 387 quae *M* 396 immixtis *M*[1]

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transitive verb (both are freely used by Virgil), but without any expressed object: 'causes delay', as in *quid moror?* ii. 102, iv. 325, vi. 528. See note on l. 235 above. *sera* and *moratur* are closely attached to one another; 'what slackness makes you linger so late?' as in Horace's 'sera moretur', 'may linger late', *I Od.* xxxviii. 4.

377. For the Grecism *sensit delapsus* cf. *gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum Georg.* ii. 510.

380. *trepidus*, 'quivering' or 'thrilling', whether as here from fear—where this is to be emphasized Virgil says *trepidus formidine*, as in vi. 290, ix. 169—from any excitement (so most frequently), or merely from hurry; thus Nisus and Euryalus are *trepidi* in ix. 233, having been described as *alacres* two lines before. The verb *trepidare* has the same range of application.

381. The plural *iras* is in effect equivalent to 'angry fangs', as in *mulcebat iras*, of the serpent-charmer in vii. 755, and in *acuunt iras* ('angry stings') of the bees in xii. 590 (cf. *spicula exacuunt rostris Georg.* iv. 74). But Virgil elsewhere often seems to use *ira* and *irae* indiscriminately. The conjectural emendation *ira se* is in any case needless.

396. 'In a protection that was not ours',

conserimus, multos Danaum demittimus Orco.
diffugiunt alii ad navis et litora cursu
fida petunt; pars ingentem formidine turpi
scandunt rursus equum et nota conduntur in alvo.
Heu nihil invitis fas quemquam fidere divis!
ecce trahebatur passis Priameia virgo
crinibus a templo Cassandra adytisque Minervae
ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra,
lumina, nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas.
non tulit hanc speciem furiata mente Coroebus
et sese medium iniecit periturus in agmen.
consequimur cuncti et densis incurrimus armis.
hic primum ex alto delubri culmine telis
nostrorum obruimur oriturque miserrima caedes
armorum facie et Graiarum errore iubarum;
tum Danai gemitu atque ereptae virginis ira
undique collecti invadunt, acerrimus Aiax
et gemini Atridae Dolopumque exercitus omnis:
adversi rupto ceu quondam turbine venti
confligunt, Zephyrusque Notusque et laetus Eois
Eurus equis; stridunt silvae saevitque tridenti

398–418 *MP*   398 dimittimus *MP*

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i.e. that (1) was stolen, (2) was destined to be ineffective, as more fully stated in l. 402.

398. The best MSS. here read *dimittimus*; *demittimus* has been received as the established text since Heinsius (1636). There are a number of instances in Virgil where either verb gives a good sense and where the primary MSS. vary, e.g. i. 297, iii. 535.

407. *hanc speciem*, 'this appearance', i.e. the appearance of Cassandra in this state. *Species*, a word rarely used by Virgil except in his earlier poetry, has always with him the sense of 'outward appearance': cf. iv. 170 *specie famave movetur*, vi. 170 *talis erat species auri frondentis*: also the *species atque ora* of Proteus's transformations, *Georg.* iv. 406, and the *species nomenque moreti* in *Mor.* 118 (if the *Moretum* be by Virgil).

408. *periturus*, 'with death before him': so *moritura*, of Amata, xii. 55.

412. *facie* is not an ablative, but the older and what was held by purists the more correct form of the genitive: 'Caesar in libro de analogia secundo *huius die* et *huius specie* dicendum putat' says A. Gellius IX. xiv. 25. Virgil does not use it elsewhere, unless the reading *die* be accepted in i. 636; but neither does he use the genitive in *-ei* except once, in *diei* ix. 156.

spumeus atque imo Nereus ciet aequora fundo.
illi etiam, si quos obscura nocte per umbram
fudimus insidiis totaque agitavimus urbe,
apparent; primi clipeos mentitaque tela
agnoscunt atque ora sono discordia signant.
ilicet obruimur numero; primusque Coroebus
Penelei dextra divae armipotentis ad aram
procumbit; cadit et Rhipeus, iustissimus unus
qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi;
dis aliter visum; pereunt Hypanisque Dymasque
confixi a sociis; nec te tua plurima, Panthu,
labentem pietas nec Apollinis infula texit.
Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum,
testor, in occasu vestro nec tela nec ullas
vitavisse vices Danaum et, si fata fuissent
ut caderem, meruisse manu. divellimur inde,
Iphitus et Pelias mecum, quorum Iphitus aevo
iam gravior, Pelias et vulnere tardus Ulixi.

419–436 *MP*

432–4. The phrasing in the sentence admits of several interpretations; there can be no certainty whether Virgil meant to connect *Danaum* with *vices* or with *manu*, and *ut caderem* with *si fata fuissent* or with *meruisse*. The likewise ambiguous wording of l. 645, *ipse manu mortem inveniam*, does not help one way or another. For *testor vitavisse*, instead of the more normal *testor me vitavisse* (as in xii. 581 *testatur se ad proelia cogi*), cf. *negat meminisse* iii. 201, and in contemporary prose, 'id nescire dixit' Livy xxiii. 63.

434. The force of *divellimur* has been missed or slurred by most commentators, and is obscured by the ordinary punctuation. It does not mean 'thrust away' but 'torn asunder'; Aeneas being left alone with two comrades. To make the sentence logically complete, the subject of *divellimur* would be *alii alio, Iphitus et Pelias mecum.*

443. The vulgate *ad tela* has no MS. authority: it is first found in the Servian note, '*Ad tela*, id est contra tela. et hoc verum est; nam si *ac tela*, sinistris manibus simul tenent tela et scutum cum se tegunt.' But this is exactly the point: a soldier escalading a wall could not 'clutch at the cornice with his right hand' unless he first shifted his spear to his left, and the 'translatis in laevam hastis' of Livy xxxviii. 21 was, for men who required their right hands for some other purpose, a matter of course. And *obiciunt ad tela* is very doubtful Latin for *obiciunt telis.*

Protinus ad sedes Priami clamore vocati,
hic vero ingentem pugnam, ceu cetera nusquam
bella forent, nulli tota morerentur in urbe,
sic Martem indomitum Danaosque ad tecta ruentis
cernimus obsessumque acta testudine limen.
haerent parietibus scalae postisque sub ipsos
nituntur gradibus clipeosque ac tela sinistris
protecti obiciunt, prensant fastigia dextris.
Dardanidae contra turris ac tecta domorum
culmina convellunt; his se, quando ultima cernunt,
extrema iam in morte parant defendere telis;
auratasque trabes, veterum decora alta parentum,
devolvunt; alii strictis mucronibus imas
obsedere fores, has servant agmine denso.
instaurati animi regis succurrere tectis
auxilioque levare viros vimque addere victis.
Limen erat caecaeque fores et pervius usus
tectorum inter se Priami, postesque relicti

437–454 *FMP* 443 ad tecta F^1 445 ac tota P^1 448 illa F^1P
450 asservant P^1

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445. The balance of authority (MSS. and grammarians) is in favour of *tecta*, which is also supported by xii. 131–3, *vulgus inermum invalidique senes turris ac tecta domorum obsedere, alii portis sublimibus astant*; but the alternative reading *tota* gives an equally good sense.

446. The usual interpretation of *ultima cernunt* as 'see that the end is come', though it may be supported by the *extrema pati* of i. 219, seems a piece of over-refinement; 'see these are their last weapons' is the more obvious and quite satisfactory meaning. The obscure *simul ultima signant* of v. 317 (see note on that line) does not help much one way or the other.

450. The best comment on this line is the passage in Book XII quoted on l. 445 above. *obsidere*, 'to beset', is used by Virgil both of assailants and of defenders, or (as of the swarm of bees in vii. 66) without implying either. But the *has servant*, where we should expect merely *ac servant*, suggests that the new clause beginning with these words is broken off and that Virgil meant to continue it in another line.

453–7. These five lines are clearly a draft, left for further revision; they are a good illustration of Virgil's recorded practice of writing down a passage in provisional form, with imperfections or redundancies or awkwardnesses, and afterwards retouching and working it into shape 'like a she-bear licking her cubs'. They are parenthetically placed in the narrative; the transition from l. 457 to l. 458

a tergo, infelix qua se, dum regna manebant,
saepius Andromache ferre incomitata solebat
ad soceros et avo puerum Astyanacta trahebat.
evado ad summi fastigia culminis, unde
tela manu miseri iactabant inrita Teucri.
turrim in praecipiti stantem summisque sub astra
eductam tectis, unde omnis Troia videri
et Danaum solitae naves et Achaica castra,
adgressi ferro circum, qua summa labantis
iuncturas tabulata dabant, convellimus altis
sedibus impulimusque; ea lapsa repente ruinam
cum sonitu trahit et Danaum super agmina late
incidit. ast alii subeunt, nec saxa nec ullum
telorum interea cessat genus. . . .
  Vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus
exsultat telis et luce coruscus aëna;
qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus,
frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebat,

455–468 *FMP*   469 *MP*   470–472 *MPV*   462 Achaia *F*
465 elapsa P^1, ruente P^1, ruina M^1

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is decidedly abrupt, and l. 458 would follow easily and naturally on l. 452, for it should be carefully noted that the *instaurati animi* of l. 451 is the renewed courage of Aeneas himself, not of him and his companions (see note on i. 149); since Iphitus and Pelias are out of action for the reason stated in l. 436, and at this point Aeneas is alone. It may in fact be suggested that these five lines would come better between l. 450 and l. 451.

Marks of incomplete shaping are (1) the piling up of more or less equivalent phrases to describe the postern, (2) a certain languor in the three lines about Andromache, (3) the endings *manebant*, *solebat*, *trahebat* in three successive lines: otherwise, no exception can be taken to any single phrase in the passage. The 'eyeless door' and 'abandoned backgate' require no comment. The *pervius usus tectorum inter se Priami* is a 'service-passage' from the postern 'into the suite of royal apartments'; for the use of *inter se* as an adjectival phrase attached to *tectorum*, see note on i. 455. *ad soceros* is good Latin for 'to her father-in-law and mother-in-law'. In old Latin the word for both was *socrus*; later, for clearness, the form *socer* was created for father-in-law, and *socrus*, as a feminine word, restricted to the meaning of mother-in-law. Where Virgil again uses the plural *soceri* (x. 79) it is a rhetorical plural, as is shown by the *pactas* (not *pactam*) of the same line. But Ovid gives a complete parallel to its use here

nunc, positis novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa,
lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga
arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis.
una ingens Periphas et equorum agitator Achillis,
armiger Automedon, una omnis Scyria pubes
succedunt tecto et flammas ad culmina iactant.
ipse inter primos correpta dura bipenni
limina perrumpit postisque a cardine vellit
aeratos; iamque excisa trabe firma cavavit
make a [illegible]
robora et ingentem lato dedit ore fenestram.
apparet domus intus et atria longa patescunt;
apparent Priami et veterum penetralia regum,
armatosque vident stantis in limine primo.
  At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu
miscetur, penitusque cavae plangoribus aedes
femineis ululant; ferit aurea sidera clamor.
tum pavidae tectis matres ingentibus errant
amplexaeque tenent postis atque oscula figunt.

473–490 *MPV* 474 convolvens *V*

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in *Met.* iii. 132, 'soceri tibi Marsque Venusque'.

464. The turret was built up flush with the outer wall (*in praecipiti*) on a 'bed' (*sedes*) of plank flooring (*tabulata*), which 'presented', at the base of the turret, joints that 'gave' (*dabant iuncturas labantes*) under the blows applied, and let the whole turret topple over.

475. *linguis trisulcis* is an 'ablative of description' attached to *ore*, and gives the meaning which in early Latin with its bolder use of compound epithets might have been given by the single word *trisulcilinguo*.

480. *a cardine* is not 'from the hinge', but 'at the hinge'; and so also *emoti cardine* in l. 493. It must be borne in mind that the *postes* are not the jambs of the door-frame, but the vertical rails into which the door-leaves were mortised, these rails having pins at top and bottom that fitted into sockets in the architrave and sill. *cardo*, though it may be conveniently translated 'hinge', is the socket and pin, not a hinge in the ordinary modern sense of the word.

485. It is obviously the assailants who see, through the opening hacked in the door, the armed defenders standing just inside. Cf. Livy xxxviii. 7 'pari celeritate novus pro diruto murus obiciebatur, et armati ruinis superstantes instar munimenti erant'. But the abrupt change of subject is rather awkward, and suggests some incompletion in the passage as Virgil left it.

490. For *oscula figunt* see note on i. 256.

instat vi patria Pyrrhus; nec claustra nec ipsi
custodes sufferre valent; labat ariete crebro
ianua, et emoti procumbunt cardine postes.
fit via vi; rumpunt aditus primosque trucidant
immissi Danai et late loca milite complent.
non sic, aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis
exiit oppositasque evicit gurgite moles,
fertur in arva furens cumulo camposque per omnis
cum stabulis armenta trahit. vidi ipse furentem
caede Neoptolemum geminosque in limine Atridas,
vidi Hecubam centumque nurus Priamumque per aras
sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacraverat ignis.
quinquaginta illi thalami, spes ampla nepotum,
barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi
procubuere; tenent Danai qua deficit ignis.
Forsitan et Priami fuerint quae fata requiras.
urbis uti captae casum convulsaque vidit
limina tectorum et medium in penetralibus hostem,
arma diu senior desueta trementibus aevo
circumdat nequiquam umeris et inutile ferrum
cingitur, ac densos fertur moriturus in hostis.
aedibus in mediis nudoque sub aetheris axe
ingens ara fuit iuxtaque veterrima laurus

491–496 *MPV*   497–513 *MP*   503 tanta *M*   508 mediis P^2

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495. *late loca*, here and again ix. 190, is practically equivalent to 'the wide spaces': see note on i. 13.

501. Editors have taken needless pains to seek some arithmetical justification for *centum*, and to reconcile it with the *quinquaginta* of l. 503. The Servian note, 'finitus numeros pro infinito', is all the comment required. Probably no Latin reader found any more difficulty here than over the *tot linguae, tot auris* of iv. 183. The fifty thalami Virgil took direct from Homer (*Il.* vi. 244). There is, however, nothing inappropriate in making Aeneas speak of 'those fifty chambers' as a thing widely known, and familiar by report even at Carthage. *per aras* of course only means 'amid the altars', like the *per vias* of l. 364, or *per somnum*, 'while asleep', not 'throughout sleep'.

504. The epithet 'barbaric' here has been criticized as more suited to the mouth of a Greek than of a Trojan; and a similar criticism might be made on the *barbara tegmina crurum* of the Trojan Chloreus

incumbens arae atque umbra complexa penatis.
hic Hecuba et natae nequiquam altaria circum,
praecipites atra ceu tempestate columbae,
condensae et divum amplexae simulacra sedebant.
ipsum autem sumptis Priamum iuvenalibus armis
ut vidit, 'quae mens tam dira, miserrime coniunx,
impulit his cingi telis? aut quo ruis?' inquit.
'non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
tempus eget; non, si ipse meus nunc adforet Hector.
huc tandem concede; haec ara tuebitur omnis,
aut moriere simul.' sic ore effata recepit
ad sese et sacra longaevum in sede locavit.
Ecce autem elapsus Pyrrhi de caede Polites,
unus natorum Priami, per tela, per hostis
porticibus longis fugit et vacua atria lustrat
saucius. illum ardens infesto vulnere Pyrrhus
insequitur, iam iamque manu tenet et premit hasta.
ut tandem ante oculos evasit et ora parentum,
concidit ac multo vitam cum sanguine fudit.
hic Priamus, quamquam in media iam morte tenetur,
non tamen abstinuit nec voci iraeque pepercit:
'at tibi pro scelere,' exclamat, 'pro talibus ausis
di, si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet,

514–536 *MP*   517 tenebant M^1

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in xi. 777. But in Latin, as in Greek, it ordinarily meant little more than 'Oriental': it is thus used of the forces of Antony in viii. 685, and in Milton's 'barbaric gold', *P. L.* ii. 4.

518. The unmetrical *mediis in penetralibus* was found in early copies of the *Aeneid*, and attempts were actually made to defend it: see note on xii. 709.

529. *infestus* in Virgil always means 'pressing close upon'; generally, in a hostile sense, but in x. 206 it is used of a ship's prow pressing through the water. The picture is continued in the next line, 'clutching at him with his hand and pricking him with his spear', or 'punching him with his spear', in the odd but vivid phrase of Spenser, *F.Q.* VI. ii. 22. For *tenet* in this sense see note on i. 400.

534. For *voci iraeque*, 'voice of anger', see note on l. 19 above.

535. The Latin *at*, like the Greek ἀλλά, is the regular formulary opening word of a prayer; it has to be left untranslated in English, or at most only indicated by such a word as 'ah'.

persolvant grates dignas et praemia reddant
debita, qui nati coram me cernere letum
fecisti et patrios foedasti funere vultus.
at non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles
talis in hoste fuit Priamo; sed iura fidemque
supplicis erubuit corpusque exsangue sepulcro
reddidit Hectoreum meque in mea regna remisit.'
sic fatus senior telumque imbelle sine ictu
coniecit, rauco quod protinus aere repulsum,
et summo clipei nequiquam umbone pependit.
cui Pyrrhus: 'referes ergo haec et nuntius ibis
Pelidae genitori. illi mea tristia facta
degeneremque Neoptolemum narrare memento.
nunc morere.' hoc dicens altaria ad ipsa trementem
traxit et in multo lapsantem sanguine nati,
implicuitque comam laevā, dextraque coruscum

537–552 *MP*   552 coma laevam *P*

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544. The repeated ellipsis of *est* in two successive lines, after *fatus* and after *repulsum*, is certainly unusual (but it occurs again iii. 135–36), and lends some colour to the alternative reading *e summo* (or *ex summo*) in l. 546, only found in one late MS., accepted and on reconsideration rejected by Heyne, and adopted by a number of later editors. It is also possible to avoid the double ellipsis by removing the point after *repulsum* and taking *rauco aere et summo umbone clipei*, in consonance with Virgilian usage, as equivalent to *rauco aere summi umbonis clipei*: cf. note on xii. 541.

555. *illum sorte tulit*, 'took him by lot', i.e. 'was his doom'.

564. A run of monosyllables as in this line is very rare in Virgil, but employed by him with great skill and effect. The two outstanding instances are Dido's *nec cum se sub leges pacis iniquae* iv. 618 and Jupiter's even more remarkable *do quod vis et me victusque volensque remitto* xii. 833: cf. also the pathetic *unum hoc per si qua est* of the dying Mezentius, x. 903. *copia* means 'force', a sense generally confined to the plural *copiae*, 'forces': so again xi. 834 *omnis copia Teucrum*.

566. The senses in which Virgil uses the word *aeger* should be carefully discriminated. It has its normal meaning of 'ill' or 'ailing' in iii. 140, 142, v. 650, and x. 856, as also in *Georg.* iii. 496, iv. 254. Elsewhere and more frequently it means 'sick at heart', i. 208, iv. 389, x. 612, as also *Ecl.* i. 13; 'pining', i. 351, iii. 142, iv. 35, and *Georg.* iii. 512, iv. 464; or 'exhausted', here and v. 432, 468, ix. 814, x. 837, xii. 910. In the four times repeated *mortalibus aegris* of ii. 268, x. 274, xii. 850, and *Georg.* i. 237 it has the wider sense of 'unhappy'.

567–88. This passage is not in any ancient MS. It is given by Servius, who says

extulit ac lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem.
haec finis Priami fatorum, hic exitus illum
sorte tulit Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem
Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum
regnatorem Asiae. iacet ingens litore truncus,
avulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.
  At me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror.
obstipui; subiit cari genitoris imago,
ut regem aequaevum crudeli vulnere vidi
vitam exhalantem; subiit deserta Creusa
et direpta domus et parvi casus Iuli.
respicio et quae sit me circum copia lustro.
deseruere omnes defessi, et corpora saltu
ad terram misere aut ignibus aegra dedere:
iamque adeo super unus eram, cum limina Vestae
servantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentem

553–566 *MP* 567–568 *see note*

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that the twenty-two lines were in the Virgilian autograph, but were struck out by Tucca and Varius. There is no reason to doubt the truth of this; but there is no direct evidence for the reasons which weighed with them in doing so; whether because the passage (1) was ringed or only marginally inserted in the autograph, or (2) was inconsistent with vi. 511–30 where the ghost of Deiphobus describes Helen as having acted in concert with the Greeks all through that night, or (3) offended sentiment by making Aeneas propose to kill a helpless woman, or (4) was too obviously unrevised; or for some or all of these reasons in combination.

It is important to remark that without this passage the narrative is both continuous and coherent. The words of Venus in ll. 594–5, *indomitas iras* and *furis*, certainly lose their relevance if it is omitted, for the *furor iraque* of l. 316, re-emphasized in l. 355, had by now given place to a sort of stupefied despair (ll. 559–60), and Venus's words would seem to have direct reference to the *ignes animo* and *ira* of l. 575; so too her special reference to Helen in l. 601 as only a subsidiary cause of the catastrophe, particularly the words *Tyndaridis facies invisa*, repeating the *Tyndarida aspicio . . . invisa* of ll. 569 and 574, perhaps implies the earlier portion at least of the passage in question, though the force of this last argument is lessened by the *culpatusve Paris* which immediately follows. On the other hand, the *descendo* of l. 632 implies that Aeneas has until then been still on the palace roof. All that we can say certainly on the internal evidence is that the passage is Virgilian, that it is an incomplete and unrevised draft, and that its rhythm and phrasing are those of Virgil's later, not his earlier manner.

Tyndarida aspicio; dant clara incendia lucem
erranti passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti.
illa sibi infestos eversa ob Pergama Teucros
et poenas Danaum et deserti coniugis iras
praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis Erinys,
abdiderat sese atque aris invisa sedebat.
exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem
ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas.
'scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenas
aspiciet, partoque ibit regina triumpho,
coniugiumque domumque patres natosque videbit
Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris;
occiderit ferro Priamus, Troia arserit igni,
Dardanium totiens sudarit sanguine litus?
non ita. namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen
feminea in poena est, habet haec victoria laudem,

569–584 *see note*

The Servian MSS., written by illiterate or careless or unintelligent scribes, are full of mistakes and vary from one another a good deal in details. The vulgate printed texts, beyond the correction of obvious blunders, all incorporate a greater or less number of conjectural emendations. In dealing with the transcript of a rough draft, this is a very slippery procedure; and the text printed here follows the MSS. except on points of spelling or other purely scribal errors that can be corrected with certainty. Notes are added on the substantial emendations which have been largely or generally accepted, and on a few other doubtful readings.

l. 569. Ribbeck proposed to read *claram* for *clara*. As between *clara* and *clarā* MS. evidence counts for little or nothing; and *claram* sounds rather more Virgilian.

l. 572. The majority of the MSS. have *iras*, and it gives an excellent sense (see note on i. 25), but *iram* a more musical line.

l. 573. The MSS. vary between *permetuens* and *praemetuens*, which has been adopted in all printed editions. Neither word is used elsewhere by Virgil; but *praemetuens* occurs in Lucretius iii. 1019 (and the adverb *praemetuenter* iv. 823), as also in Caesar, *B. G.* vii. 49 and Phaedrus I. xvi. 4, while there is no trace of a verb *permetuere* in extant Latin. There is of course no reason why it should not have existed, like *perterrere*.

l. 574. *invisa* has been taken by some commentators to mean 'unseen'. But Virgil never elsewhere (in about twenty instances) uses it in that sense.

l. 576. *sceleratas poenas*, like *merentis poenas* l. 586, is an artificial but quite Virgilian way of saying 'punishment of

exstinxisse nefas; tamen et sumpsisse merentis
laudabor poenas, animumque explesse iuvabit
ultricis †famam et cineres satiasse meorum.'
talia iactabam et furiata mente ferebar,
cum mihi se, non ante oculis tam clara, videndam
obtulit et pura per noctem in luce refulsit
alma parens, confessa deam qualisque videri
caelicolis et quanta solet, dextraque prehensum
continuit roseoque haec insuper addidit ore:
'Nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?
quid furis aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit?
non prius aspicies ubi fessum aetate parentem
liqueris Anchisen, superet coniunxne Creusa
Ascaniusque puer? quos omnis undique Graiae
circum errant acies et, ni mea cura resistat,
iam flammae tulerint inimicus et hauserit ensis.

585–588 *see note* 589–600 *MP*

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a criminal' and 'punishment of one who deserves it'.

l. 579. The MSS. text *domumque patres natosque* was early altered conjecturally into *domumque patris, natosque* and is so printed in many modern editions. But if the words are to be taken in their literal meaning, *natos* would have to be altered too; for Helen had no son, and only one daughter; and we might as well (with Wagner in his revision of Heyne) reject the whole line as spurious; it is in any case both superfluous and feeble. Otherwise, *patres natosque* must be understood in a generalized sense as meaning 'ancestors and descendants', or the older and younger generation of her own people.

l. 582. Heinsius's ingenious emendation, *undarit* for *sudarit*, has met perhaps with less favour than it deserves.

ll. 584, 585. The vulgate *nec habet* for *habet haec* of the MSS. is pure conjecture, and needless with the punctuation in the text. For *tamen* as the opening word of a sentence or clause cf. *Ecl.* ix. 62, x. 31, *Georg.* ii. 49.

l. 587. The corruption of the MSS., *ultricis famam* (in one MS. *ultricis famae*), is probably irremediable. The vulgate *flammae* is unsatisfactory, as *ultrix flamma* is a distortion of language, and *explere flammae* is doubtful Latin: the *ultricem sagittam* of xi. 590 and the *implentur Bacchi* of i. 215 are insufficient to support them. The ingenious conjecture of Schoell, *ultricique manu cineres*, at least makes sense.

591. The idiom of *confessa deam*, 'confessing the goddess', is also found in English, as in the well-known 'assumes the god' of Dryden's St. Cecilia Ode, and in colloquial phrases like 'acting the gentleman'.

non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacaenae
culpatusve Paris, divum inclementia, divum,
has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam.
aspice; namque omnem, quae nunc obducta tuenti
mortalis hebetat visus tibi et umida circum
caligat, nubem eripiam; tu ne qua parentis
iussa time neu praeceptis parere recusa:
hic, ubi disiectas moles avulsaque saxis
saxa vides, mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum,
Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti
fundamenta quatit totamque a sedibus urbem
eruit. hic Iuno Scaeas saevissima portas
prima tenet sociumque furens a navibus agmen
ferro accincta vocat. . . .
iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas
insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva.
ipse pater Danais animos virisque secundas
sufficit, ipse deos in Dardana suscitat arma.
eripe, nate, fugam finemque impone labori.
nusquam abero et tutum patrio te limine sistam.'
Dixerat et spissis noctis se condidit umbris.
apparent dirae facies inimicaque Troiae
numina magna deum. . . .

601–622 *MP*   623 *MPV*   620 numquam *M*^{1}

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613. For the force of *prima* see note on i. 1.

616. The Servian explanation of *nimbus* here, 'fulgidum lumen quo deorum capita cinguntur: sic etiam pingi solet', is undoubtedly correct; but Servius also mentions that there was a variant reading *limbo*, 'bordure', which though only found in some inferior MSS. has been accepted by many editors. The particularization of *nimbus* with this meaning may be traced through Virgil in phrases like *obscuro faciem circumdata nimbo* xii. 416, *nimbo succincta* (of Juno descending from heaven) x. 634, and the *ingens nimbus* which surrounds the 'choirs of Ida' as they pass swiftly across the sky ix. 111.

626. The simile beginning *ac veluti* is left in the air, as is that in iv. 402–6, on which see note. The passages in which these similes occur both contain broken lines and are otherwise incomplete.

631. It is not certain, nor is it very material, whether *iugis* here was meant to be taken with *avulsa*, 'torn away

tum vero omne mihi visum considere in ignis
Ilium et ex imo verti Neptunia Troia;
ac veluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum
cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant
eruere agricolae certatim; illa usque minatur
et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat,
vulneribus donec paulatim evicta supremum
congemuit traxitque iugis avulsa ruinam. . . .
descendo ac ducente deo flammam inter et hostis
expedior: dant tela locum flammaeque recedunt.
  Atque ubi iam patriae perventum ad limina sedis
antiquasque domos, genitor, quem tollere in altos
optabam primum montis primumque petebam,
abnegat excisa vitam producere Troia
exsiliumque pati. 'vos o, quibus integer aevi
sanguis,' ait, 'solidaeque suo stant robore vires,
vos agitate fugam. . . .
me si caelicolae voluissent ducere vitam,
has mihi servassent sedes. satis una superque
vidimus excidia et captae superavimus urbi.
sic o sic positum adfati discedite corpus.
ipse manu mortem inveniam; miserebitur hostis
exuviasque petet. facilis iactura sepulcri.

624–646 *MPV* 630 victa *V* 632 dea $M^1P^2V^1$, de . . . P^1 645 morte *P*

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from the hill-crest', or with *traxit ruinam*, 'comes down with a rush along the hill-crest'.

632. The balance of MS. authority is for *dea* here; but *deo* seems to have been read by all the ancient commentators.

638. The beauty and fitness of the phrase *integer aevi* (repeated by Virgil ix. 255) are best realized if we render it quite literally, 'not age-touched'.

640. *agitate fugam*, a phrase to which there is no distinct parallel in Virgil though *agitare* is a word he very often uses, probably means 'impel yourselves to flight'. Heyne's interpretation, 'de fuga deliberate', is hardly admissible.

645. *ipse manu*, 'with my own hand', i.e. by provoking their attack, as Priam had done with Pyrrhus. The ingenious conjecture *ipse manens*, though it gives an excellent sense, is quite arbitrary. The variation in the MSS. is no doubt due to an earlier text, *manu morte*, in which it was not clear whether that represented *manū morte* or *manu mortē*.

iam pridem invisus divis et inutilis annos
demoror, ex quo me divum pater atque hominum rex
fulminis adflavit ventis et contigit igni.'
  Talia perstabat memorans fixusque manebat.
nos contra effusi lacrimis coniunxque Creusa
Ascaniusque omnisque domus, ne vertere secum
cuncta pater fatoque urgenti incumbere vellet.
abnegat inceptoque et sedibus haeret in isdem.
rursus in arma feror mortemque miserrimus opto.
nam quod consilium aut quae iam fortuna dabatur?
'mene efferre pedem, genitor, te posse relicto
sperasti tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore?
si nihil ex tanta superis placet urbe relinqui,
et sedet hoc animo perituraeque addere Troiae
teque tuosque iuvat, patet isti ianua leto,
iamque aderit multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus,
natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras.
hoc erat, alma parens, quod me per tela, per ignis
eripis, ut mediis hostem in penetralibus utque
Ascanium patremque meum iuxtaque Creusam
alterum in alterius mactatos sanguine cernam?
arma, viri, ferte arma; vocat lux ultima victos.
reddite me Danais; sinite instaurata revisam
proelia. numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti.'

647–670 *MPV*   663 patremque *M*   667 mactato *MPV*

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653. *incumbere* here means 'to press on', 'to add one's weight to'. 'Simile est', Servius notes aptly, 'ut currentem incitare, praecipitantem impellere.'

663. For the force of the present tense see note on l. 275 above.

669. 'Revisit the renewed battle' is Virgil's characteristically condensed way of saying 'revisit the battlefield and renew the battle'.

671. *accingor*, 'I harness myself'; this 'middle' or reflexive use of the passive is repeated in *imponere* l. 707, *insternor* l. 722, and *cingor* l. 749.

683. The *apex* (again mentioned viii. 664) was the spike tufted with wool distinctive of the cap, *pilleus*, which was the official head-dress of the Latin *flamines*, and in particular of the Flamen Dialis, and came to be used as the name of that head-dress itself. Its being worn by Iulus here is an allusion to the tradi-

hinc ferro accingor rursus clipeoque sinistram
insertabam aptans meque extra tecta ferebam.
Ecce autem complexa pedes in limine coniunx
haerebat, parvumque patri tendebat Iulum:
'si periturus abis, et nos rape in omnia tecum;
sin aliquam expertus sumptis spem ponis in armis,
hanc primum tutare domum. cui parvus Iulus,
cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquor?'
talia vociferans gemitu tectum omne replebat,
cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum.
namque manus inter maestorumque ora parentum
ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli
fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia mollis
lambere flamma comas et circum tempora pasci.
nos pavidi trepidare metu crinemque flagrantem
excutere et sanctos restinguere fontibus ignis.
at pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus
extulit et caelo palmas cum voce tetendit:
'Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis,
aspice nos; hoc tantum et si pietate meremur,
da deinde auxilium, pater, atque haec omina firma.'
Vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore
intonuit laevum, et de caelo lapsa per umbras
stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit.

671–672 *MPV* 673–694 *FMPV* 671 cingor P^{1} 678 relinquar M^{1}
680 subito *MPV*

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tion that the worship of Jupiter Latiaris by the cities of the Latin League at Alba Longa was instituted by him and that he was the first Flamen Dialis. It is not unlikely (but there is no direct evidence) that the *apex*, like the *toga praetexta*, might also be worn by boys. In xii. 492 the *apex* is the military helmet-spike to which the plume, *crista*, was attached.

690. There are three possible ways of punctuating this line, with corresponding differences of meaning, and according as *tantum* is taken as the pronominal adjective or the adverb: (1) *aspice nos hoc tantum*, 'look on us but now'; (2) *aspice nos; hoc tantum*, 'look on us; no more'; (3) *aspice nos; hoc tantum et si pietate meremur*, 'look on us, and if our devotion deserves as much as this'. The choice is one of taste, but (3) gives the finest rhythm.

illam summa super labentem culmina tecti
cernimus Idaea claram se condere silva
signantemque vias; tum longo limite sulcus
dat lucem et late circum loca sulpure fumant.
hic vero victus genitor se tollit ad auras
adfaturque deos et sanctum sidus adorat.
'iam iam nulla mora est; sequor et qua ducitis adsum,
di patrii; servate domum, servate nepotem.
vestrum hoc augurium, vestroque in numine Troia est.
cedo equidem nec, nate, tibi comes ire recuso.'
   Dixerat ille, et iam per moenia clarior ignis
auditur, propiusque aestus incendia volvunt.
'ergo age, care pater, cervici imponere nostrae;
ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste gravabit;
quo res cumque cadent, unum et commune periclum,
una salus ambobus erit. mihi parvus Iulus
sit comes, et longe servet vestigia coniunx.
vos, famuli, quae dicam animis advertite vestris.
est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum
desertae Cereris, iuxtaque antiqua cupressus
religione patrum multos servata per annos.
hanc ex diverso sedem veniemus in unam.

695–699 *FMPV*   700–716 *MPV*   699 tollere *P*

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697. *limes*, the technical surveyor's term for boundary-line, and also for a marked point on such a line, a boundary-stone (so in xii. 898); hence more widely, a track, as in 'lato satis et patenti limite', of a road made for military purposes, Livy xxxiv. 28: so x. 514 *latum limitem agit per agmen*; and perhaps *recto limite* (vulg. *recto litore*) vi. 900.

703. *numen* here is very nearly equivalent to 'divine protection', as in *haud numine nostro* l. 396 above, *sit numine vestro* vi. 266, *quorum sub numine Troia est* ix. 247.

706. *volvunt aestus*, 'roll their hot tides': *aestus* here as in l. 759 below preserving, like the corresponding English 'boiling', the implied notion of intense heat.

711. The word *longe* caused some perplexity to the ancient commentators as being inconsistent with Creusa 'keeping in his footprints' and with the *pone subit*, 'comes up close behind', of l. 725. But 'at a distance' need only mean 'at an interval' or 'separately'; it is needless to interpret *longe* as meaning 'for the whole length of the way', even if that were Latin.

tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque penatis;
me bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti
attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo
abluero. . . .'
haec fatus latos umeros subiectaque colla
veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis,
succedoque oneri; dextrae se parvus Iulus
implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis;
pone subit coniunx. ferimur per opaca locorum,
et me, quem dudum non ulla iniecta movebant
tela neque adverso glomerati exagmine Grai,
nunc omnes terrent aurae, sonus excitat omnis
suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem.
  Iamque propinquabam portis omnemque videbar
evasisse viam, subito cum creber ad auris
visus adesse pedum sonitus, genitorque per umbram
prospiciens 'nate' exclamat 'fuge, nate; propinquant.
ardentis clipeos atque aera micantia cerno.'
hic mihi nescio quod trepido male numen amicum
confusam eripuit mentem. namque avia cursu
dum sequor et nota excedo regione viarum,
heu misero coniunx fatone erepta Creusa

717–726 *MPV*   727–738 *MP*   727 ex agmine *MP*

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721. *subiecta colla insternor* is the normal Virgilian way of expressing *subicio et insternor*, only a little complicated by the different case-government of the two verbs; if fully set out, it would be *subicio colla vesti et insternor veste*.

727. Housman's correction, *exagmine*, for the vulgate *ex agmine*, here and in vii. 703, where it is used of a mass of armed men, may be accepted without hesitation. *exagmen*, the older form of *examen*, was presumably found by Virgil in Ennius, and the slight archaism gives added dignity. Elsewhere (seven times, chiefly in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, but once in the *Aeneid*, vii. 67) *examen* means a swarm of bees and has its normal spelling. (The homonym *examen* meaning a balance is also once used by him, xii. 725.) In xi. 60, 757, xii. 324, and probably v. 378, *ex agmine* are two words.

737. In the phrase *regione viarum*, here and ix. 385, xi. 530, as also in *regione viae* vii. 215, *regio* bears its primary sense of 'direction'. In viii. 528 *caeli in regione serena*, as in *Georg.* ii. 269 *caeli regionem in cortice signat*, it has its

substitit, erravitne via seu lassa resedit,
incertum; nec post oculis est reddita nostris. 740
nec prius amissam respexi animumve reflexi
quam tumulum antiquae Cereris sedemque sacratam
venimus: hic demum collectis omnibus una
defuit, et comites natumque virumque fefellit.
quem non incusavi amens hominumque deorumque, 745
aut quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe?
Ascanium Anchisenque patrem Teucrosque penatis
commendo sociis et curva valle recondo;
ipse urbem repeto et cingor fulgentibus armis,
stat casus renovare omnis omnemque reverti 750
per Troiam et rursus caput obiectare periclis.
principio muros obscuraque limina portae,
qua gressum extuleram, repeto et vestigia retro
observata sequor per noctem et lumine lustro:
horror ubique animo, simul ipsa silentia terrent. 755
inde domum, si forte pedem, si forte tulisset,
me refero: inruerant Danai et tectum omne tenebant.
ilicet ignis edax summa ad fastigia vento
volvitur; exsuperant flammae, furit aestus ad auras.
procedo et Priami sedes arcemque reviso: 760
et iam porticibus vacuis Iunonis asylo
custodes lecti Phoenix et dirus Ulixes

739–762 *MP* 739 lapsa *M*, rapta *P*¹ 741 animumque *M* 758 tecti *M*¹

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special technical meaning of 'quarter' or 'segment' of the sky. Elsewhere, and normally, it is used much in the modern sense of 'region'.

750. The impersonal *stat*, 'it is my fixed purpose', is used again xii. 678 *stat conferre manum, stat quidquid acerbi est morte pati.*

754. The full force of *lustro*, 'traverse regularly' (see note on i. 607), should not be left unnoticed. From a note in D Servius it appears that readers had to be warned that *lumine* here means 'with my eye' not 'with a light', and the warning may therefore be repeated.

761–7. This fine passage seems to be an insertion, not fully incorporated. The sanctuary of Juno is not mentioned elsewhere, and the transition from l. 760 is rather abrupt.

praedam adservabant. huc undique Troia gaza
incensis erepta adytis, mensaeque deorum
crateresque auro solidi, captivaque vestis
congeritur. pueri et pavidae longo ordine matres
stant circum. . . .
ausus quin etiam voces iactare per umbram
implevi clamore vias, maestusque Creusam
nequiquam ingeminans iterumque iterumque vocavi.
quaerenti et tectis urbis sine fine furenti
infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae
visa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago.
obstipui, steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit.
tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:
'quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori,
o dulcis coniunx? non haec sine numine divum
eveniunt; nec te hinc comitem asportare Creusam
fas, aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi.
longa tibi exsilia et vastum maris aequor arandum,
et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris:
illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx
parta tibi; lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae.
non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas
aspiciam aut Grais servitum matribus ibo,

763–786 *MP*   770 iterum iterumque *M*   771 ruenti *P*   778 comitem hinc *MP*, portare *M*   783 Italae MP^2

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771. For *tectis* (equivalent to *per tecta*) see App. A. *pelago* is similarly equivalent to *per pelagus* in l. 800.

772. St. Augustine ends the account of his own early love of Virgil in the *Confessions*, I. xiii, with the words, 'dulcissimum spectaculum vanitatis, equus ligneus plenus armatis et Troiae incendium atque ipsius umbra Creusae', which leave nothing to add by way of comment on the incomparable cadence of the line.

783. Of the only two primary MSS. available here, M reads *res Italae* and P *laetae* corrected into *Italae*. But the vulgate text is certainly correct: *res Italae*, which means 'the fortunes of Italy', or 'the history of Italy' (and is so used viii. 626) would be inappropriate here.

Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus . . .
sed me magna deum genetrix his detinet oris.
iamque vale et nati serva communis amorem.'
haec ubi dicta dedit, lacrimantem et multa volentem 790
dicere deseruit, tenuisque recessit in auras.
ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum;
ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago,
par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.
  Sic demum socios consumpta nocte reviso. 795
atque hic ingentem comitum adfluxisse novorum
invenio admirans numerum, matresque virosque,
collectam exsilio pubem, miserabile vulgus.
undique convenere animis opibusque parati
in quascumque velim pelago deducere terras. 800
iamque iugis summae surgebat Lucifer Idae
ducebatque diem, Danaique obsessa tenebant
limina portarum, nec spes opis ulla dabatur.
cessi et sublato montem genitore petivi.

787–804 *MP*   804 montes *M*

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798. Here, as generally in Virgil, *pubes* means little more than 'people': thus *cuncta pubes agrestis* in *Georg*. i. 343 is 'the whole rural population'. It comparatively seldom bears any implication of the youth or flower of a people, though this may sometimes be read into it from the context. The *cetera pubes* of v. 74 covers competitors of all ages.

BOOK III

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Book III is the most incomplete and the least coherent in the whole Aeneid. It is clearly made up to a large extent from drafts in which the events recorded were in the form of a chronicle; and considerable portions of it still retain that form and have not been so recast as to make them fit into a narrative related by Aeneas. Several passages, notably those in which local legends and geographical or historical details are given, would be superfluous even in direct narrative, and are quite out of place in a story told to Dido. And more largely, the personality of the narrator is, with some notable exceptions, rather faint throughout. In Book II, with all its picturesque detail and rhetorical amplification, we can never for a moment forget that we are, like Dido herself, listening to an account of the agony of Troy as a personal experience.

Further, the story of the Wanderings, while it retains more of the annalistic handling than suits dramatic or epic structure, has in the reshaping lost a good deal of the precision and continuity of a chronicle. The chronology is vague, and is made more confusing still by the references to it in Books I and V. At the end of Book I we have been told that the arrival of Aeneas at Carthage was in the seventh summer of the Wanderings. But nearly a year later the seventh summer after the Fall of Troy is spoken of (v. 626) as then passing. This, if strictly pressed, implies that only five years were occupied by the actual wanderings up to the arrival at Carthage; for a whole winter and spring (the greater part of a year) had (iii. 8–10) been passed in the Troad after the fall of the city before the first voyage was undertaken. These inconsistencies cannot be explained away. And in the narrative of Book III itself it is a little difficult to make the episodes recounted spread over more than three years. Probably Virgil did not trouble himself much over annalistic accuracy, and would have contented himself with the *multos annos* and *tot annos* of his proem (i. 31, 47). What he was setting himself to do was to present a succession of pictures; so long as these followed one another in their proper order, the intervals might be neglected. There are some notes here and there of seasons of a year, but little or nothing to indicate what year it is. If we insist on making out a chronology, it may be arranged conjecturally thus (each 'year' consisting, as in Thucydides, of a summer and the following winter):

Year I. Fall of Troy, which according to current tradition took place in summer: winter at Antandros, and building of a fleet (l. 6).

Year II. Passage to Thrace, in early summer: first settlement at Aeneadae, for nearly a year (ll. 8, 69).

Year III. Voyage in spring to Delos, and thence to Crete: second settlement in Crete, continuing for more than a year.

Year IV. Abandonment of Crete in autumn, and voyage from Crete to Actium; winter spent partly there, partly with Helenus at Buthrotum (ll. 284–5 and 355–6).

Year V. Departure from Buthrotum in spring: voyage to Sicily and arrival at Drepanum; winter spent there.

Year VI. Death of Anchises (in early spring, v. 45–7). Voyage resumed; arrival at Carthage in summer (i. 756) and stay there during the autumn and winter.

Year VII. Departure from Carthage at the end of winter: second visit to Sicily; voyage resumed and completed; arrival at Ostia about midsummer (see note on viii. 173).

For a full discussion of passages in this Book inappropriate to a narrative related by Aeneas, and presumably relics of an earlier draft, reference may be made to the able and exhaustive analysis by Miss M. M. Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid* (1920). Those more specially to be noticed are:

(1) As overloading or interrupting the story, the minute account of the funeral rites over Polydorus (ll. 63–8); the description of the rites of Cybele (ll. 111–3); the two long insertions in the prophecy of Helenus on the formation of the Straits of Messina (ll. 414–28), and on the practice of the Sibyl (ll. 445–52); and the elaborate description of an eruption of Etna, which has really no bearing on the story (ll. 572–82).

(2) The historical or geographical details, in the dry manner of a guide-book, as to Thrace (ll. 13–15), Delos (ll. 75–7), Chaonia (ll. 334–5), the features of the bay of Tarentum (ll. 551–4), and most markedly, the catalogue of the Sicilian towns (ll. 688–706), with the awkward and almost grotesque apology made for it in ll. 691–2. It is to be observed that the *si vera est fama* of l. 551 and the *fama est* of ll. 578 and 694 have no poetical justification. The four lines beginning *nec non et Teucri* (352–5), the paragraph beginning *quae postquam vates* (463–71) and the apostrophes to the greed of gold (56) and to Phoebus (371) are also out of tone: as is the whole of the Achaemenides episode, though it is adroitly inserted. From the fact that so much of it is used

again, and to finer purpose, in the Sinon episode of Book II (see Appendix B), it may be conjectured that Virgil meant in revision to recast it, if not to omit it altogether. Other marks of incompletion are more normal: the abrupt transition between ll. 83 and 84; the repetition of ll. 87 and 192–5 in i. 30 and v. 8–11, i. e. in the prologues (both perhaps of late composition) of these two Books; and the awkward placing of ll. 477–9, which repeat what Helenus had already said in ll. 395–8.

Further, throughout the Book, Anchises is treated as the responsible leader in all the adventures, not as in Book II the outworn and reluctant companion of the escape from Troy. To be observed particularly are the opening note, *Anchises dare vela iubebat* (l. 9); the prominent part taken by him in the Cretan episode (ll. 102–20, 144–6); the recourse ordered to him (l. 179); his assumption of initiative (ll. 263–7); Helenus' parting speech to him when the voyage is being resumed at his orders (ll. 472–81); his offering on behalf of the fleet (ll. 525–9); and his orders to the crews (ll. 558–60). The touching lines (708–13) in which Aeneas relates his death speak of it as the loss not only of a loved parent, but of a counsellor and guardian.

The life of Virgil by Donatus mentions, on the authority of the early commentator Nisus, who had himself had it from Virgil's contemporaries, that the order of Books II and III was reversed by the original editors: 'Varium duorum librorum ordinem commutasse, et qui tunc secundus erat in tertium locum transtulisse.' This cannot mean, as Servius seems to try to make out, that the events related in II and III are historically prior to those of I; such a note would, as Servius himself admits, be 'superfluous'. The statement as it stands is unintelligible. It is generally agreed to be a confused record of a tradition according to which the original order of the first three Books was III, I, II; i.e. a Virgilian autograph MS. (of what date is pure conjecture) was in the hands of his editors, in which the first Book consisted of the narrative of the Wanderings; the second included (together, possibly, with other matter) the storm at sea and the arrival at Carthage, and was practically identical with our Book I from *vix e conspectu* (l. 34) to the end; and the third was our Book II. At its conclusion may very well have been attached the three lines which end our Book III, only with the difference that instead of *cursusque docebat* there would have stood something like *Troiaeque laborem.*

In support of this conjecture it may be noted that the opening lines of Book III are not merely in their stately rhythm and exalted diction strikingly different in tone from what succeeds them, but are not a quite natural resumption of the narrative broken off at the end of Book II, and suggest the possibility that as originally composed they were meant to begin the whole poem. Further, if the last two lines of Book I are omitted, the request of Dido to be told the story of the Fall of Troy, *insidias Danaum casusque tuorum*, is what Aeneas expressly undertakes to do in the opening lines of Book II, and does completely in that Book. The opening of Book IV carries on from that point without a break. In Dido's speech to Anna (ll. 9–29), while the words *quibus ille iactatus fatis* may naturally be taken to refer to the story of the Wanderings, they do not necessarily do so. Those which follow, *quae bella exhausta canebat*, are restricted to the War of Troy itself and its conclusion by the capture of the city; there are no wars in Book III. So again in l. 78 Dido begs *Iliacos iterum audire labores*. As a small but not negligible point it may be added that the significance of the *regia coniunx parta tibi* of ii. 783 is materially enhanced if it is brought into close connexion with the overwhelming passion of Dido on which Book IV opens.

AENEIDOS

LIBER TERTIUS

Postquam res Asiae Priamique evertere gentem
immeritam visum superis, ceciditque superbum
Ilium et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia,
diversa exsilia et desertas quaerere terras
auguriis agimur divum, classemque sub ipsa
Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae,
incerti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur,
contrahimusque viros. vix prima inceperat aestas
et pater Anchises dare fatis vela iubebat,
litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo
et campos ubi Troia fuit. feror exsul in altum
cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis.
Terra procul vastis colitur Mavortia campis,
Thraces arant, acri quondam regnata Lycurgo,
hospitium antiquum Troiae sociique penates
dum fortuna fuit. feror huc et litore curvo
moenia prima loco fatis ingressus iniquis
Aeneadasque meo nomen de nomine fingo.
Sacra Dionaeae matri divisque ferebam
auspicibus coeptorum operum, superoque nitentem

1–20 *FMP*   7 ferunt P^1

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8. There can be little or no doubt that *prima* merely emphasizes *inceperat*, 'summer had hardly begun its earliest progress', and that *prima aestas* does not mean 'the first of the seven years of wandering'. Similarly in l. 17 *moenia prima* means 'the foundations of a town', not the first of the towns which Aeneas founded or attempted to found.

13. *procul colitur*, 'lies some way off'. *procul* means 'apart', whether far or near, in distinction from *iuxta*, 'close by'; thus *est procul in pelago saxum* v. 124 is merely 'lies out at sea'; though *haud procul* is properly rendered by 'not far', as in the similar line *haud procul hinc . . . incolitur . . . urbis Agyllinae sedes* viii. 478; and while *terra colitur*, if the literal sense be pressed, means 'is an inhabited, or, a cultivated land', this meaning is not pressed but merely suggested.

caelicolum regi mactabam in litore taurum.
forte fuit iuxta tumulus, quo cornea summo
virgulta et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus.
accessi viridemque ab humo convellere silvam
conatus, ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras,
horrendum et dictu video mirabile monstrum.
nam quae prima solo ruptis radicibus arbos
vellitur, huic atro liquuntur sanguine guttae
et terram tabo maculant. mihi frigidus horror
membra quatit gelidusque coit formidine sanguis.
rursus et alterius lentum convellere vimen
insequor et causas penitus temptare latentis:
ater et alterius sequitur de cortice sanguis.
multa movens animo Nymphas venerabar agrestis
Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis,
rite secundarent visus omenque levarent.
tertia sed postquam maiore hastilia nisu
adgredior genibusque adversae obluctor harenae,
eloquar an sileam? gemitus lacrimabilis imo
auditur tumulo et vox reddita fertur ad auris:
'quid miserum, Aenea, laceras? iam parce sepulto,

21–41 *FMP*   33 alter *F*   39 eloquor *P^2*

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22. For *forte fuit* see note on i. 362.

28. There is a tendency in Augustan Latin to extend the use of the dative into the sphere of meaning for which *ab* or *ex* with an ablative was earlier and more logically employed; but *guttae liquuntur huic*, 'drops ooze from it', carries this usage beyond anything precisely paralleled in Virgil. It is interesting to compare the Livian 'pater ei moritur' (the Irish 'his father dies on him') xxix. 29. There is no trace of any alternative reading, *hinc*, here, though the two words would be very easily substituted for one another.

41. 'Let me alone now that I am in the grave', 'cui vivo nemo pepercit' as D Servius rightly comments: not, as many editors strangely interpret, 'leave off now after two unsuccessful attempts'.

43. The variation of phrasing in the two members of this sentence is in Virgil's habitual manner, *non me tibi Troia externum tulit* being equivalent to *non ego, Troia ortus, sum externus tibi*.

46. It is a mere piece of over-refinement to debate, as the editors do, whether *increvit acutis iaculis* means 'sprouted from the javelins that pierced me' or 'sprouted into tapering shafts', the *densa*

parce pias scelerare manus. non me tibi Troia
externum tulit aut cruor hic de stipite manat.
heu fuge crudelis terras, fuge litus avarum:
nam Polydorus ego. hic confixum ferrea texit
telorum seges et iaculis increvit acutis.'
  Tum vero ancipiti mentem formidine pressus
obstipui steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit.
hunc Polydorum auri quondam cum pondere magno
infelix Priamus furtim mandarat alendum
Threicio regi, cum iam diffideret armis
Dardaniae cingique urbem obsidione videret.
ille, ut opes fractae Teucrum et Fortuna recessit,
res Agamemnonias victriciaque arma secutus
fas omne abrumpit: Polydorum obtruncat, et auro
vi potitur: quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
auri sacra fames! postquam pavor ossa reliquit,
delectos populi ad proceres primumque parentem
monstra deum refero, et quae sit sententia posco.
omnibus idem animus, scelerata excedere terra,
linqui pollutum hospitium et dare classibus Austros.
ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens

42–54 *FMP*   55–62 *MP*

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hastilia of l. 23; for the two things are the same. But the exaggerated description of the 'crop' of spears planted in the boy's body (as of the *immanis silva* of the javelins hurled into Aeneas's shield by Mezentius, x. 887) is rather in Ovid's manner.

55. *fas omne*: 'et cognationis, et iuris hospitii', is Servius's apposite note. The Thracian king, Polymestor, had married a daughter of Priam.

57. The extension of *sacer* in this sense, 'under ban', 'subject to a curse', from persons to the things, or as here the motives, which bring persons into that situation, is rare though easy. The transition may be observed in the 'Remi sacer nepotibus cruor' of Horace, *Epod.* vii. 20. The normal English rendering of 'accursed' here must be taken subject to this caution.

61. The coupling of an active and a passive infinitive (*excedere, linqui*) is not unusual in Virgil after the verb *iubere* or its equivalent: so v. 773 *agnam caedere iubet solvique funem*, xi. 84 *iubet truncos ferre duces inimicaque nomina figi.* But the return to the active in a third infinitive (*dare*) here is unique; and the more curious because it seems to be

aggeritur tumulo tellus; stant manibus arae,
caeruleis maestae vittis atraque cupresso,
et circum Iliades crinem de more solutae; 65
inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte
sanguinis et sacri pateras, animamque sepulcro
condimus et magna supremum voce ciemus.
inde ubi prima fides pelago, placataque venti
dant maria et lenis crepitans vocat Auster in altum, 70
deducunt socii navis et litora complent.
provehimur portu terraeque urbesque recedunt.
Sacra mari colitur medio gratissima tellus
Nereidum matri et Neptuno Aegaeo,
quam pius arquitenens, oras et litora circum 75
errantem, Mycono e celsa Gyaroque revinxit
immotamque coli dedit et contemnere ventos.
huc feror: haec fessos tuto placidissima portu
accipit. egressi veneramur Apollinis urbem.
rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phoebique sacerdos, 80
vittis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro
occurrit; veterem Anchisen agnovit amicum.
iungimus hospitio dextras et tecta subimus.
templa dei saxo venerabar structa vetusto:

63–78 *MP* 79–84 *FMP* 82 accurrit M^2, agnoscit *M*

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made only for metrical convenience, where *dari classibus Austros* (=*dare classes Austris*) would be the ordinary expression. The variant *linquere* is only found in a few inferior MSS.

Exception has been taken, by critics with little experience of navigation, to *Austros* here, on the ground that a southerly wind would not serve for sailing from Thrace to Delos. They were misled (so far as they thought of the matter at all) by thinking of the *furentes* or *procaces Austri* of i. 51, 536, ii. 304, and forgetting that the wind now in question is the *lenis crepitans Auster* of l. 70.

69. *placata dant* is wrongly explained as equivalent to *placant* (see note on i. 63). The phrase, 'when the winds provide (or, allow) smoothed seas' is quite normal.

70. A double epithet is, generally speaking, only used by Virgil when one of the two epithets is in participial form: so *arduus attollens* v. 278, *creber aspirans* v. 764, *arduus arma tenens* viii. 299, *inexpletus lacrimans* viii. 559, *immensus surgens* xi. 832, and *saxosus sonans* *Georg.* iv. 370.

'da propriam, Thymbraee, domum; da moenia fessis
et genus et mansuram urbem; serva altera Troiae
Pergama, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli.
quem sequimur? quove ire iubes? ubi ponere sedes?
da, pater, augurium atque animis inlabere nostris.'
Vix ea fatus eram: tremere omnia visa repente,
liminaque laurusque dei, totusque moveri
mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis.
summissi petimus terram et vox fertur ad auris:
'Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum
prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto
accipiet reduces. antiquam exquirite matrem.
hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris
et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.'
haec Phoebus; mixtoque ingens exorta tumultu
laetitia, et cuncti quae sint ea moenia quaerunt,
quo Phoebus vocet errantis iubeatque reverti.
Tum genitor veterum volvens monimenta virorum
'audite, o proceres,' ait 'et spes discite vestras.
Creta Iovis magni medio iacet insula ponto,
mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostrae.
centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna,

85–106 *FMP*   93 et *om.* F^1P^1, aureas P^1

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78. The repetition of *fessus* (seven times) in this Book as applied to Aeneas and his crews is almost excessive. But here, as in ll. 276, 511, 568, it need not mean more than tired after a long day's rowing.

79. Here, as again l. 84, and also in the *aram venerans* of xii. 220, the normal sense of *veneror*, 'to adore', is extended so as to mean 'pay adoration in the town, in the temple, at the altar of'.

88. *quem sequimur?*, 'who is our guide?', is the ritual euphemism for the question, under what name do you vouchsafe your guidance? So Aeneas says (iv. 576) *sequimur te, sancte deorum, quisquis es*, though quite aware that he is addressing Mercury. To address a god by a wrong title was a most unlucky thing to do; and hence Anchises in l. 114 takes the precaution of referring to the oracle just received in general terms as *divum iussa*.

94. Here, as in the *durus Ulixes* of ii. 7, *durus* no doubt means 'hardened'.

102. For *volvere* see note on i. 22. Here it probably only means 'turning over (in his mind)'.

106. There is no express subject to *habi-*

maximus unde pater, si rite audita recordor,
Teucrus Rhoeteas primum est advectus in oras,
optavitque locum regno. nondum Ilium et arces
Pergameae steterant; habitabant vallibus imis.
hinc mater cultrix Cybeli Corybantiaque aera
Idaeumque nemus, hinc fida silentia sacris,
et iuncti currum dominae subiere leones.
ergo agite et divum ducunt qua iussa sequamur:
placemus ventos et Gnosia regna petamus.
nec longo distant cursu: modo Iuppiter adsit,
tertia lux classem Cretaeis sistet in oris.'
sic fatus meritos aris mactavit honores,
taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo,
nigram Hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam.
  Fama volat pulsum regnis cessisse paternis
Idomenea ducem, desertaque litora Cretae,
hoste vacare domum sedesque astare relictas.
linquimus Ortygiae portus pelagoque volamus
bacchatamque iugis Naxum viridemque Donysam,

107–125 *FMP* 108 ad oras *M* 111 Cybele *FMP* 123 domos *M* 125 Naxon *M*

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tant here or to *habitabant* in l. 110, the meaning being too obvious to require one.

111. The word written as *Cybele* in all the primary MSS. must be in any case the genitive of the name of the mountain range in Phrygia which was 'haunted' by the goddess and was the central seat of her worship: its name is nearly always cited as *Cybele* (in Latin, *Cybela*), but there are traces of the forms *Cybelos* and *Cybelon* in lexicons and glossaries. The earlier vulgate was *Cybelae*; most modern editions read, with Servius, *Cybeli*. The point is quite immaterial.

125. Looking southward from Delos, the islands of Olearos, Paros, Naxos, and Donusa are strung out from right to left on the horizon; a ship sailing from Delos to Crete would pass through one or another of the channels separating them. The spelling *Donysam* is that of all the primary MSS. and of the best MS. of Servius. Elsewhere the name of the island is given as Donusa or Donussa.

127. There seems no reason to discard *concita*, the reading of all the primary MSS. and of Servius, whose explanatory note is 'concitatiora maria vicinitate terrarum'. *concitus*, 'speeded up', and thus 'running swiftly', as in the *concitus axis* of xii. 379, is a natural word descriptive of the currents between 'close-set islands'. Of the sea round Delos

Olearum niveamque Parum sparsasque per aequor
Cycladas, et crebris legimus freta concita terris.
nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor:
hortantur socii, 'Cretam proavosque petamus.'
prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis,
et tandem antiquis Curetum adlabimur oris.
  Ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis
Pergameamque voco, et laetam cognomine gentem
hortor amare focos arcemque attollere tectis.
iamque fere sicco subductae litore puppes;
conubiis arvisque novis operata iuventus;
iura domosque dabam: subito cum tabida membris
corrupto caeli tractu miserandaque venit
arboribusque satisque lues et letifer annus.
linquebant dulcis animas aut aegra trahebant
corpora; tum sterilis exurere Sirius agros,
arebant herbae et victum seges aegra negabat.
rursus ad oraclum Ortygiae Phoebumque remenso
hortatur pater ire mari veniamque precari,

126–144 *FMP*   126 Olearon *M*, Pharon *M*   131 setandem M^1, set tandem M^2 135 sicco e M^1 137 dabant F^1P^1 142 negare F^1

Livy says, xxxvi. 43, 'est ventosissima regio intra Cycladas fretis alias maioribus, alias minoribus divisas'. And it is not at all likely that the *consita*, 'scattered', of a few inferior MSS., approved by Bentley and printed in the majority of modern editions, would ever have been displaced if it were the authentic reading. The *cito tramite* of v. 610 is different; 'on her swift path' is there an easy variation of 'swiftly on her path'.

132. The meaning of *avidus* in Virgil is always 'eager' or 'longing', not 'greedy'.

134. The phrase *arcem attollere tectis* is like the *aggeritur tumulo tellus* of l. 63 above; to 'pile up mounded earth', and to 'erect a roofed fortress'.

135. *iamque fere*, 'just about now', is thus used as a formula of transition, v. 327, 835. This and the next line are detached notes in the annalistic manner: 'the ships had been drawn up on shore; the crews had performed the rites of marriages and of the dedication of their allotments'. *iuventus* here is equivalent to the *pubes* of ii. 798.

138. The word *tractus* is not used elsewhere in the *Aeneid*: it is frequent in the *Georgics*, generally in the sense of a trail, but in ii. 182 and iv. 222, as here, of a 'reach' or continuous space.

143. The syncopated form *oraclum* does not occur elsewhere in Virgil; he usually prefers to avoid it by saying *oracula*.

quam fessis finem rebus ferat, unde laborum
temptare auxilium iubeat, quo vertere cursus.
Nox erat et terris animalia somnus habebat:
effigies sacrae divum Phrygiique penates,
quos mecum ab Troia mediisque ex ignibus urbis
extuleram, visi ante oculos astare iacentis
in somnis multo manifesti lumine, qua se
plena per insertas fundebat luna fenestras;
tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:
'Quod tibi delato Ortygiam dicturus Apollo est,
hic canit et tua nos en ultro ad limina mittit.
nos te Dardania incensa tuaque arma secuti,
nos tumidum sub te permensi classibus aequor,
idem venturos tollemus in astra nepotes
imperiumque urbi dabimus. tu moenia magnis
magna para longumque fugae ne linque laborem.
mutandae sedes. non haec tibi litora suasit
Delius aut Cretae iussit considere Apollo.

145–162 *FMP*   146 temptari M^2 157 permesi M^1

But he uses *secula* and *secla*, *vincula* and *vincla*, indifferently. *gubernaclum*, v. 176, 859, vi. 349, is the only form metrically admissible.

147. Here as in viii. 26 and ix. 224 *animalia* is not 'animals' but living creatures of all sorts, including mankind.

151. As early as Servius the question was raised whether *in somnis* should not be written as one word, *iacentis insomnis* thus meaning 'lying sleepless', on the ground that if Aeneas were asleep he could not see the moonlight streaming in through the windows; and Heyne printed the line so in his text. If Aeneas had been lying sleepless, there would be no point in his saying (l. 173) *nec sopor illud erat*. The best and most illuminating comment on the passage, if any be required, is the celebrated description of the night spent by Lovel in the Green Room at Monkbarns in c. x of *The Antiquary*.

152. The meaning of *insertas* has been much debated. The Servian note is 'aut clatratas (latticed), aut ut sit quasi inseratas (unbarred) vel quas lumine suo luna inseruerat'. The second explanation may be dismissed, as the syncopation of *inseratas* into *insertas* would be unexampled if not impossible. The third has been supported from a line in Lucretius (which Virgil might certainly have had in his mind), 'cum solis lumina . . . inserti fundunt radii per opaca domorum' (ii. 114), but involves an excessive distortion of language. The first, though no precise parallel can be cited, is not impossible, and one might com-

est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt,
terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glaebae;
Oenotri coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem:
hae nobis propriae sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus
Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.
surge age et haec laetus longaevo dicta parenti
haud dubitanda refer: Corythum terrasque requirat
Ausonias: Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva.'
  Talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum,
nec sopor illud erat, sed coram agnoscere vultus
velatasque comas praesentiaque ora videbar,
tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor,
corripio e stratis corpus tendoque supinas
ad caelum cum voce manus et munera libo
intemerata focis. perfecto laetus honore
Anchisen facio certum remque ordine pando.
agnovit prolem ambiguam geminosque parentis,

163–180 *FMP* 166 duxisse *F* 174 videbam *M*^{1}

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pare 'insertion' as a technical term in needlework. But probably Virgil only meant by *insertas fenestras* apertures pierced or 'inserted' in the wall of the room.

155. This is one of the rare instances in the *Aeneid* where there are as many as ten words in the line: the others are iv. 317, vii. 466, ix. 409, x. 242, 903, xii. 48, 917. The least number of words in a line is four: ii. 549, iii. 248, 328, iv. 542, vii. 410, viii. 103, 158, 214, xi. 700. *ad tua limina*, 'at your own threshold' sc. 'in your own house': so *ad limina*, 'at the threshold', iv. 133. This disposes of the objection made, that the Penates were already there.

163–6. These lines are verbally repeated from (or rather perhaps, repeated in) i. 530–3, where they are placed in the mouth of Ilioneus. The last two are not very appropriate here.

170. Corythus was the Etruscan name of Cortona, from which, according to a legend mentioned vii. 205–11, Dardanus had migrated to the Aegean and become the founder of Troy.

178. The epithet here, 'unviolated gifts', is peculiar. Elsewhere Virgil uses *intemeratus* in its proper meaning, of faith (ii. 143) and of maidenhood (xi. 584). But it is explained and justified by Servius as meaning, with due precautions taken that the rites should not be *temerata ac turbata* by any interruption. He appositely quotes the words of Helenus in ll. 406–7 below.

180. *geminos parentis* only means 'double parentage', or 'a twofold line of an-

seque novo veterum deceptum errore locorum.
tum memorat: 'nate, Iliacis exercite fatis,
sola mihi talis casus Cassandra canebat.
nunc repeto haec generi portendere debita nostro
et saepe Hesperiam, saepe Itala regna vocare.
sed quis ad Hesperiae venturos litora Teucros
crederet? aut quem tum vates Cassandra moveret?
cedamus Phoebo et moniti meliora sequamur.'
sic ait, et cuncti dicto paremus ovantes.
hanc quoque deserimus sedem paucisque relictis
vela damus vastumque cava trabe currimus aequor.
  Postquam altum tenuere rates nec iam amplius ullae
apparent terrae, caelum undique et undique pontus,
tum mihi caeruleus supra caput astitit imber
noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris.
continuo venti volvunt mare magnaque surgunt
aequora, dispersi iactamur gurgite vasto;
involvere diem nimbi et nox umida caelum
abstulit, ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes.
excutimur cursu et caecis erramus in undis.
ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo
nec meminisse viae media Palinurus in unda.

181–190 *FMP*   191–202 *FGMP*   199 abrupti *G*

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cestry'. The legends were very confused, but according to one, Dardanus married the daughter of Teucer. Both were regarded as in some way ancestors of the royal Trojan house.

181. The antithesis between *novo* and *veterum* has from the earliest times been criticized ('per contrarietatem sermonum declamavit' is the Servian note) as a rhetorical artifice little better than a verbal quibble.

184. *haec*, sc. the *regna* of the next line: she prophesied of this realm, and often called it 'Hesperia', often 'Italian'.

194. *imber*, a downpour or rain-burst from a cloud (as in *effusus nubibus imber Georg.* iv. 312, or *tantus se nubibus imber ruperat* xi. 548) is here used of the cloud itself from which the downpour comes.

204. The three following lines printed in italic were not in the authorized and published text of the poem. They are preserved in the Servian commentary, with a note that they 'are said to

tris adeo incertos caeca caligine soles
erramus pelago, totidem sine sidere noctes. 204
hinc Pelopis gentis Maleaeque sonantia saxa
circumstant, pariterque undae terraeque minantur.
pulsamur saevis et circumsistimur undis.
quarto terra die primum se attollere tandem 205
visa, aperire procul montis ac volvere fumum.
vela cadunt, remis insurgimus; haud mŏra, nautae
adnixi torquent spumas et caerula verrunt.
  Servatum ex undis Strophadum me litora primum
excipiunt. Strophades Graio stant nomine dictae 210
insulae Ionio in magno, quas dira Celaeno
Harpyiaeque colunt aliae, Phineia postquam
clausa domus mensasque metu liquere priores.
tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saevior ulla
pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis. 215
virginei volucrum vultus, foedissima ventris
proluvies uncaeque manus et pallida semper
ora fame . . .
huc ubi delati portus intravimus, ecce
laeta boum passim campis armenta videmus 220
caprigenumque pecus nullo custode per herbas.

203–207 *FGMP*   208, 209 *FMP*   210–216 *FGMP*   217–221 *GMP*
209 prima *M*   210 accipiunt *M*   221 herbam *M*^{1}

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have been' written in the margin, and ringed, in the autograph MS. In themselves they are quite Virgilian, both in rhythm and in diction, and there need be little if any doubt that they were tentatively written down by Virgil for consideration whether he should incorporate the first two, or the third, or all three.

210. *stant dictae*, 'are regularly called', if the meaning of *stant* is pressed, but it is merely a verbal variation of *sunt dictae*: '*stant*, sunt' is the terse note in Servius. The suggestion that there is an ill-timed play upon words, and that the meaning is 'stand fixed, though called the Strophades or whirling islands', has nothing to recommend it.

215. By a fine and impressive figure of speech, the Harpies are called 'an anger of the Gods', as Swinburne's Atalanta calls herself 'a blast of the envy of God'. The lines which follow, if not very agreeable, give a vivid and accurate description of the appearance and habits of the predatory gulls.

inruimus ferro et divos ipsumque vocamus
in partem praedamque Iovem; tum litore curvo
exstruimusque toros dapibusque epulamur opimis.
at subitae horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt
Harpyiae et magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas,
diripiuntque dapes contactuque omnia foedant
immundo; tum vox taetrum dira inter odorem.
rursum in secessu longo sub rupe cavata
arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris
instruimus mensas arisque reponimus ignem;
rursum ex diverso caeli caecisque latebris
turba sonans praedam pedibus circumvolat uncis,
polluit ore dapes. sociis tunc arma capessant
edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum.
haud secus ac iussi faciunt tectosque per herbam
disponunt ensis et scuta latentia condunt.
ergo ubi delapsae sonitum per curva dedere
litora, dat signum specula Misenus ab alta
aere cavo. invadunt socii et nova proelia temptant
obscenas pelagi ferro foedare volucris.
sed neque vim plumis ullam nec vulnera tergo
accipiunt, celerique fuga sub sidera lapsae

222–226 *GMP* 227–243 *MP* 230 clausi M^2

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223. For *in partem praedamque* see note on ii. 19.

230. This line, though it is in all the MSS., is an obvious interpolation from i. 311, where (following the same words, *sub rupe cavata*) it satisfies both sense and grammar. It is bracketed by all modern editors, but would be better ejected altogether. Attempts to make it grammatical, by altering *clausam* into *clausi* as in the Medicean MS., or by inventing a phrase *clausa in circum*, 'shut off amphitheatre-wise' (*clausa* an ablative agreeing with *rupe*) are futile.

232. For *ex diverso caeli* cf. *in convexo nemorum* i. 310.

236. The ancient commentators debated whether *iussi* here were the perfect indicative 'as I ordered', or the passive participle 'as ordered'. From the parallel phrase *haud minus ac iussi faciunt* of l. 561 (where the order was given not by the narrator, but by Anchises) the latter appears to be right.

237. *scuta latentia condunt*, 'they lay their shields in hiding'.

240. Whether the main clause here is *temptant foedare*, with *nova proelia*

semesam praedam et vestigia foeda relinquunt.
una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno,
infelix vates, rumpitque hanc pectore vocem:
'Bellum etiam pro caede boum stratisque iuvencis,
Laomedontiadae, bellumne inferre paratis
et patrio Harpyias insontis pellere regno?
accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta,
quae Phoebo pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo
praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.
Italiam cursu petitis ventisque vocatis:
ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit.
sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem
quam vos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis
ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas.'
Dixit, et in silvam pennis ablata refugit.
at sociis subita gelidus formidine sanguis
deriguit: cecidere animi, nec iam amplius armis,
sed votis precibusque iubent exposcere pacem,
sive deae seu sint dirae obscenaeque volucres.
et pater Anchises passis de litore palmis
numina magna vocat meritosque indicit honores:
'di, prohibete minas; di, talem avertite casum

244–265 *MP* 252 pendo P^1, mando P^2 263 at M^2

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in apposition like the *nova gaudia* of x. 325, or *proelia temptant* with *foedare volucris* in apposition, is immaterial except as it would make a slight difference of the phrasing in recitation.

241. In Virgil *foedare* normally means 'to disfigure', usually with wounds; only seldom, and incidentally, does it convey the sense of pollution.

247. There seems to be no suggestion that the slain oxen were sacred, like the oxen of the Sun in the *Odyssey*; and *pro caede boum* is equivalent to *pro caesis bubus*, 'to secure the oxen you have slain' by an armed attack on us, like *permixti caede virorum* (= *permixti caesis viris*) xi. 634. The *nostra caedes* of l. 256 is not 'the slaughter of our herds', but 'the murderous attack made on us'. The force of *etiam* is 'Is it come to this, that. . . .'

252. Celaeno calls herself the eldest (or, the chiefest) of the Furies, as Servius with a touch of unintentional humour says, 'ut terreat'. But the Furies, the Gorgons, and the Harpies are not always clearly discriminated.

et placidi servate pios.' tum litore funem
diripere excussosque iubet laxare rudentis.
tendunt vela Noti: fugimus spumantibus undis
qua cursum ventusque gubernatorque vocabat.
  Iam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos
Dulichiumque Sameque et Neritos ardua saxis.
effugimus scopulos Ithacae, Laertia regna,
et terram altricem saevi exsecramur Ulixi.
mox et Leucatae nimbosa cacumina montis
et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.
hunc petimus fessi et parvae succedimus urbi;
ancora de prora iacitur, stant litore puppes.
ergo insperata tandem tellure potiti
lustramurque Iovi votisque incendimus aras,
Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis.
exercent patrias oleo labente palaestras

266–281 *MP*   266 placide *P*   267 diripere *M*   268 ferimur P^2

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266. *placidus* here, as also iv. 578, has the meaning of 'gracious' or 'benign'.

268–76. The geography of this passage is clear in its main lines, but presents some difficulties of detail. Running up the Zante Channel before the South wind from the group of islets known as the Strophades, they pass, on the port side towards the open sea, first Zacynthus, then Same or Cephallenia with the smaller island of Ithaca in front of and below it: on clearing the northern end of Same they open, right ahead, the lofty cliffs of Mount Leucata, with a temple of Apollo at the summit, at the south-west extremity of the peninsula of Leucas; and rounding that promontory come ashore at the little town of Actium outside the entrance of the Ambraciot Gulf. The line *nemorosa Zacynthos Dulichiumque Sameque* is taken straight from the *Odyssey*, and the identification of Dulichium need not be pressed, though the probability is that it and Same are the Homeric names for the two parts of the long island later known by the single name of Cephallenia. In the *Odyssey*, and probably also in the Catalogue of the *Iliad* (ii. 631 foll.), Neriton (not Neritos) is a mountain in Ithaca; the feminine form here seems to show that Virgil meant it as the name of a separate island. The *hunc petimus* of l. 276 can as the passage stands only refer to the temple of Apollo Leucatas, and we must suppose either that Virgil meant to insert another line between ll. 275 and 276, or that l. 276 is very elliptically expressed. But it is not a little curious that in viii. 677, Leucate is expressly named as the scene of the naval engagement, though it is some twenty-five miles south of Actium and the mouth of the Ambraciot Gulf.

nudati socii: iuvat evasisse tot urbes
Argolicas mediosque fugam tenuisse per hostis.
Interea magnum sol circumvolvitur annum
et glacialis hiems Aquilonibus asperat undas: 285
aere cavo clipeum, magni gestamen Abantis,
postibus adversis figo et rem carmine signo:
'Aeneas haec de Danais victoribus arma.'
linquere tum portus iubeo et considere transtris.
certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt. 290
protinus aërias Phaeacum abscondimus arces
litoraque Epiri legimus portuque subimus
Chaonio et celsam Buthroti accedimus urbem.
Hic incredibilis rerum fama occupat auris,
Priamiden Helenum Graias regnare per urbis 295
coniugio Aeacidae Pyrrhi sceptrisque potitum,
et patrio Andromachen iterum cessisse marito.

282–297 *MP*   292 portusque *M*   293 Chaonios M^2

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279. *lustramur* implies the notion of *sacrificamus*, and so can have *Iovi* attached to it. The *lustratio* or circling of the ground in procession was a regular feature in the celebration of ritual games: the deponent form *lustror* (for the normal *lustro*) is an archaism, not employed by Virgil elsewhere. The Actian games, an old institution, were revived on a larger scale by Augustus in 29 B.C. in commemoration of the victory of 31 B.C. But the fact that no stress is laid here on this either directly or indirectly, and that the celebration is associated with the worship of Jove, not of Apollo, indicates that the passage is early work, probably composed before the institution of the Augustan games and before the primacy given by Augustus to the worship of the Palatine Apollo, to the partial supersession of the Capitoline Jupiter.

284. *circumvolvitur annum*, 'is completing his annual revolution', i.e. it is now midwinter. It does not mean, as some editors oddly misinterpret it, that the fleet spends the winter at Actium, still less that, as D Servius tentatively suggests, it remains there for a whole year.

286. Who this Abas was, how Aeneas had become possessed of his shield, and upon what doorway he fixes it, there are no means of determining; Virgil was presumably following some local legend of which there is no record. *carmen* in the next line means, as in *Ecl.* v. 42, 'a verse', the single hexameter common in dedicatory inscriptions.

296. The note usually made here, '*coniugio* used for *coniuge*', misses the finer balance of the coupled words of the Latin: it is most nearly expressed in English by 'the marriage-bed and sceptre'.

297. For *cessisse* see note on l. 333

obstipui, miroque incensum pectus amore
compellare virum et casus cognoscere tantos.
progredior portu classis et litora linquens,
sollemnis cum forte dapes et tristia dona
ante urbem in luco falsi Simoentis ad undam
libabat cineri Andromache manisque vocabat
Hectoreum ad tumulum, viridi quem caespite inanem
et geminas causam lacrimis sacraverat aras.
ut me conspexit venientem et Troïa circum
arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstris
deriguit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit;
labitur et longo vix tandem tempore fatur:
'verane te facies, verus mihi nuntius adfers,
nate dea? vivisne? aut, si lux alma recessit,
Hector ubi est?' dixit, lacrimasque effudit et omnem
implevit clamore locum. vix pauca furenti
subicio et raris turbatus vocibus hisco:
'vivo equidem vitamque extrema per omnia duco;
ne dubita, nam vera vides . . .
heu! quis te casus deiectam coniuge tanto

298–299 *MP* 300–317 *FMP* 310 verum mihi M^1 312 effundit *P*

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300. 'Notandum', Servius says, 'finitum esse versum participio, quod rarum apud Latinos est, apud Graecos vitiosissimum.' A line and a sentence are similarly ended vii. 562 (*linquens*), viii. 460 (*retorquens*), xii. 611 (*turpans*), in this last instance the participle ending not only a sentence but a paragraph.

302. 'A feigned Simoïs' is explained in ll. 349–51.

305. For *causam lacrimis*, 'a matter for tears', see note on ii. 285. The tears are not merely Andromache's own.

311. It should be needless, but is not, to point out that *si lux alma recessit* means 'if we are all dead', not 'if you are dead'. The beauty and truth of the words are unsurpassable.

313. *furenti*, 'to her passionate outburst', in contrast with the few words which Aeneas gasps out in ll. 315–16. The three lines, 317–19, which follow appear to belong to a further speech uttered after Aeneas has recovered himself; but we cannot of course say how Virgil would have filled the gap marked by the uncompleted line.

319. The text, and consequently the punctuation, of this line are uncertain. The variation of the MSS. between *Pyrrhi* and *Pyrrhin* is immaterial, but while the primary MSS. all read *Andro-*

excipit, aut quae digna satis fortuna revisit?
Hectoris Andromache Pyrrhin conubia servas?'
deiecit vultum et demissa voce locuta est:
'O felix una ante alias Priameia virgo,
hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis
iussa mori, quae sortitus non pertulit ullos
nec victoris heri tetigit captiva cubile!
nos patria incensa diversa per aequora vectae
stirpis Achilleae fastus iuvenemque superbum
servitio enixae tulimus; qui deinde secutus
Ledaeam Hermionen Lacedaemoniosque hymenaeos
me famulo famulamque Heleno transmisit habendam.
ast illum ereptae magno flammatus amore
coniugis et scelerum furiis agitatus Orestes
excipit incautum patriasque obtruncat ad aras.
morte Neoptolemi regnorum reddita cessit
pars Heleno, qui Chaonios cognomine campos
Chaoniamque omnem Troiano a Chaone dixit,
Pergamaque Iliacamque iugis hanc addidit arcem.
sed tibi qui cursum venti, quae fata dedere?

318–337 *FMP* 319 Pyrrhi F^1P^1 330 inflammatus *M* 336 Pergamiam *M*, Pergameam P^2

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mache, Servius notes that *Andromachen* was a recognized alternative. It gives a better rhythm to point after *revisit* and make this line a single phrase.

327. According to a common tradition, Andromache bore a son, Molossus, to Pyrrhus; and *enixae* is generally taken as referring to this. *enixa* has this sense, 'being delivered of', where it occurs elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, but always followed by an object, *fetus enixa* iii. 391, viii. 44, and *ignis enixa* (delivered of a firebrand) vii. 320. It is at least possible, and not improbable, that *enixae* here has its normal sense of 'struggling through' (as in the *viribus eniti* of *Georg.* ii. 360); *enixae tulimus* would then be equivalent in meaning to the *enixe tulimus*, 'laboriously endured', which was read by Donatus and is quoted by him to illustrate Terence *Andria* IV. i. 52.

329. For the rather unusual coupling by *que* of *famulo* and *famulam* cf. x. 734 *obvius adversoque*: analogous is *extremus galeaque ima* v. 498.

333. *cessit*, 'passed', is the technical word for legal succession. According to Servius, Neoptolemus made this dying bequest to Helenus as guardian of the infant Molossus; and something of this kind is implied by the use of the other technical word *reddita*, 'handed by arrangement'.

aut quisnam ignarum nostris deus appulit oris?
quid puer Ascanius? superatne et vescitur aura?
quem tibi iam Troia . . .
ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis?
ecquid in antiquam virtutem animosque virilis
et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitat Hector?'
  Talia fundebat lacrimans longosque ciebat
incassum fletus, cum sese a moenibus heros
Priamides multis Helenus comitantibus adfert,
agnoscitque suos laetusque ad limina ducit,
et multum lacrimas verba inter singula fundit.
procedo et parvam Troiam simulataque magnis
Pergama et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum
agnosco, Scaeaeque amplector limina portae.
nec non et Teucri socia simul urbe fruuntur.
illos porticibus rex accipiebat in amplis:
aulai medio libabant pocula Bacchi
impositis auro dapibus, paterasque tenebant.

338–341 *FMP*   342–355 *MP*   346 Helenus multis *P*   348 lacrimans M^2P

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339. Servius unaccountably remarks that this use of the intransitive *superare* in the sense of 'to be left over', 'to survive', 'nove dictum est et caret exemplo ut pauca in Vergilio': it is fairly common in Virgil.

343. The word *avunculus* was criticized by the grammarians as beneath the dignity of epic poetry. Virgil repeats this line xii. 440; he does not use the word elsewhere.

348. There is no exact parallel in Virgil for the idiom *fundit lacrimas multum*, 'sheds tears largely': the nearest analogy is *spe multum captus* xi. 49.

353. *accipere* means 'to entertain', as we speak of 'giving a reception'. The whole four lines *nec non et . . . tenebant* are clearly a piece of early work inserted here provisionally, and unrevised. As no distinction can be meant between *pocula* and *paterae* (goblet-shaped and saucer-shaped drinking vessels), we must suppose that *pocula* has its other sense and *pocula libabant Bacchi* merely means 'sipped draughts of wine'.

360. The vulgate text, *qui tripodas, Clarii lauros*, is almost impossibly awkward. Heyne wished to alter it to *qui tripodas Clarii et laurus*, which is a reading found in two or three inferior MSS., but left it in his text: later editors appear to pass it over without comment. The obvious reminiscence of Lucr. i. 739 'Pythia quae tripodi a Phoebi lauroque profatur' makes it highly probable that the true reading is *tripoda ac Clarii*: when *ac* dropped out between *a* and *c*, *tripoda*

Iamque dies alterque dies processit, et aurae
vela vocant tumidoque inflatur carbasus austro:
his vatem adgredior dictis ac talia quaeso:
'Troiugena, interpres divum, qui numina Phoebi,
qui tripoda ac Clarii lauros, qui sidera sentis
et volucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennae,
fare age, namque omnis cursu mihi prospera dixit
religio, et cuncti suaserunt numine divi
Italiam petere et terras temptare repostas;
sola novum dictuque nefas Harpyia Celaeno
prodigium canit et tristis denuntiat iras
obscenamque famem: quae prima pericula vito?
quidve sequens tantos possim superare labores?'
hic Helenus caesis primum de more iuvencis
exorat pacem divum vittasque resolvit
sacrati capitis, meque ad tua limina, Phoebe,
ipse manu multo suspensus numine ducit,
atque haec deinde canit divino ex ore sacerdos:

356–373 *MP* 360 tripodas Clari *MP* 362 omnem *M*, cursum *MP*
372 suspensum *P*

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was altered into *tripodas*, whether to normalize the metre or from assimilation to the other plurals, or for both reasons.

361. For *praepetis omina pennae* see note on vi. 15.

362. 'All sacred sanction announced to me prosperity on my course.' From a study of Warde Fowler's admirable analysis of the meaning of the word *religio* (in his *Roman Essays and Interpretations*) it is clear that *prospera religio* is an impossible and meaningless phrase. *prospera* must therefore be the accusative plural, as in *ignota loquor* ii. 91, or *vera vides* iii. 316. When it was erroneously taken to be nominative singular, *dixit* was left without an object, and the alteration of *cursumihi* into *cursummihi* was inevitable. With *omnis religio* may be compared *fas omne* v. 800.

367. The meaning of *obscenus*, here as uniformly in Virgil, is 'ill-omened', or 'horrible'.

372. *suspensus*, 'uplifted', the French *exalté*. The alternative reading *suspensum* does not suit the context so well. 'Si *suspensus*, ipse numinis plenus; si *suspensum*, me sollicitum et attentum', is the note in Servius. The MS. authority is evenly divided.

373. The meaning of *divinus* here is 'inspired'. It is so used (of artists or poets) repeatedly in the *Eclogues*, but not elsewhere in the *Aeneid*. In l. 442 below, as in the famous *divini gloria ruris* of *Georg*. i. 168, its sense is approximately 'god-haunted'.

'Nate dea, nam te maioribus ire per altum
auspiciis manifesta fides, sic fata deum rex
sortitur volvitque vices, is vertitur ordo,
pauca tibi e multis, quo tutior hospita lustres
aequora et Ausonio possis considere portu,
expediam dictis: prohibent nam cetera Parcae
scire Helenum farique vetat Saturnia Iuno.
'Principio Italiam, quam tu iam rere propinquam
vicinosque, ignare, paras invadere portus,
longa procul longis via dividit invia terris.
ante et Trinacria lentandus remus in unda
et salis Ausonii lustrandum navibus aequor
infernique lacus Aeaeaeque insula Circae,
quam tuta possis urbem componere terra.
signa tibi dicam, tu condita mente teneto:
cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam
litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus
triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,
alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati,
is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.
nec tu mensarum morsus horresce futuros:
fata viam invenient aderitque vocatus Apollo.
'Has autem terras Italique hanc litoris oram,

374–396 *MP*

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374. The *maiora auspicia* were those taken by magistrates holding the *maius imperium*, i.e. by a dictator, a consul, or any one invested by the sovereign people with consular powers.

377. The *hospita aequora*, like the *terra hospita* of l. 539, mean the seas which receive you as a stranger.

380. *que* here is disjunctive: Helenus either does not know or is not allowed to say.

383. *via invia* and *longa longis terris* are pieces of oracular phraseology.

384. The meaning of *lentandus* is 'must be dragged slowly or heavily through'; it corresponds to *lustrandum*, 'must be circled round', in the next line.

402. 'The famed (*illa*) little Petelia throned on its wall' (cf. i. 506) is so described in allusion to the heroic defence it made for several months when besieged in 216 B.C. by the Carthaginian general Himilco. The walls repelled all assaults until the surviving garrison were so exhausted by hunger that they could not stand.

proxima quae nostri perfunditur aequoris aestu,
effuge; cuncta malis habitantur moenia Grais.
hic et Narycii posuerunt moenia Locri,
et Sallentinos obsedit milite campos
Lyctius Idomeneus; hic illa ducis Meliboei
parva Philoctetae subnixa Petelia muro.
quin ubi transmissae steterint trans aequora classes
et positis aris iam vota in litore solves,
purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu,
ne qua inter sanctos ignis in honore deorum
hostilis facies occurrat et omina turbet.
hunc socii morem sacrorum, hunc ipse teneto;
hac casti maneant in religione nepotes.
'Ast ubi digressum Siculae te admoverit orae
ventus, et angusti rarescent claustra Pelori,
laeva tibi tellus et longo laeva petantur
aequora circuitu; dextrum fuge litus et undas.
haec loca vi quondam et vasta convulsa ruina,
tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas,
dissiluisse ferunt; cum protinus utraque tellus
una foret, venit medio vi pontus et undis
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque et urbes
litore diductas angusto interluit aestu.

397–419 *MP*   404 litora M^1

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411. *rarescere*, to 'thin' or 'fray out', and so 'to show a gap', is a word not used by Virgil elsewhere.

415. *aevi longinqua vetustas*, 'age-long lapse of time'. *aevi longinqua* is a single phrase, like 'tempore longinqua' in Livy ix. 24, the word usually meaning distant in space, and requiring further definition when used of time if the context does not make this obvious. It occurs only here in the *Aeneid*. *vetustas* applies to remoteness of time either in the past, 'antiquity', or in the future, as in x. 792 *si qua fidem tanto est operi latura vetustas*. The whole line is aptly illustrated by Cicero's 'de me nulla unquam obmutescet vetustas', *pro Mil.* xxxv. 98, and 'affert autem vetustas longinqua observatione incredibilem scientiam', *de Div.* I. xlix. 109.

416. *protinus una*, 'one continuously': so *protinus omnia perlegerent* vi. 33, *si protinus aequasset nocti ludum* ix. 337.

417. *vi*, 'violently', is adverbial, as again in l. 457.

dextrum Scylla latus, laevum implacata Charybdis
obsidet, atque imo barathri ter gurgite vastos
sorbet in abruptum fluctus rursusque sub auras
erigit alternos, et sidera verberat unda.
at Scyllam caecis cohibet spelunca latebris
ora exsertantem et navis in saxa trahentem.
prima hominis facies et pulchro pectore virgo
pube tenus, postrema immani corpore pistrix
delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum.
praestat Trinacrii metas lustrare Pachyni
cessantem, longos et circumflectere cursus,
quam semel informem vasto vidisse sub antro
Scyllam et caeruleis canibus resonantia saxa.
  'Praeterea, si qua est Heleno prudentia vati,
si qua fides, animum si veris implet Apollo,
unum illud tibi, nate dea, proque omnibus unum
praedicam et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo,
Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora,
Iunoni cane vota libens dominamque potentem
supplicibus supera donis: sic denique victor
Trinacria finis Italos mittere relicta.
  'Huc ubi delatus Cumaeam accesseris urbem
divinosque lacus et Averna sonantia silvis,

420–442 *MP*   421 vasto P^1 440 misere P^1, miscere P^2

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426. 'The foremost portion of her is a human face', *prima* being used as in 'prima leo, postrema draco' in Lucretius's description of the Chimaera, v. 905. The phraseology of this and the next two lines is purposely involved; and the expression *uterus luporum* for 'a belly-full of wolves' is a distortion of language to which Virgil hardly ever approximates elsewhere. But La Cerda makes a comment on the passage which shows real insight, and justifies the words 'aperio mentem Poetae' with which he prefaces it. 'Voluit', he says, 'variarum formarum confusionem repraesentare, ut vividius monstri huius imaginem indicet. In qua re Poeta sibi mire, ut assolet, consentit. Nam in superiore parte dat huic monstro res duas, hominem et virginem; in pube duas, canes (sc. in l. 432) et lupos: in inferiore parte duas, delphinum, pistricem.'

434. *veris*, 'truths': so *vera vides* l. 316, *si vera feram* ii. 161, *obscuris vera*

insanam vatem aspicies, quae rupe sub ima
fata canit foliisque notas et nomina mandat.
quaecumque in foliis descripsit carmina virgo
digerit in numerum atque antro seclusa relinquit:
illa manent immota locis neque ab ordine cedunt.
verum eadem, verso tenuis cum cardine ventus
impulit et teneras turbavit ianua frondes,
numquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere saxo
nec revocare situs aut iungere carmina curat.
inconsulti abeunt sedemque odere Sibyllae.
hic tibi ne qua morae fuerint dispendia tanti,
quamvis increpitent socii et vi cursus in altum
vela vocet, possisque sinus implere secundos,
quin adeas vatem precibusque oracula poscas
ipsa canat vocemque volens atque ora resolvat.
illa tibi Italiae populos venturaque bella
et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem
expediet, cursusque dabit venerata secundos.
'Haec sunt quae nostra liceat te voce moneri.
vade age et ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam.'
Quae postquam vates sic ore effatus amico est,
dona dehinc auro gravia ac secto elephanto
imperat ad navis ferri, stipatque carinis

443–456 *MP* 457–465 *GMP* 449 terris P^1 455 vocent M^2P^2
464 gravia sectoque *GMP*

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involvens vi. 100.

442. *Averna* here and in v. 732, vii. 91, seems to be a Virgilian coinage on the analogy of *Tartara*: *sonantia silvis* is his normal way of expressing the meaning of the compound epithet *silvisona*: so again *virgulta sonantia lauro* xii. 522. In vi. 704 Virgil, according to the majority of the MSS., uses the alternative phrase *virgulta sonantia silvae*.

446. *in numerum*: 'in ordinem, ut continuatio carminum fiat', is the note in D Servius.

452. *inconsulti abeunt* implies the full wording, *consulentes inconsulti abeunt.* The ancient commentators debated whether *inconsulti* meant 'sine consilio, inscii' or 'incauti, ut qui sine consilio aliquid adgrediuntur': the former is almost certainly right.

464. The text of all the MSS. gives an impossible scansion which was from early times the source of much perplexity.

ingens argentum Dodonaeosque lebetas,
loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem,
et conum insignis galeae cristasque comantis,
arma Neoptolemi. sunt et sua dona parenti.
addit equos, additque duces . . . 470
remigium supplet, socios simul instruit armis.
   Interea classem velis aptare iubebat
Anchises, fieret vento mora ne qua ferenti.
quem Phoebi interpres multo compellat honore:
'coniugio, Anchisa, Veneris dignate superbo, 475
cura deum, bis Pergameis erepte ruinis,
ecce tibi Ausoniae tellus: hanc arripe velis.
et tamen hanc pelago praeterlabare necesse est:
Ausoniae pars illa procul quam pandit Apollo.
vade,' ait 'o felix nati pietate. quid ultra 480
provehor et fando surgentis demoror Austros?'
nec minus Andromache digressu maesta supremo
fert picturatas auri subtemine vestis

466–474 *GMP*   475 *MP*   476–483 *GMP*   469 parentis *P*   475 Anchisae MP^2 476 erepta *P*   478 praeterlabere M^1, praeterlabre P^1 480 vade age o M^1 483 subtegmine *GM*

'*a* finalitatis ratione producitur, sed satis aspere', the note of Servius, has in one form or another been generally accepted by editors, but all attempts to vindicate it, or to suggest parallels, have been futile. Schaper's emendation, *auro gravia ac secto elephanto* (approved by Housman), may be accepted. The vulgate text is probably due to a reminiscence of the *ex auro solidoque elephanto* of *Georg.* iii. 26 having inadvertently led to writing *auro gravia ac sectoque elephanto*, and thence to an attempt at mending the grammar by leaving out the *ac*.

466. 'Dodonean caldrons' (like such expressions as 'Balearic sling' or 'Cydonian arrows') is merely the conventional way of saying 'fine bronze caldrons', with the further reason in this case that it avoids specific enumeration of the three metals, gold, silver, and bronze. There was a celebrated collection of such caldrons, given as dedicatory offerings, at the shrine and oracle of Dodona. One may compare the 'vessels of fine copper, precious as gold' dedicated in the second temple at Jerusalem, Ezra viii. 27.

467. 'Put together in links, and of gold' is Virgil's characteristic way of saying that the hauberk was constructed of golden links: cf. note on ii. 19. By a similar piece of stylistic artifice in the next line he says *conum cristasque galeae*, meaning 'a conical plumed helmet'.

470. It was debated by the early commentators whether *duces* meant pilots

et Phrygiam Ascanio chlamydem, nec cedit honore;
textilibusque onerat donis, ac talia fatur:
'accipe et haec, manuum tibi quae monimenta mearum
sint, puer, et longum Andromachae testentur amorem,
coniugis Hectoreae. cape dona extrema tuorum,
o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago.
sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat;
et nunc aequali tecum pubesceret aevo.'
  Hos ego digrediens lacrimis adfabar obortis:
'vivite: felices, quibus est fortuna peracta
iam sua: nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur.
vobis parta quies: nullum maris aequor arandum,
arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro
quaerenda. effigiem Xanthi Troiamque videtis
quam vestrae fecere manus, melioribus, opto,
auspiciis, et quae fuerit minus obvia Grais.
si quando Thybrim vicinaque Thybridis arva
intraro gentique meae data moenia cernam,

484–501 *GMP* 484 honori *GM* 499 fuerint *MP*, que fueris G^1, qua fuerit G^2

(for the voyage) or drivers (for the horses). There is no clear instance in Virgil of *dux* being used in the latter sense, though *effunditque ducem* in x. 574 may be so interpreted; on the other hand there is no further allusion to such pilots; and a supply of drivers for the horses would be as proper and as welcome as that in the next line of rowers to supplement the Trojan crews.

484. *nec cedit honore*, 'and does not yield in (the matter of) her gifts', resumes and emphasizes the *nec minus* of l. 482. The verbal construction is the same as in *cedite ferro*, 'yield in the matter of weapons', ix. 620; and the sense is easy and unexceptionable. The alternative reading *honori*, though it would appear to have been the received text in the second century A.D., gives no intelligible meaning. Heyne, following La Cerda, was disposed to reject the phrase as a spurious insertion.

489. For the adjectival use of an adverb (*super imago*=surviving likeness) see note on i. 13.

493. The punctuation in the text is that of La Cerda: it has not found favour with subsequent editors, but gives a rhythm of great beauty, while at the same time it removes the awkward anomaly of *sua* being treated as a pronoun of the second person. *vivite*, 'farewell', had already been used by Virgil in *Ecl.* viii. 58.

cognatas urbes olim populosque propinquos,
Epiro Hesperiam, quibus idem Dardanus auctor
atque idem casus, unam faciemus utramque
Troiam animis: maneat nostros ea cura nepotes.' 505
  Provehimur pelago vicina Ceraunia iuxta,
unde iter Italiam cursusque brevissimus undis.
sol ruit interea et montes umbrantur opaci.
sternimur optatae gremio telluris ad undam
sortiti remos passimque in litore sicco 510
corpora curamus: fessos sopor inrigat artus.
necdum orbem medium nox Horis acta subibat:
haud segnis strato surgit Palinurus et omnis
explorat ventos atque auribus aëra captat;
sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo, 515
Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones
armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona.
postquam cuncta videt caelo constare sereno,
dat clarum e puppi signum: nos castra movemus
temptamusque viam et velorum pandimus alas. 520
iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis
cum procul obscuros collis humilemque videmus
Italiam. Italiam primus conclamat Achates,
Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant.

502–524 *GMP* 503 Hesperia *P* 504 faciamus *G*

502–4. While the general sense of these lines is clear enough, the wording is unusually intricate; they seem to be an unrevised draft. As construed word by word, the sense apparently is, 'We, who have the same ancestor Dardanus and the same fortunes, will some day make both our kindred cities, and the nations that will be neighbours, Hesperia to Epirus, a single spiritual Troy.' If the variant reading *Hesperia* be adopted, the only difference will be that 'in Epirus, in Hesperia' must be substituted for 'Hesperia to Epirus'. The whole passage is the converse of Dido's imprecation in iv. 622–9. Its historical relevance is not clear, but it may have been inserted with an allusion to the fact that Octavianus spent the winter of 45–4 B.C. at Apollonia in Epirus studying, and qualifying for military and civil office; he was recalled from Apollonia to Rome by the news of Julius Caesar's assassination.

506. From Buthrotum they coast along close under the Tchika mountain range (Ceraunia) to Cape Linguetta, and after

Tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona
induit implevitque mero, divosque vocavit
stans celsa in puppi . . .
'di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes,
ferte viam vento facilem et spirate secundi.'
crebrescunt optatae aurae portusque patescit
iam propior, templumque apparet in arce Minervae.
vela legunt socii et proras ad litora torquent.
portus ab Euroo fluctu curvatus in arcum,
obiectae salsa spumant aspergine cautes,
ipse latet: gemino dimittunt bracchia muro
turriti scopuli refugitque ab litore templum.
quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine vidi
tondentis campum late, candore nivali.
et pater Anchises 'bellum, o terra hospita, portas:
bello armantur equi, bellum haec armenta minantur.
sed tamen idem olim curru succedere sueti
quadripedes et frena iugo concordia ferre:
spes et pacis' ait. tum numina sancta precamur
Palladis armisonae, quae prima accepit ovantis,
et capita ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu,
praeceptisque Heleni, dederat quae maxima, rite
Iunoni Argivae iussos adolemus honores.

525–530 *GMP* 531–547 *MP* 527 stant *M*, prima GP^1 535 demittunt *M* 545 capite P^1, aram *P*

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resting a few hours there, strike straight over to Castro (Portus Veneris) so as to make the shortest sea-passage, some fifty miles, across the mouth of the Adriatic.

510. 'After allotting the oars', i.e. after selecting the rowers.

518. 'Sees all settled in a clear sky', i.e. sees that the weather is settled for the night-crossing.

533. 'Curved into a bow in the direction of the Eastern flood' is an elliptical way of saying that the harbour was roughly semicircular and that its mouth faced East between the two rocky promontories of l. 535. *ab accessu ventorum* is similarly used in l. 570.

536. The ordinary meaning of *refugit*, 'draws back' or 'starts back', is here extended (as in *Georg.* i. 442) to give the sense of 'lies back'.

538. The colour of the horses, Servius observes, is an omen of victory. The chariot of a *triumphator* was drawn by four white horses.

547. For *adolemus honores* see note on i. 704.

haud mora, continuo perfectis ordine votis
cornua velatarum obvertimus antemnarum,
Graiugenumque domos suspectaque linquimus arva.
  Hinc sinus Herculei, si vera est fama, Tarenti
cernitur, attollit se diva Lacinia contra,
Caulonisque arces et navifragum Scylaceum.
tum procul e fluctu Trinacria cernitur Aetna,
et gemitum ingentem pelagi pulsataque saxa
audimus longe fractasque ab litore voces,
exsultantque vada atque aestu miscentur harenae.
et pater Anchises 'nimirum hic illa Charybdis:
hos Helenus scopulos, haec saxa horrenda canebat.
eripite, o socii, pariterque insurgite remis.'
haud minus ac iussi faciunt, primusque rudentem
contorsit laevas proram Palinurus ad undas;
laevam cuncta cohors remis ventisque petivit.
tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite, et idem
subducta ad manis imos desedimus unda.
ter scopuli clamorem inter cava saxa dedere,
ter spumam elisam et rorantia vidimus astra.
interea fessos ventus cum sole reliquit,
ignarique viae Cyclopum adlabimur oris.
  Portus ab accessu ventorum immotus et ingens
ipse: sed horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna ruinis,

548–560 *MP*   561–571 *MPV*   556 ad litora M^1P 563 ventis remisque M^1

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551. From the extremity of the heel of Italy, a little way beyond their landfall at Castro, they sail across the mouth of the Tarentine Gulf to Lacinium, Capo delle Colonne, where there was a conspicuous temple of Juno from which the promontory derives its modern name. It is still winter, so that the ordinary summer passage from Corcyra straight across to Lacinium (Livy xxxvi. 42) could not be ventured. Thence they follow the coast to the Straits of Messina, coming in sight of Etna as they round Cape Spartivento.

556. *ab litore*, 'in the direction of the shore', the corrected reading in M, gives a better sense than the vulgate *ad litora*, which is no doubt due to reminiscence of the *ad litora* of ll. 592, 643, 651.

560. The intransitive *eripite*, 'snatch away!', is unusual but very vivid. One may compare *eripe fugam* ii. 619; for

interdumque atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem
turbine fumantem piceo et candente favilla,
attollitque globos flammarum et sidera lambit,
interdum scopulos avulsaque viscera montis
erigit eructans, liquefactaque saxa sub auras
cum gemitu glomerat fundoque exaestuat imo.
fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus
urgeri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam
impositam ruptis flammam exspirare caminis,
et fessum quotiens mutet latus, intremere omnem
murmure Trinacriam et caelum subtexere fumo.
noctem illam tecti silvis immania monstra
perferimus, nec quae sonitum det causa videmus.
nam neque erant astrorum ignes nec lucidus aethra
siderea polus, obscuro sed nubila caelo,
et lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat.
Postera iamque dies primo surgebat Eoo
umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram,
cum subito e silvis macie confecta suprema
ignoti nova forma viri miserandaque cultu
procedit supplexque manus ad litora tendit.
respicimus. dira inluvies immissaque barba,
consertum tegimen spinis: at cetera Graius,
et quondam patriis ad Troiam missus in armis.

572–586 MPV *587–595 MP* 581 mutat *M²P²*

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fugam there is a cognate accusative rather than an object.

571. *ruina* means 'downpour' as in i. 129.

585. For the meaning of *aethra* in Virgil see note on xii. 247. Here the Servian paraphrase 'splendor aetheris' is near enough.

587. *intempesta nox*, literally 'timeless night', was the regular Latin phrase for 'late night' or 'dead of night': the grammarians debated whether the underlying idea were the part of night during which there was no distinction of time, or the part of night during which nothing could be done. It covered the hours between 'bedtime' and 'cock-crow'.

595. This line would seem to imply that the ragged figure still wore some fragments of Greek armour which could be recognized as such. But see App. B.

isque ubi Dardanios habitus et Troïa vidit
arma procul, paulum aspectu conterritus haesit
continuitque gradum; mox sese ad litora praeceps
cum fletu precibusque tulit: 'per sidera testor,
per superos atque hoc caeli spirabile lumen,
tollite me, Teucri; quascumque abducite terras:
hoc sat erit. scio me Danais e classibus unum
et bello Iliacos fateor petiisse penatis.
pro quo, si sceleris tanta est iniuria nostri,
spargite me in fluctus vastoque immergite ponto;
si pereo, hominum manibus periisse iuvabit.'
dixerat et genua amplexus genibusque volutans
haerebat. qui sit fari, quo sanguine cretus,
hortamur, quae deinde agitet fortuna fateri.
ipse pater dextram Anchises haud multa moratus
dat iuveni atque animum praesenti pignore firmat.
ille haec deposita tandem formidine fatur:
'Sum patria ex Ithaca, comes infelicis Ulixi,
nomine Achaemenides, Troiam genitore Adamasto
paupere, mansissetque utinam fortuna! profectus.
hic me, dum trepidi crudelia limina linquunt,
immemores socii vasto Cyclopis in antro
deseruere. domus sanie dapibusque cruentis,
intus opaca, ingens. ipse arduus, altaque pulsat

596–619 *MP*   600 numen M^1, nomen P^1 601 adducite M^1

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600. For the bold but effective *spirabile lumen*, compare *Georg.* ii. 340 *cum primae lucem pecudes hausere.*

607. Elsewhere in Virgil *volutare* is used either (1) ordinarily, of 'revolving' in the mind, or (2) of 'eddying' sounds, i. 725, v. 149, x. 98. The meaning of *genibus volutans* here appears to be 'rocking (or wriggling) on his knees'.

609. For the use of *deinde* see note on i. 13.

610. As often elsewhere, *multa* is in effect an adverb = *multum*.

611. *iuveni* is a rather unusual variant of the common Virgilian *viro*, meaning little more than *ei*: see note on i. 91.

618. For *domus sanie*, 'a house of blood', see App. A.

621. The verbal nouns *visu* and *dictu* here mean 'in look' and 'in speech', not, as more usually, 'to be seen' and 'to be spoken'.

sidera; di talem terris avertite pestem!
nec visu facilis nec dictu adfabilis ulli;
visceribus miserorum et sanguine vescitur atro.
vidi egomet duo de numero cum corpora nostro
prensa manu magna medio resupinus in antro
frangeret ad saxum, sanieque aspersa natarent
limina; vidi atro cum membra fluentia tabo
manderet et tepidi tremerent sub dentibus artus:
haud impune quidem, nec talia passus Ulixes
oblitusve sui est Ithacus discrimine tanto.
nam simul expletus dapibus vinoque sepultus
cervicem inflexam posuit, iacuitque per antrum
immensus saniem eructans et frusta cruento
per somnum commixta mero, nos magna precati
numina sortitique vices una undique circum
fundimur, et telo lumen terebramus acuto
ingens quod torva solum sub fronte latebat,
Argolici clipei aut Phoebeae lampadis instar,
et tandem laeti sociorum ulciscimur umbras.
sed fugite, o miseri, fugite atque ab litore funem
rumpite . . .
nam qualis quantusque cavo Polyphemus in antro
lanigeras claudit pecudes atque ubera pressat,
centum alii curva haec habitant ad litora vulgo

620–643 *MP* 621 effabilis *P* 627 trepidi *M^1P* 629 oblitusque *P*
632 immensum *P* 634 nomina *M^1*

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625. According to Servius, *exspersa* is the 'vera lectio'. But though *sanie exspersus* would be quite a Virgilian way of saying *madidus exspersa sanie*, there is no occasion to alter the *aspersa* of the primary MSS.

634. The division of *circumfundimur* between the lines is unique in Virgil, except, according to the most probable interpretation, *circumducebat* vi. 517–18. It is remarkable that there is a similarly unique instance of the same metrical experiment in Milton, *P. L.* x. 581,

> *Ophion* with *Eurynome*, the wide-
> Encroaching *Eve* perhaps.

There is a similar 'tmesis', but within the line, in *fugientem Rhoetea praeter* x. 399: perhaps also in *bellantes Pergama circum* i. 466.

643. The meaning of *vulgo* is 'here and there', 'up and down'. The Cyclopes

infandi Cyclopes et altis montibus errant.
tertia iam Lunae se cornua lumine complent
cum vitam in silvis inter deserta ferarum
lustra domosque traho, vastosque ab rupe Cyclopas
prospicio sonitumque pedum vocemque tremesco.
victum infelicem, bacas lapidosaque corna,
dant rami, et vulsis pascunt radicibus herbae.
omnia conlustrans hanc primum ad litora classem
conspexi venientem. huic me, quaecumque fuisset,
addixi: satis est gentem effugisse nefandam.
vos animam hanc potius quocumque absumite leto.'
  Vix ea fatus erat summo cum monte videmus
ipsum inter pecudes vasta se mole moventem
pastorem Polyphemum et litora nota petentem,
monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.
trunca manum pinus regit et vestigia firmat;
lanigerae comitantur oves; ea sola voluptas;
solamenque mali . . .
postquam altos tetigit fluctus et ad aequora venit,
luminis effossi fluidum lavit inde cruorem
dentibus infrendens gemitu, graditurque per aequor

644–659 *MP*   660–664 *FMP*   652 prospexi *M*   655 cum in monte P^2 659 manu M^1 661 *vide infra*   663 effuso M^1, effusi M^2, effosi P^1 664 gemitum P^2

---

are described in the *Odyssey* as living in isolated families and 'taking no concern with one another', ix. 115.

658. Commentators from D Servius onward have debated whether *ingens* should be taken with the words preceding or with those following it. There is nothing beyond personal preference to guide one in the choice.

661. The evidence for the text of this line is unusually conflicting. Of the three primary MSS. available, M reads *solamenque mali* only; P, *solamenque mali de collo fistula pendet*; and F adds the same words in a later hand above an undecipherable erasure. The broken line has been the received text from Heinsius (1664) onwards. The note in Servius, '*solamenque mali*: hinc Quintilianus dixit, magnum caecitatis solatium est habere rem videntis', suggests that he read the full line. But there is no certainty. The whole episode is so crude and unfinished that no argument can be drawn from the alleged inappropriateness of the pipe as belonging to the

iam medium, necdum fluctus latera ardua tinxit.
nos procul inde fugam trepidi celerare recepto
supplice sic merito tacitique incidere funem;
vertimus et proni certantibus aequora remis.
sensit, et ad sonitum vocis vestigia torsit.
verum ubi nulla datur dextra adfectare potestas
nec potis Ionios fluctus aequare sequendo,
clamorem immensum tollit, quo pontus et omnes
contremuere undae, penitusque exterrita tellus
Italiae curvisque immugiit Aetna cavernis.
at genus e silvis Cyclopum et montibus altis
excitum ruit ad portus et litora complent.
cernimus astantis nequiquam lumine torvo
Aetnaeos fratres caelo capita alta ferentis,
concilium horrendum: quales cum vertice celso
aëriae quercus aut coniferae cyparissi
constiterunt, silva alta Iovis lucusve Dianae.
praecipitis metus acer agit quocumque rudentis
excutere et ventis intendere vela secundis:
contra iussa monent Heleni, Scyllam atque Charybdim
inter utramque viam leti discrimine parvo

665–684 *FMP* 685 *FMPR* 665 fluctur *F*, fluctu M^2P 666 fuga P^1
668 verrimus *F* 670 dextram FP^2, dextrum M^1 673 intremuere *FP*
682 ruentis F^1 684 movent *F*, monet P^1, Scylla FP^1, Charybdis *F*

Theocritean rather than the Homeric Polyphemus.

669. In view of *taciti* in l. 667 we must suppose that *vocis* here is used to express the gurgling, or as is sometimes called, 'talking', of the water under the oars and against the ship's sides: it is similarly used of the noise of breakers on the shore, l. 556 above.

684–6. The text here is very uncertain and the expression, whatever reading be followed, unusually intricate: the passage was a puzzle to the earliest commentators, and it is no doubt an unrevised draft. The statement in Donatus, Servius, and Priscian, that *ni* in l. 686 is an archaism for *ne* may be accepted; and if so, the punctuation in the text gives a satisfactory meaning to what is in any case rather tortuously expressed, if we assume that the wind is south-west, i.e. blowing up towards the Straits. As soon as they have rowed out of the lee of the land far enough to catch this wind, their terror urges them to run before it so as to get beyond reach of the Cyclopes

ni teneant cursus: certum est dare lintea retro;
ecce autem Boreas angusta ab sede Pelori
missus adest: vivo praetervehor ostia saxo
Pantagiae Megarosque sinus Thapsumque iacentem.
talia monstrabat relegens errata retrorsus 690
litora Achaemenides, comes infelicis Ulixi.
Sicanio praetenta sinu iacet insula contra
Plemyrium undosum, nomen dixere priores
Ortygiam. Alpheum fama est huc Elidis amnem
occultas egisse vias subter mare, qui nunc 695
ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis.
iussi numina magna loci veneramur, et inde
exsupero praepingue solum stagnantis Helori.
hinc altas cautes proiectaque saxa Pachyni
radimus, et fatis numquam concessa moveri 700
apparet Camerina procul campique Geloi,
immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.

686–689 *FMPR* 690 *MPR* 691–702 *MPRV* 686 nec P^1, ne P^2, n . . . *F*

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as quickly as possible. But against this there is the warning of Helenus not to attempt the passage of the Straits: consequently they have just made up their minds to tack southward, when providentially (*ecce autem!*) the wind shifts into the north and enables them to run down the Sicilian coast under sail.

The whole of l. 685 is in loose apposition to *Scyllam atque Charybdim*.

697. Who were the 'great deities of the place', and by whom worship of them had been ordered, we are not told.

702. The authenticity of this line is questionable. The post-Augustan uncontracted genitive in *-ii* only occurs twice elsewhere in the vulgate text of Virgil; in ix. 151, a line which is universally regarded as an interpolation, and in iv. 640, a line which has also been questioned, though on insufficient grounds: in any case these two instances are in proper names, in which a larger licence was admissible. The only strict analogy is *apii* in the *Moretum*, l. 90, but the date and authorship of the *Moretum* are too uncertain to make it of much value for this point.

Further difficulties presented by the line are (1) the scansion of *Gela*, which is anomalous; but as Gela, the name of the river after which the town was

arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longe
moenia, magnanimum quondam generator equorum;
teque datis linquo ventis, palmosa Selinus,
et vada dura lego saxis Lilybeia caecis.
Hinc Drepani me portus et inlaetabilis ora
accipit. hic pelagi tot tempestatibus actis
heu, genitorem, omnis curae casusque levamen,
amitto Anchisen. hic me, pater optime, fessum
deseris, heu, tantis nequiquam erepte periclis!
nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
hos mihi praedixit luctus, non dira Celaeno.
hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta viarum.
hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris.'
Sic pater Aeneas intentis omnibus unus
fata renarrabat divum cursusque docebat.
conticuit tandem factoque hic fine quievit.

703–716 *MPRV* 717, 718 *MPR* 708 actis *PR*, act . . . *V* 717 cursuque *P*

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named, was an Oscan or Sicel word, this objection is negligible; (2) the epithet *immanis*, whether it applies to the town or the river. Possibly it may have been suggested by the earlier Geloan coins, on which there is a sort of monster, the fore-quarters of an ox with a bearded human head. The little stream of the Maruglio which falls into the sea at Gela, though no doubt it swells into a torrent in winter, is not important enough to justify such an epithet. Another, and an equally unlikely conjecture, is that there is an allusion to the massacre of 4,000 Geloan citizens by Agathocles in 312 B.C. Little light is thrown on the problem by Ovid's 'te vorticibus non adeunde Gela' (*Fast.* iv. 470) in a catalogue of places of interest on the Sicilian coast suggested by, and expanded from, this passage; it may only refer to bad anchorage off Gela, which had no harbour.

707. The epithet *inlaetabilis* has perhaps, beyond the personal note, another 'guide-book' reference to the flat, barren, and marshy coast of the district. An allusion to the disaster of 249 B.C., when a great Roman fleet, with an army on board, was almost completely destroyed by the Carthaginians off Drepanum, would be too fanciful.

BOOK IV

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Book IV is the shortest in the *Aeneid*, and also the most highly elaborated and the most fully self-contained. While in no sense of course detachable, it would with a few introductory lines be by itself a complete epyllion; and it may in Virgil's mind have been originally conceived and planned as such. The technique of the schools of rhetoric is very marked in its speeches, especially in the exchange of oratory between Dido and Aeneas, ll. 305–87, and in her three great monologues towards the close. It has probably always been the most famous and the most favourite part of the whole poem. Alexandrianism, as it had been consummated by Apollonius Rhodius in Book III of the *Argonautica*, is here lifted beyond itself; and Virgil has generally been considered to have reached in it the highest point in his mastery of psychological insight and purely human interest. The well-known sentence of St. Augustine (*Conf.* I. xiii), 'flebam Didonem exstinctam ferroque extrema secutam, sequens ipse extrema condita tua relicto te', is but one, if the greatest, of a thousand tributes paid alike to its fascination and its magnificence.

Before so great and so universally acknowledged an achievement, criticism is almost silenced. The oblique censure hinted at rather than conveyed by Ovid in his 'contulit in Tyrios arma virumque toros' (*Trist.* ii. 534) would only be justifiable on a contracted and artificial doctrine as to the nature of an epic. Yet we may feel that in this episode the lure of his art has carried the artist further than he intended, and has to a certain extent deflected interest from the main course of the action. 'Nec legitur pars ulla magis de corpore toto', the words in which Ovid goes on, are not unmixed praise. And indeed the accent of the wonderful closing phrase, 'omnis et una dilapsus calor atque in ventos vita recessit', suggests, with the subtle Virgilian magic, the return to a world in which the Carthaginian tragedy is 'but as the fierce vexation of a dream'.

Structurally, the Book consists of three successive sections, each opening (ll. 1, 296, 504) with the words *At regina*. It may be observed that the artifice of repetition is used throughout the Book with admirable effectiveness. One instance, which can hardly fail to be felt even if it is not expressly noticed, is the fourfold repetition at intervals of a hundred lines (ll. 308, 415, 519, 604) of the single bell-stroke of *moritura*. There are five unfinished lines, and one other (498) to which, whether by Virgil himself or by some early scribe, a stop-gap ending has been supplied. In two cases, a line appears to have been misplaced by the original editors; l. 235 would come better, and seems meant to come, after l. 236, and l. 401 after l. 407; though in both of these, as in a number of other cases elsewhere, alteration of the vulgate order is precarious. A speech of Anna's also seems to break off unfinished, though at the end of the line, in l. 53, and a similar conjecture has been made, with less reason, as regards the abrupt conclusion of Dido's monologue in l. 552. Of the overloaded amplifications which are a sign of early unrevised writing, there are very few: they are ll. 181–3 in the description of Fame; ll. 300–3, which have the appearance of a first sketch for the elaborate description of the madness of Amata in vii. 373–405; and portions, ll. 484–6 and 489–91, of Dido's account of the Massylian sorceress. The paragraph describing the flight of Mercury to Carthage, after the noble opening of ll. 238–47, becomes confused and repeats itself; the four lines, 248–51, *Atlantis . . . barba*, look like an early draft meant to be struck out and replaced by the single line *Atlantis . . . fulcit*, and the doubled simile of the sea-bird in ll. 254–5 and 256–8 can hardly have been intended to stand. Four more lines immediately following (261–4) are in effect a rather infelicitous parenthesis, and might also have disappeared in the final revision of the whole paragraph.

AENEIDOS

LIBER QUARTUS

At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura
vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.
multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat
gentis honos: haerent infixi pectore vultus
verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.
postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras
umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram,
cum sic unanimam adloquitur male sana sororem:
'Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent!
quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes,
quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!
credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum.
degeneres animos timor arguit. heu, quibus ille
iactatus fatis, quae bella exhausta canebat!
si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet
ne cui me vinclo vellem sociare iugali,
postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit;
si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset,

1–18 *FGMPR*   9 suspensa M^1 11 quem forti F^1 18 fuissent F^2MP^1

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6. Here, as in Dido's invocation in l. 608, *Sol qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras*, the sense of 'illuminate' is superimposed, by the addition of *lampade* and *flammis*, upon the proper meaning of *lustrare*, 'move in procession round': see notes on i. 607, ii. 754.

11. The strange fancy that *armis* here means 'shoulders' need not be discussed. But it is desirable to notice that it cannot be rejected merely on the ground that *armus* means the shoulder of a quadruped, not of a man; for although this is normally so, as is emphasized in Ovid's 'ex humeris armi fiunt' (*Met.* x. 700), in the description of the change of Hippomenes and Atalanta into a lion and lioness, yet Virgil does once use it of the human shoulder, xi. 644.

14. From its sense of 'chant', *canere* is often extended to the somewhat wider sense of 'recite'.

17. For *morte*, 'after death', see App. A.

huic uni forsan potui succumbere culpae;
Anna, fatebor enim, miseri post fata Sychaei
coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede penatis
solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem
impulit. agnosco veteris vestigia flammae.
sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat
vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam,
ante, pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo.
ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores
abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulcro.'
Sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis.
Anna refert: 'o luce magis dilecta sorori,
solane perpetua maerens carpēre iuventa
nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris?
id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?
esto: aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti,
non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas
ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis
dives alit: placitone etiam pugnabis amori?

19–37 *FGMPR* 38 *FMPR* 25 abigat *F* 26 Erebi *MP*^{2}
36 Libya *P*^{1}

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19. In estimating Virgil's Dido, it must be borne in mind that *culpa* (here, and again in l. 172) means only 'fault' or 'failing', and does not imply either criminality or moral obliquity. The *pudor* whose laws she shrinks from relaxing (l. 27) and whose extinction she deplores (l. 322) is what we should call a sense of delicacy, to which any second marriage was distasteful. This was the old Roman tradition; and so Livy records that under the early Republic, sacrifice in the temples of Pudicitia Patricia and Pudicitia Plebeia might only be made by a 'matrona et quae uni viro nupta esset' (x. 23), a rule, he adds, which had first been relaxed and then completely forgotten. After her union with Aeneas, Dido can still approach the altars *piis manibus* (l. 517); the *facta impia* of l. 596 are Aeneas's, not her own, and only in the one broken wail of *non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo* (l. 552) does she blame herself for anything worse than credulous folly.

22. *labantem impulit*, 'gave the impulse to waver', as in ii. 463 *labantis iuncturas impulimus*. Hitherto Dido's purpose had been unshaken.

24. *optem* means 'let my choice be'.

nec venit in mentem quorum consederis arvis?
hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,
et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis;
hinc deserta siti regio lateque furentes
Barcaei. quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam
germanique minas . . .?
dis equidem auspicibus reor et Iunone secunda
hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas.
quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna
coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis
Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!
tu modo posce deos veniam, sacrisque litatis
indulge hospitio causasque innecte morandi,
dum pelago desaevit hiems et aquosus Orion,
quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum.'
His dictis incensum animum inflammavit amore
spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem.
principio delubra adeunt pacemque per aras
exquirunt; mactant lectas de more bidentis
legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo,

39–58 *FMPR* 40 intractabile *R* 51 et causas *F* 54 impenso F^1, penso P^1, flammavit FP^1R 58 frugiferae F^1R

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36. The coupling of the locative-genitive *Libyae* and the ablative *Tyro*, 'ac si diceret Tyri', is probably merely for variety: Servius notes that *Libya* was also read.

38. *placitus*, 'agreed', is the participial inflection of the impersonal *placet*, 'it is agreed'. Similar anomalous passive participles are *titubata* v. 332, *orsa* vii. 435, and *tacitum*, 'unspoken of', vi. 841. The normal use is confined to a few words like *cretus*, *praeteritus*, and *suetus*.

41. The Numidian cavalry rode without reins (Livy xxxv. 11). But 'unbridled' also conveys its metaphorical sense.

50. To the ablative absolute *litatis*, 'offerings having been made', for which see note on i. 737, *sacris* is attached as an epithet.

52. *desaevit* (and so again x. 569) means 'rages itself out'.

54. The primary MSS. vary between *inflammavit* and *flammavit*; but Virgil does not elsewhere use *flammare* as a transitive verb except in the participle *flammatus* (i. 50, and perhaps iii. 330). There is nothing to recommend the alternative reading *impenso* or *impense* for *incensum*, mentioned by Servius and found in some MSS.

56. For *per aras* see note on ii. 501.

Iunoni ante omnis, cui vincla iugalia curae.
ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido
candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit,
aut ante ora deum pinguis spatiatur ad aras,
instauratque diem donis, pecudumque reclusis
pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.
heu, vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem,
quid delubra iuvant? est mollis flamma medullas
interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.
uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,
quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit
pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum
nescius: illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat
Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.
nunc media Aenean secum per moenia ducit
Sidoniasque ostentat opes urbemque paratam,
incipit effari mediaque in voce resistit;
nunc eadem labente die convivia quaerit,
Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores
exposcit pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.
post ubi digressi, lumenque obscura vicissim
luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos,
sola domo maeret vacua stratisque relictis
incubat; illum absens absentem auditque videtque:

59–83 *FMPR*   72 saltus silvasque *F*

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60. The epithet *pulcherrima* (as in *genetrix pulcherrima* iv. 227, xii. 554, or *dea pulcherrima* xi. 852) is merely ornamental.

62. *spatiatur* means 'moves in a stately dance', which was part of the ritual. 'Matronae sacrificaturae', says Servius, 'circa aras faculas tenentes ferebantur, quod cum quodam gestu fiebat.' The word is only once elsewhere used by Virgil, to describe the stiff deliberate walk of the raven, *Georg*. i. 389.

63. 'Renews the day with gifts' may either mean 'repeats her gifts throughout the day' or 'repeats her gifts daily'.

69. *coniecta sagitta*, 'with an arrow sped to the mark', like *coniecta cuspide* xii. 362.

81. *premit lumen*, 'sinks her light'. For *cadentia sidera* see note on ii. 8.

aut gremio Ascanium genitoris imagine capta
detinet, infandum si fallere possit amorem.
non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuventus
exercet portusve aut propugnacula bello
tuta parant: pendent opera interrupta minaeque
murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.
Quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri
cara Iovis coniunx nec famam obstare furori,
talibus adgreditur Venerem Saturnia dictis:
'egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis
tuque puerque tuus, magnum et memorabile numen,
una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est.
nec me adeo fallit veritam te moenia nostra
suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae.
sed quis erit modus, aut quo nunc certamine tanto?
quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos
exercemus? habes tota quod mente petisti:
ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.
communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus
auspiciis; liceat Phrygio servire marito
dotalisque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae.'
Olli, sensit enim simulata mente locutam,
quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras,
sic contra est ingressa Venus: 'quis talia demens
abnuat aut tecum malit contendere bello?

84–92 *FMPR* 93–108 *F*^{2}*MPR* 85 amantem *F* 91 pudori *R*

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88. In later Latin, *minae* was the technical term for 'battlements', and it implies, without directly expressing, that meaning here. Similarly, the *aequata machina caelo* is not so much the crane 'raised as high as heaven' as the crane 'poised in the sky'. Cf. the *aequata vela* of a fleet sailing before the wind in l. 587.

98. 'But what shall be the limit, or whither away in so hot a contest?' The wording, though compressed, presents no difficulty; and there is no authority for the older vulgate *certamina tanta*, the arbitrary emendation of Heinsius.

103. For the *paria auspicia* of the two consuls at Rome see note on iii. 374. *Phrygio servire marito* is like *stirpis Achilleae fastus servitio tulimus* iii. 326; and *permittere* is 'to give over' as in l. 640.

si modo quod memoras factum fortuna sequatur,
sed fatis incerta feror, si Iuppiter unam 110
esse velit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis,
miscerive probet populos aut foedera iungi.
tu coniunx, tibi fas animum temptare precando.
perge, sequar.' tum sic excepit regia Iuno:
'mecum erit iste labor. nunc qua ratione quod instat 115
confieri possit paucis, adverte, docebo.
venatum Aeneas unaque miserrima Dido
in nemus ire parant, ubi primos crastinus ortus
extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem.
his ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimbum, 120
dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt,
desuper infundam et tonitru caelum omne ciebo.
diffugient comites et nocte tegentur opaca:
speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
devenient. adero et, tua si mihi certa voluntas, 125
conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo
hic hymenaeus erit.' non adversata petenti
adnuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis.
  Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.
it portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus, 130
retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro;

109–115 *F²MPR* 116–121 *F²MR* 122–131 *MR* 116 quo fieri *F²*, quod fieri *M¹* 118 primus *M¹R*, primum *M²* 127 aversata *R* 129 relinquit *M¹*

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115. For *mecum* see note on i. 675.

121. '*alae trepidant*, equites festinant', says Servius. *Ala* was the technical name for a squadron of auxiliary cavalry as distinct from the Roman cavalry attached to the legions; hence more generally it might be used of any troop of horsemen, here the *Massyli equites* of l. 132.

126. This line is in all the MSS. and was in the Servian text. But there can be little doubt that it is an insertion from i. 73 where it is in its proper place. Here it is irrelevant, and only interferes with the purport of Juno's speech.

128. The 'guiles contrived', *doli reperti*, are those of Juno: with *risit dolis* may be compared the *laeta dolis*, also of Juno, viii. 393.

132. The phrase *canum vis* is old Latin: it is used twice by Lucretius, for a pack of hounds (iv. 681) and more loosely for the group of sheep-dogs and watch-dogs belonging to a household (vi. 1222).

Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis.
reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi
Poenorum exspectant, ostroque insignis et auro
stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.
tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva
Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo;
cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.
nec non et Phrygii comites et laetus Iulus
incedunt. ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis
infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit.
qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo
instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum
Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi:
ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem
fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro,
tela sonant umeris: haud illo segnior ibat
Aeneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore.
  Postquam altos ventum in montis atque invia lustra,
ecce ferae saxi deiectae vertice caprae dislodged from the
decurrere iugis; alia de parte patentis
transmittunt cursu campos atque agmina cervi

132–143 *MR* 144–154 *MRV*

The old epithet attached to it when it meant a scenting pack was *odoriseca*; the use of *odora* in this sense (elsewhere it means scented, not scenting) appears to be an invention of Virgil's own.

135. For the sense of *ferox* see note on i. 263.

142. *agmina iungit*, 'joins the trains', i.e. 'joins his train to hers'.

148. *premit fingens*, like the equivalent *fingit premendo* of vi. 80, means 'presses by shaping', 'presses into shape'.

152. The meaning of *deiectae* may be either 'hurling themselves down' or 'dislodged' by the beaters: probably the latter.

154. *transmittunt* corresponds to our colloquial 'put behind them'. For the idiom in *agmina glomerant montisque relinquunt*, 'bunch up their ranks as they leave the hills', see note on i. 20. So l. 484 below, *dabatque epulas et servabat ramos*, 'fed the dragon while she guarded the tree'.

pulverulenta fuga glomerant montisque relinquunt.
at puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri
gaudet equo iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos,
spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis
optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem.
interea magno misceri murmure caelum
incipit, insequitur commixta grandine nimbus.
et Tyrii comites passim et Troiana iuventus
Dardaniusque nepos Veneris diversa per agros
tecta metu petiere; ruunt de montibus amnes.
speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
deveniunt. prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno
dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether
conubiis, summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphae.
ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
causa fuit; neque enim specie famave movetur
nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem:
coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.
Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,
Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum:
mobilitate viget virisque adquirit eundo,
parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras small, in initial fear
ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.

155–161 *MRV* 162–177 *MPRV* 168 conubii P^2RV 169 laborum P^1
174 quo P^1V

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166. The ritual of a Roman marriage is here undertaken by the elemental Powers: primeval Earth, the *Tellus prima deorum* of vii. 136, represents the *panis farreus*, the loaf baked of *far*, 'the most exalted and most ancient of all grains', which was the symbolic or sacramental bread of the marriage ceremony: Juno herself acts as the *pronuba*, the matron who conducted the bride to the *lectus genialis*: the lightning-flashes serve as the torch-bearers of the wedding-procession, and the *aether* as the body of witnesses who signed the marriage-certificate; and the Nymphs on the hill-top intone the wedding cry. As regards this last, Servius suggests that the word *ululare* is chosen as ambiguous and sinister, and so leads up to the words which follow in the next line. Virgil uses it in three connexions, (1) the howling of dogs or wolves; (2) the cry of lamentation over disastrous news or (xi. 190) in the ritual of a funeral; (3) more

illam Terra parens ira inritata deorum
extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem
progenuit pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis,
monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae,
tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu,
tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.
nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram
stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno;
luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti
turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes.
tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri,
haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat
gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat:
venisse Aenean Troiano sanguine cretum,
cui se pulchra viro dignetur iungere Dido;
nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere
regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.
    Haec passim dea foeda virum diffundit in ora.
protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban
incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras.
hic Hammone satus rapta Garamantide nympha
templa Iovi centum latis immania regnis,
centum aras posuit vigilemque sacraverat ignem,

178–196 *MPRV*   197–200 *MPR*   179 extrema R^1 187 magnas et M^1
191 a sanguine *R*   196 cursu P^2

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widely, and without any implication of grief or terror, of the cries of worshippers of Bacchus (vii. 395) or Hecate (iv. 609) and of the war-song of the Amazons (xi. 662). The corresponding Greek word *ὀλολύζειν* is mostly used of songs or cries of exultation: these might of course be unwarranted and so ill-omened.

192. For *viro* see note on i. 91; but here it probably is meant to express its full meaning, 'as her husband'.

193. Here, as in i. 455 and ii. 454, *inter se* is the equivalent of an adjective, and *inter se luxu* means 'in joint debauchery'. *fovere hiemem*, a phrase which has caused unaccountable perplexity in commentators, merely means what it says, 'warm the winter'. The elliptical *quam longa* (and similarly, *quam longa est* viii. 86), 'for as long as it is long', 'for all its length', is an ordinary usage in both prose and poetry.

199. For the meaning of *immania* see note on i. 616.

excubias divum aeternas, pecudumque cruore
pingue solum et variis florentia limina sertis.
isque amens animi et rumore accensus amaro
dicitur ante aras media inter numina divum
multa Iovem manibus supplex orasse supinis: 205
'Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis
gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem,
aspicis haec? an te, genitor, cum fulmina torques
nequiquam horremus, caecique in nubibus ignes
terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent? 210
femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem
exiguam pretio posuit, cui litus arandum
cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra
reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit.
et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu, 215
Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem
subnixus, rapto potitur: nos munera templis
quippe tuis ferimus famamque fovemus inanem.'
Talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem
audiit Omnipotens, oculosque ad moenia torsit 220

201–216 *MPR* 217–220 *MP*

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204. For the introduction of a particular incident in a continuous narrative by *dicitur*, here and again in ix. 591, no special reason seems assignable.

213. The meaning of *cui loci leges dedimus* is 'who holds her territory under a constitution determined by us'. The Servian paraphrase, 'quam tributariam fecimus', is substantially right, but puts the case a little too strongly.

217. The reading of all the primary MSS. and of Servius, *subnixus*, 'couched on' or 'swathed in', is unexceptionable, and there is no justification for altering it, as most modern editors do, into *subnexus*. The Phrygian *mitra* was a headdress made of a long band of cloth wound round the head and passed under the chin, which it thus supported.

218. The conjunction *quippe* (which exactly corresponds in its range of usage to the English, now archaic or obsolete, 'forwhy') introduces the whole sentence *nos . . . inanem*. For its position see note on i. 59.

225. The normal sense of *exspectare* in Virgil is not 'to look forward to' but 'to wait for'. Aeneas is waiting in Carthage for cities to arise there and not turning

regia et oblitos famae melioris amantis.
tum sic Mercurium adloquitur ac talia mandat:
'Vade age, nate, voca Zephyros et labere pennis
Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Karthagine qui nunc
exspectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes,
adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras.
non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem
promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis;
sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri
proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.
si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum
nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem,
Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?
quid struit? aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur
nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva?
naviget: haec summa est: hic nostri nuntius esto.'
Dixerat. ille patris magni parere parabat
imperio: et primum pedibus talaria nectit
aurea, quae sublimem alis sive aequora supra

221–233 *MP* 234–240 *FMP* 227 genetrix nobis *P* 233 laborum M^1P^2

---

away his vision (*respicit*) from them to the other cities which are destined for his hand.

226. As with the arrow which *celeris transilit umbras* in xii. 859, the sense of speed is shifted from the moving object to the surroundings through which it moves; just as in l. 154 above, the running deer 'make the plain go by'. As early as in the *Odyssey* (xv. 299) a poet can speak of 'swift islands' or 'fleeting islands', meaning islands up to and past which a ship sails swiftly. This would be too obvious to require notice but that commentators have boggled over it, both in Homer and in Virgil.

228. The aoristic present coupled to a preterite (*promisit*, *vindicat*) is a favourite stylistic device with Virgil, cf. i. 473, vi. 524.

229–31. These three lines express the destiny not of Aeneas himself but of the Roman race, which is thought of as a personality, the *patriis Romanus in armis* of *Georg.* iii. 346, with a continuous life. Hence *fore qui* does not mean 'it should be he who', but rather 'there should be one who'.

235–6. It may be suspected that the order of these two lines should be exchanged.

seu terram rapido pariter cum flamine portant.
tum virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat Orco
pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit,
dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat.
illa fretus agit ventos et turbida tranat
nubila; iamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit
Atlantis duri caelum qui vertice fulcit,
Atlantis, cinctum adsidue cui nubibus atris
piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri,
nix umeros infusa tegit, tum flumina mento
praecipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba.
hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis
constitit: hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas
misit, avi similis, quae circum litora, circum
piscosos scopulos humilis volat aequora iuxta.
haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat
litus harenosum ad Libyae, ventosque secabat
materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles.
ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis,
Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem

241–257 *FMP* 258–260 *MP* 241 portent *M*^{1} 243 ducit *P*^{1}

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244. *lumina morte resignat*, 'unseals eyes in death', i.e. 'unseals the eyes of the dead': see note on l. 17 above.

245–58. This passage is unfinished, and bears evident traces of being a draft which was put down to be worked over in revision. We may note specially (1) the awkwardness of *illa* in l. 245, following on the *hac* of l. 242 as though they were two things opposed to each other, and of the *hic primum* in l. 252 anticipating the *ut primum* of l. 259; (2) the feebleness of the four lines 248–51, which only retard and blur the description; (3) the clumsy phrasing, and the needlessness, of ll. 256–8, with their repetition of *Cyllenia* from l. 252. Some editors have, not unreasonably, condemned these lines altogether as spurious. Both they and ll. 248–51 are in any case bits of crude and probably early work.

252. 'Putting on pressure with equal wings' expresses the action by which he checks his flight and brings himself up standing.

260. *tecta novantem*, 'making new houses', like *tela novant* vii. 630, not 'renewing houses'.

263. As editors complain of *munera* here, on the ground that Dido did not make the sword and that l. 264 cannot apply

conspicit atque, illi stellatus iaspide fulva
ensis erat Tyrioque ardebat murice laena
demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido
fecerat, et tenui telas discreverat auro,
continuo invadit: 'tu nunc Karthaginis altae
fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem
exstruis, heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum!
ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo
regnator, caelum ac terras qui numine torquet:
ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras:
quid struis? aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?
si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum
nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem,
Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
debetur.' tali Cyllenius ore locutus
mortalis visus medio sermone reliquit
et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.
  At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens,
arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit.

261–280 *MP* 267 ignare *P*^{1} 268 dimittit *P* 269 et *M*, terram *P*
273 *om. MP* 276 debentur *M*^{1}

---

to it, it is as well to point out that the gold tissue studded with lumps of jasper is obviously the material of the scabbard, not of the sword itself. 'Ensem pro vagina posuit' is the note of Servius. So xi. 11 *ensem eburnum* is the ivory sword-sheath. A more reasonable objection might be made to the epithet *dives*, which as Servius remarks, has normally a qualifying word attached to it. The nearest parallels in Virgil are *dives solis filia* of vii. 11 and *praedivitis Latini* xi. 213, neither of them very happy: *dives ramus* vi. 195 and *dives Anagnia* vii. 684 are on a different footing.

275. The union and consubstantiation of Italy and Rome which is the key-note of the whole *Aeneid* is here fully declared as the ordinance of destiny. Further emphasis is given to it by the use of the singular verb *debetur*, the Kingdom of Italy and the Roman Land (both of them terms which Virgil uses nowhere else) being thus proclaimed as one and indivisible. So likewise (according to the best MSS.) *fata deusque sinebat* below l. 651, and *pudor iraque monstrat* ix. 44. In all these and many other cases the MSS. fluctuate between the singular and plural verb.

ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,
attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.
heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem
audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat?
atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc
in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat.
haec alternanti potior sententia visa est:
Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum,
classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant,
arma parent et quae rebus sit causa novandis
dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido
nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,
temptaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi
tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. ocius omnes
imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt.
  At regina dolos, quis fallere possit amantem?
praesensit, motusque excepit prima futuros
omnia tuta timens. eadem impia Fama furenti
detulit armari classem cursumque parari.
saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem
bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris
Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.
tandem his Aenean compellat vocibus ultro:

281–285 *MP* 286–304 *FMP* 286 *om. FP* 289 socios ad *P* 295 ac M^2

285–6. These two lines are generally regarded as an insertion; they occur in viii. 20, 21, where they are relevant to the context. While they have good MS. authority in this place, they are ignored by Servius, and in two of the three primary MSS. l. 286 is only added by a later hand. The suggestion of Heinsius, to read *utque* for *atque* in l. 285, eases the syntax but leaves the lines otiose.

291. The meaning of *optima* here (as in *optima mater* x. 557 and *tuque optima Terra* xii. 777) is pretty nearly 'gracious' or 'benignant'. So *optimus* is used repeatedly of Aeneas and of Latinus by comrades or subjects in phrases like *pater optime Teucrum* and *optime regum*; and Turnus, xii. 48, addresses Latinus simply as *optime*, 'your Grace'.

298. With *omnia tuta timens* may be compared *omnia tuta vides* i. 583. There seems no doubt that *tuta* is an accusative plural, though it is curious that both here and in the soliloquy of Medea in

[illegible]
[illegible] Bacchante [illegible] at the [illegible]
[illegible]

'Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum
posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?
nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam
nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?
quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem
et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum,
crudelis? quid, si non arva aliena domosque
ignotas peteres, et Troia antiqua maneret,
Troia per undosum peteretur classibus aequor?
mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te,
quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui,
per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,
si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam
dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam,
oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.
te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni
odere, infensi Tyrii; te propter eundem
exstinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,
fama prior. cui me moribundam deseris, hospes?
hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat.
quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater
destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?
saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula

305–310 *FMP* 311–328 *MP* 309 moliri *FP* 312 sed P^1

Ovid, *Met.* vii. 47 'quid tuta times?', it might be the nominative singular.

307. The *dextrarum iunctio* was part of the ritual of a Roman marriage; it took place when the formula of consecration in which the bride took the name of her husband ('ubi tu Gaius ego Gaia') was uttered. Thus later (ll. 314–16) Dido appeals to 'the hand you plighted to me', to 'our wedding and the married life begun'.

321. 'My own Tyrians are alienated'. This is the only hint given that there has been any interruption to the goodwill of the Carthaginians which had been secured on the Trojans' arrival, i. 297–304. Perhaps it only existed in Dido's fevered imagination.

323. As in the wail of Creusa, ii. 678 *hanc tutare domum; cui coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquor?*, the force of *cui* is rather 'for what' than 'to whom'.

327. *suscepta*, 'taken in my arms'; just as *suscipiunt* in l. 391.

luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.'
Dixerat. ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat
lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.
tandem pauca refert: 'ego te, quae plurima fando
enumerare vales, numquam, regina, negabo
promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae
dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.
pro re pauca loquar. neque ego hanc abscondere furto
speravi, ne finge, fugam, nec coniugis umquam
praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni.
me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam
auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas,
urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum
reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,
et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis.
sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortis;
hic amor, haec patria est. si te Karthaginis arces
Phoenissam Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis,

329–348 *MP*

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335. Elissa, traditionally the Phoenician name of Dido, is only used twice elsewhere in Virgil, by herself in l. 610, and in the narrative, v. 3. In none of these cases is any special reason for the variation apparent; but it is to be observed that the name Dido is only used in its uninflected form, and always as a nominative, or, which is much the same thing, as a vocative; for in *nomine Dido saepe vocaturum* l. 383 it need not be an accusative. It would seem therefore that Virgil was unwilling to inflect the uninflected Punic word. *piget*, a word rarely used by Virgil, has the sense of reluctance or distastefulness, not directly of regret.

339. Unless, which is unlikely, the meaning of *nec coniugis unquam praetendi taedas* is 'I never regarded our marriage as a pretence', all that this plea amounts to is 'our marriage was none of my making'. But throughout this speech Aeneas (like Adam after the Fall in *P. L.* x. 125–43) is in any event only making a bad case worse by his faltering and entangled attempts at justification.

351. This is the first we have heard of the appearances of the ghost of Anchises to Aeneas; they are mentioned again when the two meet in Elysium, vi. 695. But that there should have been such recurrent dreams, and that they should have pro-

Delos 3 94
Penates 3 154
Cretan 3 153
in conclusion that he does

quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considere terra
invidia est? et nos fas extera quaerere regna.
me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris
nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;
me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,
quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.
nunc etiam interpres divum Iove missus ab ipso,
testor utrumque caput, celeris mandata per auras
detulit: ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi
intrantem muros vocemque his auribus hausi.
desine meque tuis incendere teque querellis;
Italiam non sponte sequor. . . .'
  Talia dicentem iamdudum aversa tuetur
huc illuc volvens oculos totumque pererrat
luminibus tacitis, et sic accensa profatur:
  'Nec tibi diva parens generis nec Dardanus auctor,
perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.
nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reservo?

349–368 *MP*

---

duced little or no impression until light was flashed on them by the daylight appearance and imperious orders of Mercury, is a piece of psychological insight for which Virgil may have credit.

357. *utrumque caput*, not Jupiter and Mercury (which would be absurd), nor, as it is generally taken by the editors, you and myself (which would be very feeble, though Ovid in his characteristic amplification, makes Dido quite appropriately say 'perque tuum nostrumque caput quae iunximus una', *Heroid.* iii. 107); but Anchises and Ascanius.

362. The superficial contradiction of *aversa tuetur* troubled minute critics; 'incipit esse contrarium' is the comment of D Servius. But his explanation, '*aversa*, id est irata', is needless: the rhetorical and dramatic force of the phrase is its complete justification. In l. 364, however (printed by modern editors as an unpunctuated line), a break after *tacitis* should be more definitely indicated. From the beginning of his speech—for it strikes a false note to her at once—she has been glaring at him in silence; then 'flaring up', *accensa*, she bursts into her magnificent rejoinder.

368. '*ad maiora*, ad maiores scilicet iniurias', is the apposite note in D Servius.

num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?
num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?
quae quibus anteferam? iam iam nec maxima Iuno
nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.
nusquam tuta fides. eiectum litore, egentem
excepi et regni demens in parte locavi;
amissam classem, sŏcios a morte reduxi;
heu furiis incensa feror. nunc augur Apollo,
nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso
interpres divum fert horrida iussa per auras.
scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos
sollicitat! neque te teneo neque dicta refello:
i, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.
spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,
supplicia hausurum scopulis et nōmine Dido
saepe vocaturum. sequar atris ignibus absens
et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,
omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, improbe, poenas.
audiam et haec manis veniet mihi fama sub imos.'
His medium dictis sermonem abrumpit et auras
aegra fugit seque ex oculis avertit et aufert,
linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem

369–390 *MP*   378 dicta *M*   390 volentem *M*

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370. For the force of *victus* compare Dido's *me victam* in l. 434.

371. '*quae quibus anteferam*? quid prius quid posterius dicam?' (Servius) is substantially a correct paraphrase.

375. The alliteration in *amissos* and *a morte* should not escape notice. It completes the balance of the line: 'I restored his fleet that was gone, his comrades that were as good as dead'.

382. In *pia numina* (unlike the *impia Tartara* of v. 733) *pius* has its full ordinary meaning. *pietas*, 'duty', is mutual between man and god; and so Virgil can say, in the reconciliation scene of xii. 839 (on which see note), that Juno shall see the Roman people *supra ire deos pietate*. The *pietas antiqua* of Jupiter is invoked v. 688.

383. *Dido* here is probably a vocative, as in *litus Hyla sonaret, Ecl.* vi. 44, and Propertius I. xviii. 31 'resonent mihi Cynthia silvae'. See note on l. 335 above.

396. This melancholy line is echoed at the end of Book VI and the transition to the main theme of the *Aeneid*. Here too, though through no ivory gate, Aeneas

dicere. suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra
marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt.
at pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore
iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit.
  Tum vero Teucri incumbunt et litore celsas
deducunt toto navis. natat uncta carina,
frondentisque ferunt remos et robora silvis
infabricata fugae studio . . .
migrantis cernas totaque ex urbe ruentis.
ac velut ingentem formicae farris acervum
cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt,
it nigrum campis agmen praedamque per herbas
convectant calle angusto: pars grandia trudunt
obnixae frumenta umeris, pars agmina cogunt
castigantque moras, opere omnis semita fervet . . .
quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,
quosve dabas gemitus, cum litora fervere late
prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque videres
misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!
improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!

391–412 *MP*   391 succipiunt *P*   402 veluti *M*   407 operae *M*¹

---

returns to the task of life from the interlude of a dream-Paradise.

402. There are sixteen instances in Virgil of an elaborated simile introduced by *ac velut* or *ac veluti*; in thirteen of these, the simile is followed up by a resuming clause beginning with *sic*, *non aliter*, or equivalent phrases. In one, vi. 707–9, which is comparatively short, the resuming clause, *strepit omnis murmure campus*, is added without any introducing conjunction. In two, and two only, this passage and ii. 626–31, the elaborated six-line simile is, as the text has reached us, left in the air. Here it would be easy to regularize the construction by transferring l. 401 to the end of the simile, between ll. 407 and 408; the generalized *cernas* would then be followed immediately by the particular *tibi cernenti* of l. 408. But as the passage is in any case incomplete, it must be left as it stands. There are further marks of incompletion in the feebleness of l. 412, the awkward repetition of *cogis* . . . *cogitur*, and the absence of any introductory line to the speech which follows, ll. 416–36.

ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare precando
cogitur et supplex animos summittere amori,
ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat.
'Anna, vides toto properari litore circum:
undique convenere; vocat iam carbasus auras,
puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.
hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem,
et perferre, soror, potero. miserae hoc tamen unum
exsequere, Anna, mihi; solam nam perfidus ille
te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus;
sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras:
i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum:
non ego cum Danais Troianam exscindere gentem
Aulide iuravi classemve ad Pergama misi,
nec patris Anchisae cineres manisve revelli:
cur mea dicta negat duras demittere in auris?
quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti:
exspectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentis.
honorable,
non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit, oro,
nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquat:
tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori,
dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere;

has his [illegible]
his loved

413–434 *MP* 427 cinerem *M* 428 neget M^2P^1 434 dolore M^1

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418. On this line (repeated from *Georg.* i. 304) the grammarian Probus drily noted, 'si hunc versum omitteret, melius fecisset'.

419. *sperare*, 'to anticipate', is thus used of anticipation of misfortune in l. 292 above, and again xi. 275.

431. The force and pathos of the line are missed, if we do not realize that *antiquus* meant in Latin not only 'old' but 'honourable'. The sting of Aeneas's *nec coniugis unquam praetendi taedas* (l. 338) has gone home.

436. From the earliest time there was dispute over the correct text of this line. According to Servius, Tucca and Varius published it as *dederis cumulatam*, but *dederit* and *cumulata* were also accepted readings. It seems certain that the *extrema venia* is sought from Aeneas, not from Anna; and *dederis* is thus only defensible by supposing the meaning of *quam mihi cum dederis* to be 'when you have procured it for me'. It is impossible to make sense of *cumulata morte*, which could only mean 'with accumu-

Servius Maurus
commentator on

accommodatur

extremam hanc oro veniam; miserere sororis;
quam mihi cum dederit cumulatam morte remittam.'
  Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus
fertque refertque soror. sed nullis ille movetur
fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;
fata obstant placidasque viri deus obstruit auris.
ac velut annoso validam cum robore quercum
Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras
aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:
haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.
  Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido
mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri.
quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat,
vidit, turicremis cum dona imponeret aris,
horrendum dictu, latices nigrescere sacros
fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem.
hoc visum nulli, non ipsi effata sorori.

435–442 *MP* 443–456 *FMP* 436 cumulata *M* 446 radicem *MP*¹
456 sorori est *F*

---

lated death': it is true that in her wild outburst later (ll. 600–6) this is what Dido speaks of, but it would be quite out of place to make her end this piteous appeal on a note of savage irony. Her meaning appears to be that she will regard this 'last grace', when given, as a lifelong and increasing debt, only to be extinguished at her own death.

440. The meaning of *placidus* is 'undisturbed': thus for instance *placida pax* (i. 249, viii. 325) is not a tautology.

441. For *validam robore quercum* see App. A.

446. Both here and in the passage of the *Georgics* (ii. 291), from which *quantum vertice . . . tendit* is verbally repeated here, the primary MSS. are equally divided between *radice* and *radicem*. The vulgate, *radice*, is grammatically easier, but the meaning is in either case the same.

449. The unusual *lacrimae volvuntur* emphasizes the analogy of the tears with the whirling leaves of l. 444.

praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum
coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,
velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum:
hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis
visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret;
solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo
saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces;
multaque praeterea vatum praedicta piorum
terribili monitu horrificant. agit ipse furentem
in somnis ferus Aeneas, semperque relinqui
sola sibi, semper longam incomitata videtur
ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra,
Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus
et solem geminum et duplices se ostendere Thebas,
aut Agamemnŏnius scaenis agitatus Orestes,
armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris
cum fugit ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.
  Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore
decrevitque mori, tempus secum ipsa modumque

held on
long note
hoarse
crying,

457–475 *FMP* 464 priorum *FP* 473 divae *F*¹*P*

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457. For *de marmore* see App. A.

458. The *mirus honor* consists in the memorial chapel being decorated, not with the normal *caeruleae vittae* and *frons funerea* (iii. 64, iv. 506) of monuments to the dead, but with white fleeces and gay leafage.

464. *vatum piorum* (cf. the *pii vates* of vi. 662) is preferable to the vulgate *priorum*; both readings were current in the time of Servius.

469–74. This passage is remarkable as the only direct allusion in the *Aeneid* to stage-representations, i.e. of the *Bacchae* of Euripides and the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus; for his other mentions of the stage see note on i. 164. But the connexion of the Eumenides with the madness of Pentheus is not at once obvious. Most commentators, ancient and modern, leave the point unnoticed; but Deuticke observes that in a Pompeiian wall-painting (plate 641 in vol. 3 of Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*), in which Pentheus is represented sinking under the attack of Agave and two other Maenads, two Furies, identified as such by the torches they carry, are shown on a second plane above and behind the main group of the composition: this may have been a stage device when the *Bacchae* was elaborately produced.

477. 'Brightens hope on her brow' is perhaps a piece of rather artificial stylism; but it is not, as has often been assumed, a distortion of *spe frontem serenat*. The verb *serenare* is only used by Virgil here

ipse sono tenui | dixit Ĕlissa vĕni

exigit, et maestam dictis adgressa sororem
consilium vultu tegit ac spem fronte serenat:
'Inveni, germana, viam; gratare sorori;
quae mihi reddat eum vel eo me solvat amantem.
Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem
ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas
axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum:
hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos,
Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi
quae dabat et sacros servabat in arbore ramos,
spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver.
haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentes
quas velit, ast aliis duras immittere curas,
sistere aquam fluviis et vertere sidera retro;
nocturnosque movet manis: mugire videbis
sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.
testor cara deos et te germana, tuumque
dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artis.
tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras

476–494 *FMP*   476 ac *M*   482 attorquet *M*^{1} 490 ciet *F*^{2}*P*^{2}

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and in i. 255; but scrutiny of his use of the adjective *serenus* makes it clear that its meaning is not 'serene', i.e. calm, but 'bright' or 'unclouded'; thus in *Georg.* i. 393, 461, *aperta ex imbri serena*, 'bright spaces opening out of rain-clouds' and *unde serenas ventus agat nubes*, 'from what quarter the wind drives the clouds into brightness'.

479. *amantem* comes with doubled force at the end of the line: 'restore him as a lover to me or release me as a lover from him'.

484. The syntactical order is *quae dabatque epulas draconi et sacros servabat in arbore ramos*; *dabat et servabat*, 'gave while keeping', being a normal Virgilian coupling. The exception taken by commentators, from Servius downwards, to the epithet *soporiferum* (it was the garden-keeper's business, they say, to keep the dragon awake, not to put him to sleep) is really frivolous. Even a dragon had to be kept in good temper. In his latest edition Deuticke handsomely retracts his earlier condemnation of the line (following Ribbeck and others) as either spurious or misplaced.

490. In strictness *videbis* applies only to the second half of the clause. But here as in iii. 92 and vi. 256, the sound and the movement are thought of as a single phenomenon. In two of the three primary MSS. *movet* has been altered into *ciet*: probably from a feeling that the alliteration in *movet manes mugire* was excessive.

καὶ μὴν ὁρᾶν μοι δύο μὲν ἡλίους δοκῶ
δισσὰς δὲ Θήβας καὶ πόλισμ' ἑπτάστομον

erige, et arma viri thalamo quae fixa reliquit 495
impius exuviasque omnis lectumque iugalem,
quo perii, superimponas: abolere nefandi
cuncta viri monimenta iuvat *monstratque sacerdos*.'
Haec effata silet, pallor simul occupat ora.
non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris 500
germanam credit, nec tantos mente furores
concipit aut graviora timet quam morte Sychaei.
ergo iussa parat. . . .
At regina pyra penetrali in sede sub auras
erecta ingenti taedis atque ilice secta, 505
intenditque locum sertis et fronde coronat
funerea; super exuvias ensemque relictum
effigiemque toro locat haud ignara futuri.
stant arae circum et crinis effusa sacerdos
ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque 510
tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae. Diana [illegible]
sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Averni.
falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aënis
pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte veneni.
quaeritur et nascentis equi de fronte revulsus, 515
et matri praereptus amor . . . no [illegible]

495–516 *FMP* 497 superimponant *FM*¹ 498 iubet *M*¹*P*¹, iubat *P*²

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498. The primary MSS. vary here between *iuvat* and *iubet* (with other meaningless alternatives, *ivat* and *iubat*). If we read *iuvat*, *monstratque sacerdos* is a very clumsy way of adding, what is in itself feeble, 'and so the priestess directs me to do': if *iubet*, *iubet monstratque*, though not an absolute tautology, is equally feeble. These considerations taken together point towards the line having been left incomplete by Virgil, and *monstratque sacerdos* being a spurious ending, suggested by the *monstrata sacerdos* of l. 483. In any case this whole speech is rather overloaded by the ornamental amplifications of ll. 484–6 and 489–91.

510. Servius insists that the meaning is *ter tonat centum deos*, but there can be little doubt, if any, that *ter centum* go together, and are in fact a single word, as in viii. 716 and also in *Georg*. i. 15.

512–17. This passage is clearly a draft not fully worked into shape; and the incomplete couplet 515–16 looks like a tentative note for an alternative to the couplet 513–14. The following points are to be observed:

ipsa molam, manibusque piis altaria iuxta
unum exuta pedem vinclis, in veste recincta,
testatur moritura deos et conscia fati
sidera; tum, si quod non aequo foedere amantis
curae numen habet iustumque memorque, precatur.
Nox erat et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant
aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu,
cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres,
quaeque lacus late liquidos quaeque aspera dumis
rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti.
lenibant curas et corda oblita laborum.
at non infelix animi Phoenissa neque umquam
solvitur in somnos oculisve aut pectore noctem
accipit, ingeminant curae rursusque resurgens
saevit amor, magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu;
sic adeo insistit secumque ita corde volutat:
'En, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores
experiar, Nomadumque petam conubia supplex,
quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos?
Iliacas igitur classis atque ultima Teucrum
iussa sequar? quiane auxilio iuvat ante levatos

517–521 *FMP* 522–538 *MP* 517 mola *F* 528 *om. MP*

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(1) The *simulati latices* of l. 512 are rightly explained by Servius (on ii. 116): 'sciendum in sacris simulata pro veris accipi; unde cum de animalibus quae difficile inveniuntur est sacrificandum, de pane vel cera fiunt et pro veris accipiuntur; hinc est etiam illud *sparserat . . . Averni*: nam et in templo Isidis aqua sparsa de Nilo esse dicebatur.'

(2) There is no subject in the unfinished sentence 515–16; the words *et matri praereptus amor* are in loose apposition to the missing subject. *amor* cannot mean a love-charm.

(3) Something is missing before l. 517. This is obvious if the *ipsa molam* of M and P is right; and even if the *ipsa mola* of F, read by Servius, is accepted as not merely an alteration made in order to correct the grammar of the sentence, *ipsa mola manibusque piis testatur* is hardly sense.

528. This line is in only one good MS. and is ignored by Servius. It is pretty certainly an insertion from ix. 225 *laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum*.

532. *irarum aestu*, 'on a surge of angry thoughts': see note on i. 25.

et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti?
quis me autem, fac velle, sinet ratibusque superbis
inrisam accipiet? nescis heu, perdita, necdum
Laomedonteae sentis periuria gentis?
quid tum? sola fuga nautas comitabor ovantis?
an Tyriis omnique manu stipata meorum
inferar et, quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli,
rursus agam pelago et ventis dare vela iubebo?
quin morere ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem.
tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furentem
his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti.
non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam
degere more ferae; talis nec tangere curas.
non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo!'
  Tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus:
Aeneas celsa in puppi, iam certus eundi,
carpebat somnos, rebus iam rite paratis.
huic se forma dei vultu redeuntis eodem
obtulit in somnis rursusque ita visa monere est,
omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque
et crinis flavos et membra decora iuventae:
'nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos,
nec quae te circum stent deinde pericula cernis,

539–554 *MP* 555–561 *FMP* 540 sinat *P*¹ 541 invisam *M*¹
552 Sychaei *M*, Sychaei es *P*¹ 559 iuventa *FM*

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543. *sola fuga* is in strong antithesis to *ovantis*: 'a lonely fugitive among their triumphant array'.

545. The meaning of *inferar* is 'shall I introduce myself among them?', as in the *infert se* of i. 439 cited by Servius: not, as some editors absurdly interpret it, 'shall I attack?'

551. The best comment on *more ferae* is Virgil's own description of Camilla, *in dumis interque horrentia lustra . . . aeternam virginitatis amorem intemerata colit* xi. 570–84.

552. One of the two primary MSS. reads here *Sychaei*, the other *Sychaei es*, altered into *Sychaeo* by a corrector. If the vulgate *Sychaeo* is retained, it is not necessary to take *Sychaeo* as an adjective, though such a use is not infrequent in Virgil, as for instance in *Danais classibus* iii. 602 or *lucis Avernis* vi. 118: '*promissa Sychaeo, non servata cineri*' is the note in Servius.

The broken inconsequence of ll. 548–52, and the note on which Dido breaks off, are

demens, nec Zephyros audis spirare secundos?
illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat
certa mori, variosque irarum concitat aestus.
non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas?
iam mare turbari trabibus saevasque videbis
conlucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis,
si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem.
heia age, rumpe moras. varium et mutabile semper
femina.' sic fatus nocti se immiscuit atrae.
    Tum vero Aeneas subitis exterritus umbris
corripit e somno corpus sociosque fatigat:
'praecipites vigilate, viri, et considite transtris;
solvite vela citi. deus aethere missus ab alto
festinare fugam tortosque incidere funis
ecce iterum instimulat. sequimur te, sancte deorum,
quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ovantes.
adsis o placidusque iuves et sidera caelo
dextra feras.' dixit vaginaque eripit ensem
fulmineum strictoque ferit retinacula ferro.
idem omnis simul ardor habet, rapiuntque ruuntque;
litora deseruere, latet sub classibus aequor,
adnixi torquent spumas et caerula verrunt.
    Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras

562–583 *FMP*   584 *MP*   564 varioque *M*, fluctuat *M*, aestu *FM*
565 fugis in praeceps *F*¹   576 stimulat *M*

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among the masterpieces of Virgilian art.

561. For *deinde pericula* see note on i. 13.

564. There is an early variant, *varioque irarum fluctuat aestu* (from l. 532 above), which is adopted by some modern editors.

566. *turbari trabibus*, 'be a welter of timbers'; sc. the Carthaginians having attacked the ships at their moorings and broken up or fired them.

571. *subitis umbris*, 'caligine subito exorta abeunte deo' (Heyne).

573. *praecipites vigilate* is equivalent to, and more vivid than, *praecipitate et vigilate*. The alternative modern punctuation, connecting *fatigat* and *praecipites*, gives a good sense to these words, 'spurs into headlong haste'; but *vigilate* standing by itself would mean 'keep watch', not, as would be required, 'awake'.

577. *imperio iterum paremus* is a rhetorical re-emphasizing of *iterum instimulat* in the previous line: it is practically equivalent to *iterato imperio paremus*.

578. For *placidus* see note on iii. 266.

Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile,
regina e speculis ut primam albescere lucem
vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis,
litoraque et vacuos sensit sine remige portus.
terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum
flaventisque abscissa comas 'pro Iuppiter! ibit
hic,' ait 'et nostris inluserit advena regnis?
non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur,
diripientque rates alii navalibus? ite,
ferte citi flammas, date tela, impellite remos!
quid loquor aut ubi sum? quae mentem insania mutat?
infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt,
tum decuit, cum sceptra dabas. en dextra fidesque!
quem secum patrios aiunt portare penatis,
quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem.
non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis
spargere? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro
Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis?
verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna: fuisset:
quem metui moritura? faces in castra tulissem
implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque
cum genere exstinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.
Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,
tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno,

585–608 *MP* 586 primum *M* 596 nun *P* 598 portasse *M* 599 umero P^1

592–4. Here as in i. 211 and iii. 267 there is no occasion for the vulgate alteration, introduced by Heinsius, of *diripere*, 'tear asunder' into *deripere*, 'tear away'. The three lines are (as Dido herself recognizes) the wild ejaculations of madness; 'non sinit furor rem dicere solito verbo, sed raptim omnia, sensum omnem abripiente dolore' is the excellent comment of La Cerda.

604. A fleet drawn up on the beach was usually protected by a stockade, which constituted what might be called a *castra*.

607. For the meaning of *flammis lustras* see note on l. 6 above.

608. She appeals to Juno as the 'mediatress' who brought about her union with Aeneas and as, in her character of *pronuba* (l. 166),

nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes
et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae,
accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen
et nostras audite preces. si tangere portus
infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est,
et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret:
at bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,
finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli
auxilium imploret videatque indigna suorum
funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae
tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,
sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena.
haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.
tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum
exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro
munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera sunto.
exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor
qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos!
nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires,
litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
imprecor, arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotesque.'
   Haec ait, et partis animum versabat in omnis,
invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem.
tum breviter Barcen nutricem adfata Sychaei,

609–632 *MP*   629 nepotes P^2 632 Sychaei est *M*

'participant' (*conscia*) in its consummation.

611. 'Turn your deserved divinity', i.e. the divinity whose intervention is deserved, 'towards my evil case'. *mala* is used with this same meaning in l. 169 above, and elsewhere.

619. *optatus*, 'chosen', and accordingly 'desirable'.

623. For the force of the plural *odiis*, here and similarly in v. 785 *exedisse nefandis urbem odiis*, vii. 298 *odiis exsaturata*, x. 692 *odiis telisque frequentibus*, see note on i. 25.

629. The ending of a speech on a hypermetric line is very unusual, and in the present instance extraordinarily effective. The device occurs again, with less justification, in vii. 470.

namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat:
'Annam cara mihi nutrix huc siste sororem:
dic corpus properet fluviali spargere lympha,
et pecudes secum et monstrata piacula ducat.
sic veniat, tuque ipsa pia tege tempora vitta.
sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi,
perficere est animus finemque imponere curis
Dardaniique rogum capitis permittere flammae.'
  Sic ait. illa gradum studio celerabat anili.
at trepida et coeptis immanibus effera Dido
sanguineam volvens aciem, maculisque trementis
interfusa genas et pallida morte futura,
interiora domus inrumpit limina et altos
conscendit furibunda gradus ensemque recludit
Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.
hic, postquam Iliacas vestis notumque cubile
conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata,
incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba:
'dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat,
accipite hanc animam meque his exsolvite curis.
vixi et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi,
et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi,

633–650 *MP*   651–655 *FMP*   640 flammis *M*   641 celebrabat M^2P, inilem (anilem) P^1 646 rogos *M*   651 sinebant FP^2

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633. The phrase *cinis ater habebat* is unique; the *pontus habet Libyae* of i. 556 and *nunc me fluctus habet* of vi. 362 are not parallel. But it is very successful.

634. *mihi* here is the so-called 'ethical' dative, pretty nearly equivalent to 'if you please': it would be needless to note this were it not that many editors so punctuate the line as to suggest or imply that *mihi* is attached to *cara*.

638. The logical order of the words is, *sacra quae paravi, rite incepta, animus est perficere*. 'Iovem Stygium dicit', notes Servius, 'inferis sacrificatura, ut alibi (vi. 138) Iunoni infernae.' Neither was a recognized deity in Roman ritual. It means no more than the *Stygius rex* of vi. 252.

640. For *Dardanii* see note on iii. 702.

641. The vulgate text in the time of Servius was *celerabat*, but *celebrabat* was also read: the primary MSS. vary, and modern editors generally print *celebra-*

ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi,
felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.'
dixit, et os impressa toro 'moriemur inultae,
sed moriamur' ait. 'sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras.
hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto
Dardanus, et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.'
  Dixerat, atque illam media inter talia ferro
conlapsam aspiciunt comites, ensemque cruore
spumantem sparsasque manus. it clamor ad alta
atria: concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.
lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether;
non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis
Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes
culmina perque hominum volvantur perque deorum.
audiit exanimis trepidoque exterrita cursu
unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis
per medios ruit, ac morientem nomine clamat:
'hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas?
hoc rogus iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?
quid primum deserta querar? comitemne sororem
sprevisti moriens? eadem me ad fata vocasses:

656–678 *FMP*   662 secum nostrae *M*   668 clangoribus *P*   669 ruit P^1
671 volvuntur P^1

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bat. But elsewhere in Virgil *celebrare* (there are ten instances) is never used of a single person; nor could it be properly so used. Rather curiously the two words are coupled in a line of the tragedian Accius, quoted here by Servius, 'celebri gradu gressum adcelerate'. In v. 609 *celerans* was originally written in the Medicean MS. as *celebrans*.

656. The 'penalty recovered' for her husband's murder was in fact only the treasure mentioned in i. 348–64. But any further vengeance of blood for blood would have been as shocking to the ancient (or even to the modern) moral sense as the vengeance taken by Orestes on Clytemnestra.

677. The delicacy of the implication in *quid primum deserta querar?* may easily escape notice: 'I was the first to whom you carried all your complaints: is it my first complaint now, that you have deserted me?'

idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset.
his etiam struxi manibus patriosque vocavi
voce deos, sic te ut posita crudelis abessem?
exstinxti te meque, soror, populumque patresque —
Sidonios urbemque tuam. date vulnera lymphis
abluam et, extremus si quis super halitus errat,
ore legam.' sic fata gradus evaserat altos,
semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fovebat
cum gemitu atque atros siccabat veste cruores.
illa gravis oculos conata attollere rursus
deficit; infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus.
ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit,
ter revoluta toro est oculisque errantibus alto
quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta.
Tum Iuno omnipotens longum miserata dolorem
difficilisque obitus Irim demisit Olympo
quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.
nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat,

679–688 *FMP* 689–696 *MP* 690 attollit P^1 692 repertam M^1

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681. Both ancient and modern commentators have been uncertain whether *crudelis* is nominative (Anna herself) or vocative (Dido). The choice is one of individual taste. It would be idle to cite, in support of either interpretation, passages from other poets which might be multiplied indefinitely. See also note on xii. 873.

683. The precise syntax of the phrase *date vulnera lymphis abluam*, like that of the analogous *date lilia spargam flores* of vi. 883, cannot be determined with certainty. But in any case it is a bold and very successful compression, by overlapping, of two expressions which are rising concurrently in the speaker's mind, (1) *date lymphas quibus vulnera abluam*, (2) *vulnera lymphis abluam.* Virgil was enabled to do this by the lucky chance that the future indicative and the present subjunctive are in the first person identical. Nothing could convey more completely the hurry of a distracted utterance.

685. *evaserat gradus*, she had, by the time she got these last words out, mounted the steps and got beyond them to where the dying woman lay.

689. *stridit* (a word over which commentators have bungled strangely) accurately expresses the whistling sound with which breath escapes from a pierced lung.

690. The fusion into a single and superficially ungrammatical sentence of the two phrases *sese attollens levavit* and *sese attollens cubitoque adnixa* is a characteristic Virgilian artifice.

sed misera ante diem subitoque accensa furore,
nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
abstulerat Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.
ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pennis
mille trahens varios adverso sole colores
devolat et supra caput astitit. 'hunc ego Diti
sacrum iussa fero teque isto corpore solvo.'
sic ait et dextra crinem secat: omnis et una
dilapsus calor atque in ventos vita recessit.

697–705 *MP* 698 necdum *P*

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696. Suicide may be in a quite intelligible sense called an interference with 'destiny' or with 'the ordained course of nature', and is not a *merita mors* in the sense of taking one's wages when one's worldly task is done. But Virgil is a poet, not a metaphysician; and the elaborate distinctions drawn by Servius, in a long and quite interesting discussion, between 'fata denuntiativa' and 'fata condicionalia', and further, but to no more purpose, elaborated by subsequent commentators, may be safely ignored.

BOOK V

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Book V is very elaborately constructed; and the workmanship throughout, as well as the skilful management of the transitions, shows that it had been brought to an advanced stage of completion. After the short opening narrative of the arrival in Sicily, the central and larger portion of it (ll. 42–602) is occupied by the sacrifices paid and the games held in honour of Anchises on the anniversary of his death there a year earlier. These games—matches in rowing, running, boxing, and archery—are described in detail, and are followed by a concluding set-piece or display, the *Lusus Troiae*, a cavalry parade and evolutions by the boys who will succeed to the Italian inheritance. It is interrupted by the firing of the ships, which resumes the main thread of the story.

As the death of Anchises, according to general tradition from which Virgil found it needless to depart, took place in Sicily, the funeral games which were a regular part of the epic machinery had also to be placed there; and this (among other reasons no doubt) led Virgil to represent them as being held now, and so to make the whole Book a Sicilian interlude between Carthage and Italy. In what is conjectured to have been his earlier plan, the games took place, like those of Patroclus in the *Iliad*, in connexion with the actual funeral. It is obvious how much was gained by the transference. It enabled the death of Anchises itself to be very briefly recounted; it let the narrative begin with the arrival at Carthage; and at the same time, it gave a quiet space of pause after the intense tragedy of Dido, before the main action was transferred to Italian soil. The placing of the firing of the fleet at the instigation of Juno here, and not as the current legend ran, at the Tiber mouth, was a piece of real constructive genius. Movement is restored, first by this, then by the preparations for final departure; the vision and comforting words of the ghost of Anchises; the sailing of the fleet in fair spring weather for its last voyage, with the promise of Neptune for smooth seas and a prosperous passage; and the beautifully told episode of the loss of Palinurus, upon which the story of the long wanderings seems as it were to fade away into a charmed dream. The art with which the key is thus set for Book VI can hardly be overpraised: it is not always adequately appreciated. In these last 300 lines, down to the close of the Book, Virgil is at his best, though not at his greatest.

The account of the games themselves is sometimes felt, even so, to run to undue length. This feeling does not attach to the opening narrative of the boat-race, much the longest of them all; nor to the *Lusus Troiae* which concludes the programme. In the former, Virgil strikes out a new line, and fills his account with highly dramatic material; and the latter is not only graceful in its brevity but has its own special relevance. But the three intermediate events lend some colour to the criticism, as they also partly excuse what is perhaps a common mistake, that the whole Book is a mere episode, occupied with matter that is structurally unimportant. The foot-race introduces its two principal figures, Nisus and Euryalus, prematurely, and when they reappear in the great episode of Book IX, this earlier introduction of them is entirely ignored. The boxing-match is of inordinate length, disproportionate at least to its epic value; and the contest in archery, though told briefly, is left very much (like the arrow of Acestes) in the air, and fails to arouse interest. The concluding display, however, besides the adroitness with which it brings Ascanius into the foreground for the incidents which follow and its own unsurpassed verbal manipulation, is one of those interludes or episodes which connect the epic closely with contemporary history, with the new Empire and the Imperial family, and in which Virgil concentrates what, if he were not a poet, might be called his message.

AENEIDOS

LIBER QUINTUS

Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat
certus iter fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat
moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae
conlucent flammis. quae tantum accenderit ignem
causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores
polluto, notumque furens quid femina possit,
triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.
Ut pelagus tenuere rates nec iam amplius ulla
occurrit tellus, maria undique et undique caelum,
olli caeruleus supra caput astitit imber
noctem hiememque ferens et inhorruit unda tenebris.

1–11 *MP* 6 posset *M*

1–34. While it would be idle to look for strict accuracy or to press details in this episode, certain points may usefully be borne in mind. The year before, the Trojan fleet had started from Drepanum to cross the Tyrrhene sea and make the Italian coast in the neighbourhood of Cape Spartivento (Palinurus), but when off the Liparaean islands was caught in the storm raised by Aeolus and driven right back to the African coast near Carthage. Starting again from Carthage now, they re-traverse their course until, towards evening of the next day, heavy weather comes up from the West when they are off the Aegates islands; so they change course and run before the wind to their old harbour at Drepanum, which they reach safely before nightfall. The Servian note is both full and clear: 'circa primum ortum lucis navigavit' (with a reference to iv. 586); 'tota die dum se Dido interimit, dum fletur, paululum provectus est, leniter spirantibus ventis, et flammas rogi circa vesperam vidit, quo tempore et per naturam ignem videre potuit, et per pristinum morem, quo per diem cadavera non incendebantur: deinde tota navigans nocte et alterius diei partem ad Siciliam venit.'

6. The force of *pollutus*, 'soiled' or 'stained', may be gathered from iii. 61 *pollutum hospitium* (by the murder of Polydorus), iii. 234 *polluit ore dapes* (the crowd of Harpies), and vii. 467, *polluta pace*, the peace arranged not having been formally renounced, but violated by acts of hostility; so Cicero, *II Verr.* v. 187, speaks of 'polluta et violata sacra'.

8–11. These lines are taken over bodily from iii. 192–5; and the whole passage, ll. 8–22, is largely transferred or remodelled from the draft of that Book see Introduction to it, p. 91.

ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab alta:
'heu quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?
quidve, pater Neptune, paras?' sic deinde locutus
colligere arma iubet validisque incumbere remis,
obliquatque sinus in ventum ac talia fatur:
'Magnanime Aenea, non, si mihi Iuppiter auctor
spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo.
mutati transversa fremunt et vespere ab atro
consurgunt venti, atque in nubem cogitur aër.
nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum
sufficimus. superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur,
quoque vocat vertamus iter. nec litora longe
fida reor fraterna Erycis portusque Sicanos,
si modo rite memor servata remetior astra.'
Tum pius Aeneas: 'equidem sic poscere ventos
iamdudum et frustra cerno te tendere contra.
flecte viam velis. an sit mihi gratior ulla,
quove magis fessas optem dimittere navis,
quam quae Dardanium tellus mihi servat Acesten
et patris Anchisae gremio complectitur ossa?'
Haec ubi dicta, petunt portus et vela secundi
intendunt Zephyri; fertur cita gurgite classis,
et tandem laeti notae advertuntur harenae.
at procul ex celso miratus vertice montis
adventum sociasque rates occurrit Acestes,

12–36 *MP*   19 alto M^2

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14. The artificial order *sic deinde locutus*, instead of *deinde sic locutus*, is repeated in l. 400, and in vii. 135: Virgil always avoids beginning a sentence with *deinde*.

15. The *arma*, 'tackle', includes all the equipment of sailing ships as such, masts, yards, sails, and rigging.

21. 'We have not the strength to force our progress, nor so much as keep our course, against the gale': so *subsistere tantum*, 'so much as keep his footing', ix. 806; and for *tendere*, cf. *tendimus in Latium*, 'we keep our course for Latium', i. 205.

24. *fida* is predicative, *fida non longe* being equivalent to 'are an assured refuge close at hand'. For *longe* see note on i. 13.

37. Acestes, who has been hunting on

horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae,
Troïa Crimiso conceptum flumine mater
quem genuit. veterum non immemor ille parentum
gratatur reduces et gaza laetus agresti
excipit, ac fessos opibus solatur amicis.
postera cum primo stellas Oriente fugarat
clara dies, socios in coetum litore ab omni
advocat Aeneas tumulique ex aggere fatur:
'Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine divum,
annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis,
ex quo reliquias divinique ossa parentis
condidimus terra maestasque sacravimus aras.
iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest, quem semper acerbum,
semper honoratum, sic di voluistis, habebo.
hunc ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exsul,
Argolicove mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae,
annua vota tamen sollemnisque ordine pompas
exsequerer strueremque suis altaria donis.
nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis
haud equidem sine mente, reor, sine numine divum
adsumus et portus delati intramus amicos.
ergo agite et laetum cuncti celebremus honorem:
poscamus ventos, atque haec me sacra quotannis
urbe velit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis.
bina boum vobis Troia generatus Acestes

37–61 *MPR*   38 Criniso *MPR*   52 arce P^1, Mycenis *R*

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the hills in bad weather, is 'bristling' in the sheaf of throwing-spears which he carries and 'shaggy' in his bearskin cloak. *in iaculis* is an extension of the common phrase *in armis*: so Ennius has 'in hastis', *Ann.* fr. incert. 45.

38. The *Criniso* of all the MSS. seems to be merely a copyist's mistake of early origin, if it is not one of Virgil's own. Elsewhere the name of the river is always given as Crimisus or Crimissus.

44. This *tumulus* is the grave-mound heaped the year before over the tomb of Anchises.

59. The apparently irrelevant *poscamus ventos* is a piece of Virgil's characteristic economy and allusiveness; it is not taken up until the four altars to Neptune are unexpectedly mentioned in l. 639 below.

dat numero capita in navis; adhibete penatis
et patrios epulis et quos colit hospes Acestes.
praeterea, si nona diem mortalibus almum
Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem,
prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis;
quique pedum cursu valet, et qui viribus audax
aut iaculo incedit melior levibusque sagittis,
seu crudo fidit pugnam committere caestu,
cuncti adsint meritaeque exspectent praemia palmae.
ore favete omnes et cingite tempora ramis.'
  Sic fatus velat materna tempora myrto:
hoc Helymus facit, hoc aevi maturus Acestes,
hoc puer Ascanius, sequitur quos cetera pubes.
ille e concilio multis cum milibus ibat
ad tumulum magna medius comitante caterva.
hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho
fundit humi, duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro,

62–72 *MPR* 73–78 *MPRV* 68 levibusve *R* 71 tempora cingite *R*

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62. The presence and favour of the 'kitchen-gods' (see note on i. 703) of both the parties who jointly provide the banquet are invoked.

64. The ninth day, in Roman reckoning, was what we call the eighth day, as they reckoned in both the terminal days in addition to the seven intervening ones. The fact that the normal eight days' notice of the forthcoming sports was now given is wrapped up in the traditional epic phraseology. The force of *si* is 'whenever': cf. vi. 770.

66–9. Four of the events here announced take place and are described in full, but there is no competition in spear-throwing. It is curious that in the funeral-games of Patroclus in the *Iliad*, on which this episode is largely based, the spear-throwing comes at the end as a sort of afterthought, and is in fact not carried out. The discrepancy is noted by Servius, and an attempt made to remove it by taking *iaculo sagittisque* as equivalent to *iactu sagittarum*. In support of this Servius quotes x. 754 *iaculo et longe fallente sagitta*; and on that line he gives the same interpretation. Such a 'hendiadys' would be in Virgil's manner; but while in English the noun 'dart' may mean either an arrow or a javelin, and the verb 'dart' be used of both, no instance can be cited of *iaculum* and *iaculari* being used of arrows. It is simplest to regard l. 68 as a formulary one, used without regard to strict accuracy; the coupling of javelin-throwing and archery being common form, as for instance ix. 178 *iaculo celerem levibusque sagittis*, and the well-known

purpureosque iacit flores ac talia fatur:
'salve, sancte parens, iterum salvete, recepti
nequiquam cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae.
non licuit finis Italos fataliaque arva
nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Thybrim.'
  Dixerat haec, adytis cum lubricus anguis ab imis
septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit
amplexus placide tumulum lapsusque per aras,
caeruleae cui terga notae, maculosus et auro
squamam incendebat fulgor, ceu nubibus arcus
mille iacit varios adverso sole colores.
obstipuit visu Aeneas. ille agmine longo
tandem inter pateras et levia pocula serpens
libavitque dapes rursusque innoxius imo
successit tumulo et depasta altaria liquit.
hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,
incertus geniumne loci famulumne parentis

79–95 *MPRV* 89 trahit *R* 93 linquit M^1

'non eget Mauri iaculis neque arcu' of Horace: cf. also ix. 572, where two warriors are described as *hic iaculo bonus, hic longe fallente sagitta.*

The contest of ships is of course confined to his own fleet; for the other events, *cuncti adsint* announces that entry is open to all, Sicilians as well as Trojans.

73. Helymus is a 'younger comrade' of Acestes (l. 300): the three names given here are chosen to indicate that the sports will be for all ages. Helymus enters for the foot-race, Acestes for the shooting competition; Ascanius is leader in the sham fight of boys on horseback with which the games conclude. For the meaning of *pubes* see note on ii. 798.

81. The salutation is given to (1) the buried ashes, *recepti nequiquam*, 'unavailingly recovered', (2) the spirit, *anima*, in Elysium, (3) the ghost, *umbra*, which haunts or revisits this world. Servius has a long note explaining the plural *animae* as alluding to the 'vital', 'sensual', 'intellectual', and 'natural' elements of the *anima* discriminated by Platonist and Aristotelian psychology. But no such explanation serves for *umbrae*; and the plurals, continuing the plural *cineres*, have no special technical significance.

95. As it is uncertain whether there be not a *genius loci* who should also be propitiated, the ritual is repeated. This was always done when any irregularity was found or reasonably suspected to have taken place in a ceremony already performed.

esse putet; caedit quinas de more bidentis
totque sues, totidem nigrantis terga iuvencos,
vinaque fundebat pateris animamque vocabat
Anchisae magni manisque Acheronte remissos.
nec non et socii, quae cuique est copia, laeti
dona ferunt; onerant aras mactantque iuvencos;
ordine aëna locant alii fusique per herbam
subiciunt veribus prunas et viscera torrent.
  Exspectata dies aderat nonamque serena
Auroram Phaethontis equi iam luce vehebant,
famaque finitimos et clari nomen Acestae
excierat: laeto complerant litora coetu
visuri Aeneadas, pars et certare parati.
munera principio ante oculos circoque locantur
in medio, sacri tripodes viridesque coronae
et palmae pretium victoribus, armaque et ostro
perfusae vestes, argenti aurique talenta;
et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos.
  Prima pares ineunt gravibus certamina remis
quattuor ex omni delectae classe carinae.
velocem Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristim,
mox Italus Mnestheus, genus a quo nomine Memmi,
ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram,
urbis opus, triplici pubes quam Dardana versu
impellunt, terno consurgunt ordine remi,
Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen,

96–98 *MPRV*   99–108 *MPR*   109–121 *FMPR*   96 binas *M*, q. binas *R*
107 complebant *M*   112 talentum *MP*   113 ludus M^1

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99. The Manes are thought of as being released from their own underworld to be a presence in the household of the dead person.

114. The ships are *pares remis*, 'matched in their oar-power', not 'with equal numbers of oars'. The Chimaera is a trireme, a bigger and heavier ship; the others are assumed to be biremes, a term applied to the whole fleet generally i. 182, and to the two ships sent up the Tiber viii. 79. The terms of peace granted to Philip of Macedon after Cynoscephalae allowed him to retain a single 'super-dreadnought', 'inhabilis prope magnitudinis, quam sedecim versus remorum agebant' Livy xxxiii. 30.

Centauro invehitur magna, Scyllaque Cloanthus
caerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti.
Est procul in pelago saxum spumantia contra
litora, quod tumidis summersum tunditur olim
fluctibus hiberni condunt ubi sidera Cori;
tranquillo silet immotaque attollitur unda
campus et apricis statio gratissima mergis.
hic viridem Aeneas frondenti ex ilice metam
constituit signum nautis pater, unde reverti
scirent et longos ubi circumflectere cursus.
tum loca sorte legunt ipsique in puppibus auro
ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori;
cetera populea velatur fronde iuventus
nudatosque umeros oleo perfusa nitescit.
considunt transtris, intentaque bracchia remis;
intenti exspectant signum, exsultantiaque haurit
corda pavor pulsans laudumque arrecta cupido.
inde ubi clara dedit sonitum tuba, finibus omnes,
haud mora, prosiluere suis; ferit aethera clamor
nauticus, adductis spumant freta versa lacertis.
infindunt pariter sulcos, totumque dehiscit
convulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.
non tam praecipites biiugo certamine campum
corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus,
nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora
concussere iugis pronique in verbera pendent.

122–147 *FMPR*

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118. The size of the Chimaera is emphasized by calling it (1) *ingens*, (2) *ingenti mole*, (3) *urbis opus*; 'huge', 'of huge bulk', 'a structure like a town'.

125. *olim ubi*, 'then when' (like *olim cum* in *Georg*. ii. 403), is an archaism, taken by Virgil from Lucretius.

136. The criticism made by Servius, and repeated by modern editors, that *intenta* is literal, *intenti* metaphorical, is baseless. Both are literal.

138. *pavor* is 'nervousness', not 'fear': so ii. 685 *pavidi metu*, 'in the nervousness of fear', and *pavidos*, l. 575 below, 'the shy boys'.

147. The meaning of *iuga* here is 'teams':

tum plausu fremituque virum studiisque faventum
consonat omne nemus, vocemque inclusa volutant
litora, pulsati colles clamore resultant.
  Effugit ante alios primisque elabitur undis
turbam inter fremitumque Gyas; quem deinde Cloanthus
consequitur, melior remis, sed pondere pinus
tarda tenet. post hos aequo discrimine Pristis
Centaurusque locum tendunt superare priorem;
et nunc Pristis habet, nunc victam praeterit ingens
Centaurus, nunc una ambae iunctisque feruntur
frontibus et longa sulcant vada salsa carina.
iamque propinquabant scopulo metamque tenebant
cum princeps medioque Gyas in gurgite victor
rectorem navis compellat voce Menoeten:
'quo tantum mihi dexter abis? huc derige gressum;
litus ama et laeva stringat sine palmula cautes;
altum alii teneant.' dixit; sed caeca Menoetes
saxa timens proram pelagi detorquet ad undas.
'quo diversus abis iterum? pete saxa, Menoete!'
cum clamore Gyas revocabat, et ecce Cloanthum
respicit instantem tergo et propiora tenentem.
ille inter navemque Gyae scopulosque sonantis
radit iter laevum interior subitoque priorem
praeterit et metis tenet aequora tuta relictis.
tum vero exarsit iuveni dolor ossibus ingens

148–158 *FMPR* 159–172 *MPR* 154 aliquo F^1, Pistris M^1 158 carinae *F* 162 dirige *M*, cursum M^2 163 laevas *R* 167 revocabat ecce *R*

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so we speak in English of 'a yoke of oxen': and *immissis* is 'launched' or 'let go'.

149. *inclusa*, 'shut in' by the hills, so that the noise eddies round them.

155. *locum superare priorem*, 'to climb into', i.e. get forward into, 'a place ahead'; like *fastigia tecti supero* ii. 302.

159. For the meaning of *tenebant* (and also of *tenet* in l. 171 below) see note on i. 400.

163. The adverbial *laeva*, 'on the left', occurs vi. 486, 656, ix. 677, xi. 528, the fuller equivalent *ab laeva* viii. 460. The primary MSS. here vary between *laeva* and *laevas*, and there is no reason for preferring one to the other except preponderance, such as it is, of authority.

nec lacrimis caruere genae, segnemque Menoeten
oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis
in mare praecipitem puppi deturbat ab alta; 175
ipse gubernaclo rector subit, ipse magister
hortaturque viros clavumque ad litora torquet.
at gravis ut fundo vix tandem redditus imo est
iam senior madidaque fluens in veste Menoetes
summa petit scopuli siccaque in rupe resedit. 180
illum et labentem Teucri et risere natantem
et salsos rident revomentem pectore fluctus.
  Hic laeta extremis spes est accensa duobus,
Sergesto Mnestheique, Gyan superare morantem.
Sergestus capit ante locum scopuloque propinquat, 185
nec tota tamen ille prior praeeunte carina;
parte prior, partim rostro premit aemula Pristis.
at media socios incedens nave per ipsos
hortatur Mnestheus: 'nunc, nunc insurgite remis,
Hectorei socii, Troiae quos sorte suprema 190
delegi comites; nunc illas promite viris,
nunc animos, quibus in Gaetulis Syrtibus usi
Ionioque mari Maleaeque sequacibus undis.
non iam prima peto Mnestheus neque vincere certo,
quamquam o!—sed superent quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti;
extremos pudeat rediisse: hoc vincite, cives, 196
et prohibete nefas.' olli certamine summo

173–197 *MPR* 187 partem *M*

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174. The contracted genitive (*socium* for *sociorum*) is very rarely used by Virgil except in proper names and in *deus, divus, superi,* and *vir,* which are almost equivalent to proper names. In the *Aeneid, divorum* (for the normal *divum*) only occurs once, vii. 211; *caelicolum* once, iii. 21; *virum* is commoner than *virorum*; *deum* and *deorum* are both very frequent; *currum* (for *curruum*) perhaps (but the reading is doubtful) once, vi. 653; *superorum* not at all; *famulum* once, xi. 34. In adjectives the only instances are *magnanimum* twice, iii. 704 and vi. 307, and probably (but see the note there) *miserum* vi. 21.

196. The word *cives* is used with special emphasis here and again in ll. 631 and

procumbunt: vastis tremit ictibus aerea puppis
subtrahiturque solum, tum creber anhelitus artus
aridaque ora quatit, sudor fluit undique rivis.
  Attulit ipse viris optatum casus honorem.
namque furens animi dum proram ad saxa suburget
interior spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo,
infelix saxis in procurrentibus haesit.
concussae cautes et acuto in murice remi
obnixi crepuere inlisaque prora pependit.
consurgunt nautae et magno clamore morantur
ferratasque trudes et acuta cuspide contos
expediunt fractosque legunt in gurgite remos.
at laetus Mnestheus successuque acrior ipso
agmine remorum celeri ventisque vocatis
prona petit maria et pelago decurrit aperto.
qualis spelunca subito commota columba,
cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi,
fertur in arva volans plausumque exterrita pennis
dat tecto ingentem, mox aëre lapsa quieto
radit iter liquidum celeris neque commovet alas:
sic Mnestheus, sic ipsa fuga secat ultima Pristis
aequora, sic illam fert impetus ipse volantem.

198–219 *MPR*   202 animo *P*, prora *M*   208 sudes *M*

671, as not only meaning 'fellow-citizens' but indicating that the city which the exiles seek is being more nearly found: compare the *dare civibus urbem* of l. 631. It is again used with a like implication of the Trojans in their camp at Ostia ix. 36, 783, and before Laurentum xii. 572. Elsewhere it has its normal meaning of the inhabitants of actual cities, Latins, Etruscans, or the Trojans in Troy.

202. The verb *suburgere*, 'to squeeze up', is not known to occur elsewhere and may be a coinage of Virgil's. There is thus little or nothing to guide us in choice between the *prora* and *proram* of the MSS.

205. *murex* here means 'a jagged reef', so called from its resemblance to the jagged spiny shell of the murex. Elsewhere in Virgil it has its usual meaning of the purple or 'Tyrian' dye extracted from that shell-fish.

206. The prow is broken away and dangles over the edge of the reef. The picture in x. 303, where there is a similar wording, is different; there, the ship breaks her back on the ridge of a shoal, and hangs on it fore and aft until

et primum in scopulo luctantem deserit alto
Sergestum brevibusque vadis frustraque vocantem
auxilia et fractis discentem currere remis.
inde Gyan ipsamque ingenti mole Chimaeram
consequitur; cedit, quoniam spoliata magistro est.
solus iamque ipso superest in fine Cloanthus:
quem petit et summis adnixus viribus urget.
Tum vero ingeminat clamor cunctique sequentem
instigant studiis, resonatque fragoribus aether.
hi proprium decus et partum indignantur honorem
ni teneant, vitamque volunt pro laude pacisci;
hos successus alit: possunt, quia posse videntur.
et fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris,
ni palmas ponto tendens utrasque Cloanthus
fudissetque preces divosque in vota vocasset:
'di, quibus imperium est pelagi, quorum aequora curro,
vobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum
constituam ante aras voti reus, extaque salsos
proiciam in fluctus et vina liquentia fundam.'
dixit, eumque imis sub fluctibus audiit omnis
Nereidum Phorcique chorus Panopeaque virgo,
et pater ipse manu magna Portunus euntem

220–240 *MPR* 241 *MPRV* 220 in *om. M* 226 enixus *P* 228 resonat clamoribus *P* 235 pelagi est *R*, aequore *R* 238 poriciam M^2, ac *P*

---

presently she parts amidships and breaks up. In the next line *morantur* means 'bring her up', 'stop her way', sc. with the poles and boat-hooks which Virgil goes on to mention.

211. From l. 281 it would appear that the competing ships have not sails hoisted, so that *ventis vocatis* must merely mean now aided by the wind, supposed to be blowing inshore: it having the effect of producing the *prona maria* of the next line.

235. For *aequora curro,* the reading of the majority of the MSS., compare *maria vecti* i. 524.

238. The best MSS. here all read *proiciam* (altered in M by a later hand). But Macrobius, *Sat.* III. ii. 1–4, insists on *porriciam* as the authentic text. Servius mentions both readings. *porricere* was the technical word of ritual for laying offerings, particularly the sacrificial entrails, on the altars of gods. The same question occurs where the phrase is repeated in l. 776, and the MSS. again uniformly read *proicit.* Virgil does not use the verb *porricere* elsewhere; *proicere,* as is natural, fairly often.

impulit: illa noto citius volucrique sagitta
ad terram fugit et portu se condidit alto.
  Tum satus Anchisa cunctis ex more vocatis
victorem magna praeconis voce Cloanthum
declarat viridique advelat tempora lauro,
muneraque in navis ternos optare iuvencos
vinaque et argenti magnum dat ferre talentum.
ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores:
victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum
purpura maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit,
intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida
velocis iaculo cervos cursuque fatigat
acer, anhelanti similis, quem praepes ab Ida
sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis:
longaevi palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt
custodes, saevitque canum latratus in auras.
at qui deinde locum tenuit virtute secundum,
levibus huic hamis consertam auroque trilicem
loricam, quam Demoleo detraxerat ipse
victor apud rapidum Simoenta sub Ilio alto,
donat habere, viro decus et tutamen in armis.
vix illam famuli Phegeus Sagarisque ferebant
multiplicem conixi umeris; indutus at olim

242–264 *MPRV*   249 praecipue *M*   257 ad auras *P*   260 ipsi M^1 (?)

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251. Servius, perhaps rightly, explains *duplici* as *flexuoso*, sc. doubling upon itself: this would define or explain the 'meander' of the border, that being an exotic and unfamiliar word; when Cicero uses it (*Pis.* xxii. 53) he paraphrases *maeandros* by *deverticula flexionesque*. This sense would also suit very well the *duplex corona* of i. 655 and the *lorica duplici squama* of ix. 707. In *duplicem reiecit amictum*, l. 421 below, the two senses of 'double' and 'doubled over' coalesce.

254. The repetition of Ida from two lines before has no obvious rhetorical value and has led several editors to suspect the text: *ab alto* and *ab aethra* have been suggested as emendations. But see note on iv. 245–58. That this passage also lacks final revision is clear from ll. 261 and 262, 261 being awkward in rhythm and the end of 262 being a mere stop-gap.

264. The force of *multiplicem* will be obvious to any one who tries to lift and carry a coat of chain-mail.

Demoleos cursu palantis Troas agebat.
tertia dona facit geminos ex aere lebetas
cymbiaque argento perfecta atque aspera signis.
Iamque adeo donati omnes opibusque superbi
puniceis ibant evincti tempora taenis,
cum saevo e scopulo multa vix arte revulsus
amissis remis atque ordine debilis uno
inrisam sine honore ratem Sergestus agebat.
qualis saepe viae deprensus in aggere serpens,
aerea quem obliquum rota transiit aut gravis ictu
seminecem liquit saxo lacerumque viator;
nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus
parte ferox ardensque oculis et sibila colla
arduus attollens; pars vulnere clauda retentat
nexantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem:
tali remigio navis se tarda movebat;
vela facit tamen et velis subit ostia plenis.
Sergestum Aeneas promisso munere donat
servatam ob navem laetus sociosque reductos.
olli serva datur operum haud ignara Minervae,
Cressa genus, Pholoe, geminique sub ubere nati.
Hoc pius Aeneas misso certamine tendit
gramineum in campum, quem collibus undique curvis

265–287 *MPRV* 270 revolsam *R* 278 cauda M^1P^1V 279 nixantem M^1PV, nitentem M^2 280 ferebat *P* 281 plenis . . . velis *M* 285 ubera MP^1R

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274. Both *gravis ictu*, 'heavy with a blow', and the doubled ablative *ictu*, *saxo*, are, while quite in Virgil's manner, certainly awkward. It would be attractive to simplify and regularize the sentence by altering *saxo* into *saxi* (sc. *ictu gravis saxi*), but there is no authority for doing so, nor apparently has the suggestion been made by any commentator.

279. Servius, not unreasonably, observes that to speak of the 'limbs' of a serpent is forcing language considerably. But *membra* are defined by Cicero as *partes corporis*, and it is a little pedantic to take exception to the phrase.

282. No promise that all the competitors should receive prizes, such as is made for the next event of the foot-race, has been mentioned; but it is now, in Virgil's manner, taken for granted.

287. The 'circus' or 'theatrum' in which the land-sports are now held is thought of as a valley with a flat grassy bottom,

cingebant silvae, mediaque in valle theatri
circus erat; quo se multis cum milibus heros
consessu medium tulit exstructoque resedit. 290
hic, qui forte velint rapido contendere cursu,
invitat pretiis animos, et praemia ponit.
undique conveniunt Teucri mixtique Sicani,
Nisus et Euryalus primi . . .
Euryalus forma insignis viridique iuventa, 295
Nisus amore pio pueri; quos deinde secutus
regius egregia Priami de stirpe Diores;
hunc Salius simul et Patron, quorum alter Acarnan,
alter ab Arcadio Tegeaeae sanguine gentis:
tum duo Trinacrii iuvenes, Helymus Panopesque, 300
adsueti silvis, comites senioris Acestae;
multi praeterea, quos fama obscura recondit.
Aeneas quibus in mediis sic deinde locutus:
'accipite haec animis laetasque advertite mentes.
nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit. 305
Gnosia bina dabo levato lucida ferro

288–292 *MPRV* 293–306 *MPR* 295 insigni *P* 296 quem *P*
299 Arcadia *P*, Tegere de M^1, Tegeae de M^2P^2, Tegaea de *R*

---

open towards the sea, and surrounded on the other three sides by natural slopes, on which the crowd of spectators can arrange themselves in blocks or wedges (the *cuneos theatri* of l. 664) as though in a regularly constructed amphitheatre. The grave-mound of Anchises is between the mouth of this valley and the sea.

290. The wording of this line is not very clear. Servius's interpretation, 'quo se medium tulit et exstructo consessu resedit', is certainly wrong. *consessu* is a dative attached to *se medium tulit*, and *exstructo* must be a noun, 'on a built-up platform'. There is no parallel for such a use; but theoretically, *exstructum* might mean a platform just as *promissum* means a promise; and there is some analogy in Virgil's *libatum*, 'a libation made', i. 737, where see note. The end of the line may be a stop-gap; Ribbeck with some plausibility held that a line has been lost, or had been left to be inserted, after this line.

291. For *qui forte velint*, 'who actually wish', repeated l. 486 below, see note on i. 362.

298. Virgil does not trouble himself to explain how it is that an Acarnanian and an Arcadian are among the Trojan crews: the former might have joined them at Buthrotum (iii. 471), and the latter, or his father, migrated from Arcadia to Troy before the time of the Trojan war (viii. 157 foll.).

309. We are accustomed to speak of

spicula caelatamque argento ferre bipennem;
omnibus hic erit unus honos. tres praemia primi
accipient flavaque caput nectentur oliva;
primus equum phaleris insignem victor habeto;
alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagittis
Threiciis, lato quam circum amplectitur auro
balteus et tereti subnectit fibula gemma;
tertius Argolica hac galea contentus abito.'
  Haec ubi dicta, locum capiunt signoque repente
corripiunt spatia audito limenque relinquunt,
effusi nimbo similes: simul ultima signant:
primus abit longeque ante omnia corpora Nisus
emicat et ventis et fulminis ocior alis;
proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo,
insequitur Salius; spatio post deinde relicto
tertius Euryalus . . .
Euryalumque Helymus sequitur; quo deinde sub ipso
ecce volat calcemque terit iam calce Diores
incumbens umero, spatia et si plura supersint

307–325 *MPR*   310 equam M^1 312 circumplectitur *M*   317 et fusi *M*
323 quod *MR*, quem P^1

---

olives as silvery; but *flavus* is accurately descriptive (as Virgil's colour-epithets always are) of the pale golden-grey of the leafage.

313. As applied to a gem, *teres*, 'taper', means cut *en cabochon*, i.e. with a smooth and very convex upper surface.

317. The unintelligible *simul ultima signant*, if authentic, is one of those stop-gap completions of a line of which, whether of Virgil's own or by later hands, there are many other instances in the *Aeneid*. Setting aside the absurd explanations of it which, from Servius downwards, have been offered, it has been conjecturally interpreted as (1) 'at the same time they (the runners) mark the goal (with their eyes)', (2) 'at the same time they (the officials) mark the turning-post at the far end of the race-course', as was done for the ship-race, ll. 129–31 above. Neither is at all satisfactory. Professor Slater ingeniously suggests that by re-punctuation the meaning might be obtained 'as soon as they (the starters) give the final signal for starting'—as was done in the ship-race, ll. 137–40—'Nisus shoots out ahead'. But there is no known instance of *signare* being used in the sense of 'give a signal'. The collocation of letters in *similes simul ul-* suggests the possibility of some confusion in transcription, and it is also possible that Virgil meant to insert another line here: see Introduction, p. lii.

transseat elapsus prior ambiguumque relinquat.
iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam
finem adventabant, levi cum sanguine Nisus
labitur infelix, caesis ut forte iuvencis
fusus humum viridisque super madefecerat herbas.
hic iuvenis iam victor ovans vestigia presso
haud tenuit titubata solo, sed pronus in ipso
concidit immundoque fimo sacroque cruore.
non tamen Euryali, non ille oblitus amorum:
nam sese opposuit Salio per lubrica surgens,
ille autem spissa iacuit revolutus harena:
emicat Euryalus et munere victor amici
prima tenet, plausuque volat fremituque secundo.
post Helymus subit et nunc tertia palma Diores.
Hic totum caveae consessum ingentis et ora
prima patrum magnis Salius clamoribus implet,
ereptumque dolo reddi sibi poscit honorem.
tutatur favor Euryalum lacrimaeque decorae,
gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.
adiuvat et magna proclamat voce Diores,
qui subiit palmae frustraque ad praemia venit

326–346 *MPR* 327 ipsum M^2 337 amico M^1

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326. Most editors, unable to rid themselves of the conviction that Virgil is here copying a line in the *Iliad* (xxiii. 382), insist on getting out of the words *ambiguumque relinquat* the meaning 'or leave the contest a dead heat'. This involves a whole series of mistranslations: *ambiguum* does not mean that there is a tie, but that the winner is still doubtful; *que* (arbitrarily altered to *ve* by Heinsius, Bentley, and others) cannot make the two halves of the line alternatives, and the sense of *relinquat* has to be forced in order to make it mean 'conclude'. What Virgil says is, 'would slip forward past him and leave him, now in a doubtful position, behind'.

333. For *titubata* see note on iv. 38.

338. *secundo* means both 'that follows him' and 'that favours him'.

340. The 'fathers', or senators, are, as we might say, seated in the front row of the grand stand.

346. We should expect here *qui frustra subiit palmae, atque ad praemia venit ultima,* as clearer. But in any case *palma,* 'a prize', is further defined as *praemia ultima,* 'the last prize'.

358. The last half of this line is presumably a quotation from Ennius, as

ultima, si primi Salio reddentur honores.
tum pater Aeneas 'vestra' inquit 'munera vobis
certa manent, pueri, et palmam movet ordine nemo;
me liceat casus miserari insontis amici.'
sic fatus tergum Gaetuli immane leonis
dat Salio villis onerosum atque unguibus aureis.
hic Nisus 'si tanta' inquit 'sunt praemia victis,
et te lapsorum miseret, quae munera Niso
digna dabis, primam merui qui laude coronam
ni me, quae Salium, fortuna inimica tulisset?'
et simul his dictis faciem ostentabat et udo
turpia membra fimo. risit pater optimus olli
et clipeum efferri iussit, Didymaonis artis,
Neptuni sacro Danais de poste refixum.
hoc iuvenem egregium praestanti munere donat.
  Post, ubi confecti cursus et dona peregit:
'nunc, si cui virtus animusque in pectore praesens,
adsit et evinctis attollat bracchia palmis.'
sic ait, et geminum pugnae proponit honorem,
victori velatum auro vittisque iuvencum,
ensem atque insignem galeam solacia victo.

347–367 *MPR* 347 reddantur M^1R, redduntur M^2 350 misereri P^1R
354 praemia *M* 359 artem *PR* 364 vinctis *P*

---

there is no reason otherwise for the use of the archaic *olli*. For *optimus* see note on iv. 291.

359–60. There is no trace of the legend (if any) which would explain how this shield came into Aeneas's hands, or from what temple of Neptune it had been taken down by unspecified 'Greeks'. The note in Servius, 'intelligimus hoc ad Aenean transisse per Helenum', gives a probable explanation on the former point (see iii. 471) but seems to be merely a guess. See note on iii. 286 for a similar problem.

The primary MSS. are divided between *artis* and *artem*: the plural is as Heyne observes, 'exquisitius'; so too 'indicat laudem non vulgarem, quasi in eo efformando omnes artes consumpserit', is the apt comment of La Cerda. But the singular *ars* does not appear to be used in Latin, and is certainly not used by Virgil elsewhere, in the sense of a work of art; probably, therefore, *artis* is the concrete plural, like *manus* in i. 455.

363. *animus praesens* means 'ready courage', not 'presence of mind'.

366. In the *Odyssey* (iii. 425) an ox is prepared for sacrifice by having its horns

nec mora; continuo vastis cum viribus effert
ora Dares magnoque virum se murmure tollit,
solus qui Paridem solitus contendere contra, 370
idemque ad tumulum quo maximus occubat Hector
victorem Buten immani corpore, qui se
Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat,
perculit et fulva moribundum extendit harena.
talis prima Dares caput altum in proelia tollit, 375
ostenditque umeros latos alternaque iactat
bracchia protendens et verberat ictibus auras.
quaeritur huic alius; nec quisquam ex agmine tanto
audet adire virum manibusque inducere caestus.
ergo alacris cunctosque putans excedere palma 380
Aeneae stetit ante pedes, nec plura moratus
tum laeva taurum cornu tenet atque ita fatur:
'nate dea, si nemo audet se credere pugnae,
quae finis standi? quo me decet usque teneri?
ducere dona iube.' cuncti simul ore fremebant 385
Dardanidae reddique viro promissa iubebant.
  Hic gravis Entellum dictis castigat Acestes,
proximus ut viridante toro consederat herbae:
'Entelle, heroum quondam fortissime frustra,
tantane tam patiens nullo certamine tolli 390
dona sines? ubi nunc nobis deus ille magister

368–391 *MPR* 374 percutit *R*, pertulit *M*¹ 382 laevo *P* 384 qui finis *M*² 388 herba *R*

---

overlaid with gold leaf. But here Servius is no doubt right in explaining *velatum auro* of a plate of gold fixed on its forehead like a veil, between the *vittae* which hung down on either side.

370. The accusative *Paridem* is only used by Virgil here, the other form, *Parin*, only x. 705. See note on the similar variation between *Daren* and *Dareta*, l. 456 below.

371. *occubat*, 'lies low', 'is buried'; so again x. 706. It is equivalent to the *iacet* of i. 99.

373. *veniens se ferebat*, 'advanced coming', where we would say 'came advancing'.

375. *prima in proelia*, 'for prelude to battle': the phrase is repeated xii. 103.

380. *excedere palma*, 'to withdraw from the prize', is an artificial variation of *excedere pugna* (ix. 789), 'to withdraw from the contest'.

nequiquam memoratus Eryx? ubi fama per omnem
Trinacriam et spolia illa tuis pendentia tectis?'
ille sub haec: 'non laudis amor nec gloria cessit
pulsa metu; sed enim gelidus tardante senecta 395
sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore vires.
si mihi quae quondam fuerat quaque improbus iste
exsultat fidens, si nunc foret illa iuventas,
haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuvenco
venissem, nec dona moror.' sic deinde locutus 400
in medium geminos immani pondere caestus
proiecit, quibus acer Eryx in proelia suetus
ferre manum duroque intendere bracchia tergo.
obstipuere animi: tantorum ingentia septem
terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigebant. 405
ante omnis stupet ipse Dares longeque recusat,
magnanimusque Anchisiades et pondus et ipsa
huc illuc vinclorum immensa volumina versat.
tum senior talis referebat pectore voces:
'quid, si quis caestus ipsius et Herculis arma 410
vidisset tristemque hoc ipso in litore pugnam?
haec germanus Eryx quondam tuus arma gerebat,
sanguine cernis adhuc sparsoque infecta cerebro,
his magnum Alciden contra stetit, his ego suetus,
dum melior viris sanguis dabat, aemula necdum 415

392–415 *MPR* 398 iuventus *P*

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385. *cuncti . . . Dardanidae* is repeated from i. 559; the words which follow are apparently a stop-gap completion of the line.

387. Acestes is seated on the turfed *exstructum* of l. 290 next to Aeneas. *gravis castigat* is equivalent to *graviter castigat*.

394. There is the same slight distinction between *sub haec* and *ad haec* as between 'rejoins' and 'replies'.

403. Eryx 'carried his hands' in the weighted gauntlets, and 'swathed his arms tightly' in the *immensa volumina* attached to them, i.e. the long straps which were wound round the wrist and fore-arm. The seven pieces of ox-hide (not pieces cut from seven ox-hides) are an epic cliché from the shield of Ajax in *Il.* vii. 222.

415. As in vi. 173, *aemulus* means here 'jealous', not 'emulous'.

temporibus geminis canebat sparsa senectus.
sed si nostra Dares haec Troius arma recusat
idque pio sedet Aeneae, probat auctor Acestes,
aequemus pugnas. Erycis tibi terga remitto,
solve metus, et tu Troianos exue caestus.'
Haec fatus duplicem ex umeris reiecit amictum
et magnos membrorum artus, magna ossa lacertosque
exuit atque ingens media consistit harena.
tum satus Anchisa caestus pater extulit aequos
et paribus palmas amborum innexuit armis.
constitit in digitos extemplo arrectus uterque
bracchiaque ad superas interritus extulit auras.
abduxere retro longe capita ardua ab ictu
immiscentque manus manibus pugnamque lacessunt,
ille pedum melior motu fretusque iuventa,
hic membris et mole valens; sed tarda trementi
genua labant, vastos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.
multa viri nequiquam inter se vulnera iactant,
multa cavo lateri ingeminant et pectore vastos
dant sonitus, erratque auris et tempora circum
crebra manus, duro crepitant sub vulnere malae.
stat gravis Entellus nisuque immotus eodem
corpore tela modo atque oculis vigilantibus exit.
ille, velut celsam oppugnat qui molibus urbem

416–439 *MPR* 421 deiecit P^1 425 intexuit M^1

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419. One would expect *pugnos* rather than *pugnas* here, but the MSS. all read *pugnas*: the Servian note is 'pugnas, id est arma'.

426. The rising on tiptoe with uplifted arms is a preliminary parade or flourish.

429. *lacessunt pugnam* is a syncopated way of saying what is expressed more fully in *Georg*. iii. 233 *ventos lacessit ictibus et ad pugnam proludit.*

432. For *aeger* see note on ii. 566.

438. This transitive use of *exire*, 'to dodge', occurs again xi. 750. *tela* are the 'darts' or lunges made by his opponent.

439. The *moles* are mounds raised at different points round the walls for mountings of battering-engines.

448. There is a double simile here: (1) the decayed tree which snaps off and crashes (on Erymanthus), and (2) the uprooted tree (on Ida).

450. For the concrete plural *studiis* see note on i. 25. But it also implies the ex-

aut montana sedet circum castella sub armis,
nunc hos, nunc illos aditus, omnemque pererrat
arte locum et variis adsultibus inritus urget.
ostendit dextram insurgens Entellus et alte
extulit: ille ictum venientem a vertice velox
praevidit celerique elapsus corpore cessit;
Entellus viris in ventum effudit et ultro
ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto
concidit, ut quondam cava concidit aut Erymantho
aut Ida in magna radicibus eruta pinus.
consurgunt studiis Teucri et Trinacria pubes;
it clamor caelo primusque accurrit Acestes
aequaevumque ab humo miserans attollit amicum.
at non tardatus casu neque territus heros
acrior ad pugnam redit ac vim suscitat ira;
tum pudor incendit viris et conscia virtus,
praecipitemque Daren ardens agit aequore toto
nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra.
nec mora nec requies: quam multa grandine nimbi
culminibus crepitant, sic densis ictibus heros
creber utraque manu pulsat versatque Dareta.
tum pater Aeneas procedere longius iras
et saevire animis Entellum haud passus acerbis,
sed finem imposuit pugnae fessumque Dareta

440–447 *MPR*   448–463 *MPRV*   446 effundit *P*^{1} 449 radicitus *R*
457 deinde sinistra *M*

---

citement of Trojans and Sicilians each over their own champion.

454–5. *suscitat vim*, 'rouses his violence', and *incendit viris*, 'fires his strength', are not identical phrases. But it may be suspected that the two lines are alternatives written down for consideration and choice, and most readers will agree with Bryant (quoted by Heyne) that the latter line might be omitted with advantage. It is, however, also possible that the two couplets, 453–4 and 454–5, were alternative drafts in Virgil's autograph. *ira* is of course the subject to *suscitat*.

456. Why Virgil should have written *Daren* here, not *Dareta* as he always (four times) does elsewhere, it seems impossible to say. But the sequence of letters in *Daren ardens* suggests that *Daren* may be due to some confusion in transcription. *aequore toto*, 'over the whole of the arena', as in xi. 599, xii. 501.

eripuit mulcens dictis ac talia fatur:
'infelix, quae tanta animum dementia cepit?
non viris alias conversaque numina sentis?
cede deo.' dixitque et proelia voce diremit.
ast illum fidi aequales genua aegra trahentem
iactantemque utroque caput crassumque cruorem
ore eiectantem mixtosque in sanguine dentes
ducunt ad navis; galeamque ensemque vocati
accipiunt, palmam Entello taurumque relinquunt.
  Hic victor superans animis tauroque superbus
'nate dea, vosque haec' inquit 'cognoscite, Teucri,
et mihi quae fuerint iuvenali in corpore vires
et qua servetis revocatum a morte Dareta.'
dixit, et adversi contra stetit ora iuvenci
qui donum astabat pugnae, durosque reducta
libravit dextra media inter cornua caestus
arduus, effractoque inlisit in ossa cerebro:
sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos.
ille super talis effundit pectore voces:
'hanc tibi, Eryx, meliorem animam pro morte Daretis
persolvo; hic victor caestus artemque repono.'

464–484 *MPRV*   473 animo *V*   477 aversi *P*   480 inlisit ossa *R*
484 reponit *R*

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473. For the plural *animis* see note on i. 149.

479. The picture seems to be that Entellus picks up the weighted gauntlets of Eryx which he had discarded, swings them by their long straps in his right hand, and brings them down, rising to his full height as he does so, on the crest of the bull's head like a sledge-hammer.

483. The *melior victima* (an animal instead of a man) is applied, with savage sarcasm, by Messapus in xii. 296 in the reverse meaning (a man instead of an animal). Perhaps there is sarcasm in the words of Entellus also.

487. The interpretation of this line is doubtful; but probably *ingenti* qualifies *nave*, and *manu* (as often in the *Georgics*) means 'by hand'. Servius paraphrases *ingenti manu* by *magna multitudine*. In any case the 'hand' is not supposed to be that of Aeneas in person.

488. *volucrem columbam*, the reading of all the MSS., does not make sense, as it can only mean 'the flying pigeon'. Comparison of *volucris sagitta* in ll. 242 and 503, xi. 858, xii. 415, and *volucris*

Protinus Aeneas celeri certare sagitta
invitat qui forte velint et praemia ponit,
ingentique manu malum de nave Seresti
erigit et volucre in traiecto fune columbam
quo tendant ferrum malo suspendit ab alto.
convenere viri deiectamque aerea sortem
accepit galea; et primus clamore secundo
Hyrtacidae ante omnis exit locus Hippocoontis;
quem modo navali Mnestheus certamine victor
consequitur, viridi Mnestheus evinctus oliva.
tertius Eurytion, tuus, o clarissime, frater,
Pandare, qui quondam iussus confundere foedus
in medios telum torsisti primus Achivos.
extremus galeaque ima subsedit Acestes,
ausus et ipse manu iuvenum temptare laborem.
Tum validis flexos incurvant viribus arcus
pro se quisque viri et depromunt tela pharetris,
primaque per caelum nervo stridente sagitta
Hyrtacidae iuvenis volucris diverberat auras,
et venit adversique infigitur arbore mali.
intremuit malus micuitque exterrita pennis

483–499 *MPRV* 500–505 *MPR* 486 dicit *P* 488 volucrem traiecto in fune *MPRV* 491 primum *RV* 499 manum *V*, iuvenem M^1, labore *V* 503 volucris iuvenis *P* 505 timuit *MPR*

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harundo in l. 544 makes it probable that the true reading is *volucre in traiecto fune*. *volucre ferrum* is used by Ovid, *Trist*. III. x. 64. For the separation of *volucre* from its substantive, *ferrum*, may be compared, among many instances, ii. 203, where there are no less than nine words interposed between *gemini* and *angues*.

490. This method of arranging priority was to put marked pebbles into a vessel and shake it until they sprang out successively: *primus* here has a double function, the 'place' which came out first being that of the competitor who was to shoot first. When there was only one pebble left in the helmet (l. 498) the order of shooting was complete.

504. Even in prose *arbor mali* might be used to mean 'the wood of the mast': similar, but with a touch of preciosity, is the *centena arbore*, 'with a hundred oars', of x. 207.

505. Professor Slater's emendation of *micuit* (for which he cites as a parallel *pennisque coruscant Georg*. iv. 73) for the MSS. and vulgate *timuit*, may be accepted

ales, et ingenti sonuerunt omnia plausu.
post acer Mnestheus adducto constitit arcu
alta petens, pariterque oculos telumque tetendit.
ast ipsam miserandus avem contingere ferro
non valuit; nodos et vincula linea rupit
quis innexa pedem malo pendebat ab alto;
illa Notos atque alta volans in nubila fugit.
tum rapidus, iamdudum arcu contenta parato
tela tenens, fratrem Eurytion in vota vocavit,
iam vacuo laetam caelo speculatus et alis
plaudentem nigra figit sub nube columbam.
decidit exanimis vitamque reliquit in astris
aëriis fixamque refert delapsa sagittam.
amissa solus palma superabat Acestes,
qui tamen aërias telum contorsit in auras
ostentans artemque pater arcumque sonantem.
hic oculis subito obicitur magnoque futurum
augurio monstrum; docuit post exitus ingens
seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates.
namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo
signavitque viam flammis tenuisque recessit
consumpta in ventos: caelo ceu saepe refixa

506–527 *MPR*   512 atra volans *MR*   518 aetheriis *P*   520 contendit *M*^{1}*R*

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as all but certain. *timuit exterrita* is hopelessly feeble, and *timuit pennis* is not Latin. The *ductus literarum* of the two words would be in the autograph, or in any early MS., all but indistinguishable. *micare*, as in *micare digitis*, means 'flicker' or 'flutter'.

508. *tetendit oculos telumque*, 'he aligned eyes and arrow'. Strictly speaking it would be only one eye, just as the *tela* of l. 514 are only a single arrow. But such minute criticism is out of place.

518. The vulgate *aetheriis*, the reading of the Palatine MS., seems to be due to some copyist or corrector who thought that *aëriis* must be wrong, because the ether, not the air, is the region of the stars. But *astra*, as usual, only means 'the skies', and *vitam reliquit in astris aëriis* means neither more nor less than *vitam sub nube relinquunt* of the birds in *Georg*. iii. 547.

522. The vulgate text since Heinsius is *subitum*; but *subito*, the reading of the MSS., is defensible; 'an augury as sudden (or unexpected) as it was great'. The ambiguity (*subito obicitur* being

transcurrunt crinemque volantia sidera ducunt.
attonitis haesere animis superosque precati
Trinacrii Teucrique viri, nec maximus omen
abnuit Aeneas, sed laetum amplexus, Acesten
muneribus cumulat magnis ac talia fatur:
'sume, pater, nam te voluit rex magnus Olympi
talibus auspiciis exsortem ducere honores
ipsius Anchisae longaevi; hoc munus habebis,
cratera impressum signis, quem Thracius olim
Anchisae genitori in magno munere Cisseus
ferre sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris.'
sic fatus cingit viridanti tempora lauro
et primum ante omnis victorem appellat Acesten.
nec bonus Eurytion praelato invidit honori,
quamvis solus avem caelo deiecit ab alto.
proximus ingreditur donis qui vincula rupit,
extremus volucri qui fixit harundine malum.
  At pater Aeneas nondum certamine misso
custodem ad sese comitemque impubis Iuli
Epytiden vocat, et fidam sic fatur ad aurem:
'vade age et Ascanio, si iam puerile paratum
agmen habet secum cursusque instruxit equorum,

528–549 *MPR*   534 honorem *M^2*   541 honore *P^1*   548 paratus *P^1*

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naturally read together as 'suddenly presents itself') is what Virgil does not take special pains to avoid: see note on l. 541 below. What event this portent, as later interpreted, foretold, Virgil does not say, and seems to leave purposely obscure. But from what follows, ll. 530–40, it was clearly something that affected Acestes or his people, not Aeneas and the Trojans; and it may be conjectured with probability that this was the apotheosis of Acestes himself, the *exitus ingens* of his own life.

525. The epithet *liquidus* applied to the clouds (as again vii. 699) means 'thin': so we find *liquidus ignis Ecl.* vi. 33, *liquidae voces Georg.* i. 410, and *liquidus aer* or *aether* frequently. In the same sense probably should be taken the *liquidus odor ambrosiae* of *Georg.* iv. 415. There is in fact little difference between the *liquidae nubes* of this line and the *tenues venti* of the next.

541. *praelato* and *honori* are two separate datives depending on *invidit*: 'did not grudge the honour to him who was preferred to him'.

ducat avo turmas et sese ostendat in armis
dic' ait. ipse omnem longo discedere circo
infusum populum et campos iubet esse patentis.
incedunt pueri pariterque ante ora parentum
frenatis lucent in equis, quos omnis euntis
Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiaeque iuventus.
omnibus in morem tonsa coma pressa corona;
cornea bina ferunt praefixa hastilia ferro,
pars levis umero pharetras; it pectore summo
flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri.
tres equitum numero turmae, ternique vagantur
ductores; pueri bis seni quemque secuti
agmine partito fulgent paribusque magistris.
una acies iuvenum, ducit quam parvus ovantem
nomen avi referens Priamus, tua clara, Polite,
progenies, auctura Italos; quem Thracius albis
portat equus bicolor maculis, vestigia primi
alba pedis frontemque ostentans arduus albam.
alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,
parvus Atys pueroque puer dilectus Iulo.
extremus formaque ante omnis pulcher Iulus

550–570 *MPR* 551 decedere *MR* 558 et M^1P^2R 564 cara P^1
570 formamque M^1

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555. In strict syntax, *euntis* is the object to *mirata*; but *mirata fremit* is in effect a compound transitive verb.

562. The *magistri* (mentioned again l. 669) are the 'coaches' or 'trainers', Epytides and two others, of the three troops of boys.

567. 'Displaying uplifted', *ostentans arduus*, applies both to the high-stepping forefeet and the arched neck. For *primi pedis*, 'the fore-foot', see note on iii. 426.

571–4. These lines are obviously a very rough draft for what was to follow on *Sidonio est invectus equo* in order to complete the paragraph, if indeed that should not have ended with l. 570. Did we not know from other passages what Virgil's early drafts were like, we might suspect these lines of being an unskilful interpolation. Specially to be noted are (1) the irrelevant epithet *candida*, which looks like an imitation of the *candida Maia* of viii. 138 where the epithet is relevant and appropriate; (2) the feeble verbal repetition of l. 538 in l. 572; (3) the flatness of ll. 573, 4, in which the text is also corrupted or uncertain. The MSS. vary between *Trinacrii* (which was read by Servius) and *Trinacriae*;

Sidonio est invectus equo, quem candida Dido
esse sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris.
cetera Trinacriae pubes senioris Acestae
fertur equis . . .
excipiunt plausu pavidos gaudentque tuentes
Dardanidae, veterumque agnoscunt ora parentum.
  Postquam omnem laeti consessum oculosque suorum
lustravere in equis, signum clamore paratis
Epytides longe dedit insonuitque flagello.
olli discurrere pares atque agmina terni
diductis solvere choris, rursusque vocati
convertere vias infestaque tela tulere.
inde alios inĕunt cursus aliosque recursus
adversi spatiis, alternosque orbibus orbis
impediunt pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis;
et nunc terga fuga nudant, nunc spicula vertunt
infensi, facta pariter nunc pace feruntur.
ut quondam Creta fertur Labyrinthus in alta
parietibus textum caecis iter ancipitemque
mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi
frangeret indeprensus et inremeabilis error:

571–591 *MPR*   573 Trinacrii $P^{1}R$ 581 deductis *MR*   584 adversis *P*, alternisque *R*   591 falleret *M*

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but *Trinacrii senioris* is an impossible phrase, and *Trinacriae equi*, the best supported reading, is questionable Latin. The vulgate *Trinacriis*, accepted by Heyne and most subsequent editors, is a conjectural emendation.

575. For *pavidos* see note on l. 138 above.

582. No distinction of meaning can be established between *infestus* here and *infensus* in l. 587, or elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, in which both are often used. They are in fact doublets, formed from a verb *fendere*, 'to push', which itself is only extant in the compounds *defendere*, 'to push away', and *offendere*, 'to push against'. See also note on ii. 529.

591. The Servian note is 'frangeret: deciperet, falleret; est autem versus Catulli'. The word actually used by Catullus, in a similar line, lxiv. 115, is *frustraretur*. *falleret* is the reading of the Medicean MS. here, and is printed by many modern editors; but there is no reason to discard the weight of authority for *frangeret*. The trail of guiding marks is 'broken' by a false turn, and cannot be caught up (*indeprensus*) and traced backwards (*irremeabilis*).

haud alio Teucrum nati vestigia cursu
impediunt texuntque fugas et proelia ludo,
delphinum similes qui per maria umida nando
Carpathium Libycumque secant luduntque per undas.
hunc morem cursus atque haec certamina primus
Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret Albam,
rettulit et Priscos docuit celebrare Latinos,
quo puer ipse modo, secum quo Troïa pubes;
Albani docuere suos; hinc maxima porro
accepit Roma et patrium servavit honorem;
Troiaque nunc pueri, Troianum dicitur agmen.
  Hac celebrata tenus sancto certamina patri.
hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit.
dum variis tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis,
Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno
Iliacam ad classem ventosque aspirat eunti,
multa movens necdum antiquum saturata dolorem.
illa viam celerans per mille coloribus arcum
nulli visa cito decurrit tramite virgo.
conspicit ingentem concursum et litora lustrat
desertosque videt portus classemque relictam.
at procul in sola secretae Troades acta

592–613 *MPR* 592 aliter *R*, nati Teucrum *P* 595 luduntque per undas *om.* M^1P 604 hic *M* 609 celebrans M^1 611 consessum M^1

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595. The second half of this line is omitted in one of the three primary MSS., is inserted in a later hand in another, and is given in the third. There is no other evidence for or against its authenticity. Most editors either omit or bracket it. But in itself it is quite in the Virgilian manner, and Heyne's condemnation, 'inepti esse grammatici per se patet', is much too sweeping.

598. The *Prisci Latini* were the early colonies of Alba Longa, the beginnings of the Latin league (Livy i. 3).

602. The *lusus Troiae*, a *decursio equestris* or sham-fight of mounted boys, was introduced at Rome by Sulla from Asia. It was an item in the spectacles at the triumph of Julius Caesar in 46 B.C., and was organized for Roman boys of good family by Augustus as a regular feature of the public games: 'Troiae lusum', says Suetonius (*Aug.* 43), 'edidit frequentissime maiorum minorumque puerorum, prisci decorique moris existimans clarae stirpis indolem sic notescere.' It was discontinued later as being too dangerous.

amissum Anchisen flebant, cunctaeque profundum
pontum aspectabant flentes. 'heu tot vada fessis 615
et tantum superesse maris!' vox omnibus una;
urbem orant, taedet pelagi perferre laborem.
ergo inter medias sese haud ignara nocendi
conicit et faciemque deae vestemque reponit;
fit Beroe, Tmarii coniunx longaeva Dorycli, 620
cui genus et quondam nomen natique fuissent,
ac sic Dardanidum mediam se matribus infert.
'o miserae, quas non manus' inquit 'Achaica bello
traxerit ad letum patriae sub moenibus, o gens
infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reservat? 625
septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas,
cum freta, cum terras omnis, tot inhospita saxa
sideraque emensae ferimur, dum per mare magnum
Italiam sequimur fugientem et volvimur undis.
hic Erycis fines fraterni atque hospes Acestes: 630
quis prohibet muros iacere et dare civibus urbem?
o patria et rapti nequiquam ex hoste penates,
nullane iam Troiae dicentur moenia? nusquam
Hectoreos amnis, Xanthum et Simoenta, videbo?
quin agite et mecum infaustas exurite puppis. 635

614–635 *MPR*   628 tulimus *R*   631 qui M^1, quid *R*

The editors of the *Aeneid* might have applied their instructions, *ut superflua demerent*, to this line, which is not only superfluous, but very awkwardly worded. It may be suspected that *pueri* is a gloss which has displaced *lusus*, a word not elsewhere used by Virgil, nor so far as appears by any earlier or contemporary writer.

603–5. For the redundance in these three lines see Introduction, p. lviii.

613. The Greek word *acta*, 'beach', does not occur elsewhere in Virgil; but it seems to have been in common use at Rome for a 'plage' or bathing-beach; Cicero uses it more than once in his letters in this sense.

621. The distinction between *cui fuissent* and *cui fuerant* is the same as between 'as one who had been' and 'who had been'. *cui* relates to *Dorycli*, not to *Beroe*.

626. For the chronology of this line see Introductory note to Book III.

628. *mare magnum* here suggests or implies its technical meaning, i.e. the Mediterranean.

nam mihi Cassandrae per somnum vatis imago
ardentis dare visa faces: "hic quaerite Troiam;
hic domus est" inquit "vobis." iam tempus agi res,
nec tantis mora prodigiis. en quattuor arae
Neptuno; deus ipse faces animumque ministrat.'
Haec memorans prima infensum vi corripit ignem
sublataque procul dextra conixa coruscat
et iacit. arrectae mentes stupefactaque corda
Iliadum. hic una e multis, quae maxima natu,
Pyrgo, tot Priami natorum regia nutrix:
'non Beroe vobis, non haec Rhoeteïa, matres,
est Dorycli coniunx; divini signa decoris
ardentisque notate oculos; qui spiritus illi,
quis vultus vocisque sonus vel gressus eunti.
ipsa egomet dudum Beroen digressa reliqui
aegram, indignantem tali quod sola careret
munere nec meritos Anchisae inferret honores.'
haec effata . . .
at matres primo ancipites oculisque malignis
ambiguae spectare rates miserum inter amorem
praesentis terrae fatisque vocantia regna:
cum dea se paribus per caelum sustulit alis
ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum.

636–658 *MPR* 640 animamque *R* 649 qui *M*, et gressus *P*

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639. The plural *prodigiis* may be meant to cover the appearance of Cassandra, and the blazing torches, as separate things; otherwise it is a mere rhetorical plural, as in the *Cresia prodigia* of viii. 295, of the wild bull killed in Crete by Hercules.

643. There is no contradiction here: their minds were excited, but their good sense, *corda*, stupefied.

658. To appreciate the beauty of the picture (over which commentators have raised rather absurd difficulties) we must bear in mind that Iris not only uses the rainbow as a bridge, but herself is the rainbow: 'the queen o' the sky, whose watery arch and messenger am I', she says in *The Tempest*, IV. i.

660. So in ix. 75 the Rutulians, when they are going to fire the stockade and burn the Trojan ships, *diripuere focos*. The *foci* are in both cases the cooking-fires of the encampment. In the next line, *spoliant aras* means that they strip

Tum vero attonitae monstris actaeque furore
conclamant, rapiuntque focis penetralibus ignem;
pars spoliant aras; frondem ac virgulta facesque
coniciunt. furit immissis Volcanus habenis
transtra per et remos et pictas abiete puppis.
nuntius Anchisae ad tumulum cuneosque theatri
incensas perfert navis Eumelus, et ipsi
respiciunt atram in nimbo volitare favillam.
primus et Ascanius, cursus ut laetus equestris
ducebat, sic acer equo turbata petivit
castra, nec exanimes possunt retinere magistri.
'quis furor iste novus? quo nunc, quo tenditis' inquit,
'heu, miserae cives? non hostem inimicaque castra
Argivum, vestras spes uritis. en, ego vester
Ascanius!' galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem,
qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat.
accelerat simul Aeneas, simul agmina Teucrum.
ast illae diversa metu per litora passim
diffugiunt, silvasque et sicubi concava furtim
saxa petunt; piget incepti lucisque, suosque
mutatae agnoscunt excussaque pectore Iuno est.
sed non idcirco flammae atque incendia viris
indomitas posuere; udo sub robore vivit

659–681 *MPR*   680 flamma P^1, flammam M^1P^2

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the altars of the fuel piled on them. Then they heap brushwood against the ships and set fire to the whole.

663. For *abiete puppes*, 'the fir-wood hulls', see App. A.

669. The meaning of *exanimis* here is of course 'breathless'; so also iv. 672. Elsewhere in Virgil it means 'lifeless', as the alternative form *exanimus* always does. For *exanimatus*, see note on l. 805 below.

671. He appeals to them not to forfeit the destined city, the hope of which rests in the fleet, in a mad design of settling here for good. See note on l. 196 above for the special force of *cives*.

681. The epithet *udus* is used in anticipation of the mention of the *infusa flumina* of l. 684. In spite of all the water they can pour on the burning ships, the 'mischief' (*pestis*), *descendit toto corpore*, works deeper and deeper through the whole fabric.

stuppa vomens tardum fumum, lentusque carinas
est vapor et toto descendit corpore pestis,
nec vires heroum infusaque flumina prosunt.
  Tum pius Aeneas umeris abscindere vestem
auxilioque vocare deos et tendere palmas:
'Iuppiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum
Troianos, si quid pietas antiqua labores
respicit humanos, da flammam evadere classi
nunc, pater, et tenuis Teucrum res eripe leto.
vel tu quod superest infesto fulmine morti,
si mereor, demitte tuaque hic obrue dextra.'
vix haec ediderat cum effusis imbribus atra
tempestas sine more furit tonitruque tremescunt
ardua terrarum et campi; ruit aethere toto
turbidus imber aqua densisque nigerrimus Austris,
implenturque super puppes, semusta madescunt
robora, restinctus donec vapor omnis et omnes
quattuor amissis servatae a peste carinae.
  At pater Aeneas casu concussus acerbo
nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas
mutabat versans, Siculisne resideret arvis
oblitus fatorum, Italasne capesseret oras.
tum senior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas
quem docuit multaque insignem reddidit arte;
haec responsa dabat, vel quae portenderet ira
magna deum vel quae fatorum posceret ordo;

682–707 *MPR*   685 excindere *M*, abscidere *R*   695 campis ruit M^1P

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688. For the force of *pietas* see note on iv. 382.

694. *sine more*, 'irregularly' or 'uncontrolledly' is the reverse of *in morem*, l. 556 above.

695. With *ardua terrarum*, 'the steep places of the land', may be compared *ardua montis*, 'the steep uprising of the hill' (*Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. i), viii. 221, xi. 513.

699. The loss of these four ships leaves Aeneas with fifteen.

706. *haec* may be either Pallas, or the art in which she instructed Nautes; in either case *responsa dabat* means 'supplied him with answers', in respect of what divine wrath portended or of what the ordinance of fate prescribed. After

isque his Aenean solatus vocibus infit:
'nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur;
quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.
est tibi Dardanius divinae stirpis Acestes:
hunc cape consiliis socium et coniunge volentem;
huic trade amissis superant qui navibus et quos
pertaesum magni incepti rerumque tuarum est;
longaevosque senes ac fessas aequore matres
et quidquid tecum invalidum metuensque pericli est
delige, et his habeant terris sine moenia fessi;
urbem appellabunt permisso nomine Acestam.'
  Talibus incensus dictis senioris amici
tum vero in curas animo diducitur omnis.
et Nox atra polum bigis subvecta tenebat:
visa dehinc caelo facies delapsa parentis
Anchisae subito talis effundere voces:
'nate, mihi vita quondam, dum vita manebat,
care magis, nate, Iliacis exercite fatis,
imperio Iovis huc venio, qui classibus ignem
depulit, et caelo tandem miseratus ab alto est.
consiliis pare quae nunc pulcherrima Nautes
dat senior; lectos iuvenes, fortissima corda,
defer in Italiam. gens dura atque aspera cultu
debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante
infernas accede domos et Averna per alta
congressus pete, nate, meos. non me impia namque

708–733 *MPR*   719 accensus *R*   731 est Latio *P*

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this parenthesis, the sentence is resumed in l. 708 with *isque*, 'he, I say'.

710. *superare* here does not mean 'to overcome', but 'to get through'.

710–19. The three line-endings *ferendo est*, *tuarum est*, *pericli est*, the awkward repetition of *fessus* in ll. 715, 717, and the stop-gap line 719 which would not be missed if it were omitted—*incensus* is hardly appropriate, and *senioris* repeats superfluously the *senior* of ll. 704 and 729—all indicate that this passage was left unrevised.

722. The *facies* of Anchises is the same as the *imago* of iv. 353 and vi. 695.

733. The force of the plural *congressus* is 'occasions of meeting me'. *impia Tartara* is a compressed way of saying

Tartara habent, tristes umbrae, sed amoena piorum
concilia Elysiumque colo. huc casta Sibylla
nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet.
tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces.
iamque vale; torquet medios Nox umida cursus
et me saevus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis.'
  Dixerat et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras.
Aeneas 'quo deinde ruis? quo proripis?' inquit,
'quem fugis, aut quis te nostris complexibus arcet?'
haec memorans cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignis,
Pergameumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae
farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra.
extemplo socios primumque accersit Acesten
et Iovis imperium et cari praecepta parentis
edocet et quae nunc animo sententia constet.
haud mora consiliis, nec iussa recusat Acestes.
transcribunt urbi matres populumque volentem
deponunt, animos nil magnae laudis egentis.
ipsi transtra novant flammisque ambesa reponunt
robora navigiis, aptant remosque rudentisque,
exigui numero, sed bello vivida virtus.
interea Aeneas urbem designat aratro
sortiturque domos; hoc Ilium et haec loca Troiam

734–756 *MPR*   734 tristesve *M*^{2} 740 ad auras *P*

Tartara sedes impiorum. The intricately precise balance of *impia, Tartara, tristes, umbrae* against *piorum, Elysium, amoena, concilia* is in Virgil's most characteristic manner.

739. In this line (repeated from *Georg*. i. 250), as in l. 42 above, 'the Orient' is a half-personification of the dawn: elsewhere in Virgil it has its modern geographical sense.

741. The verb *proripere* is here, as also x. 796, used intransitively, as in English we speak of a person 'tearing away'. This free handling of language grows on Virgil in his later work; in *Ecl*. iii. 19 (the only other passage in which he uses the word) he writes *quo se proripit ille?* in the normal syntax.

754. *virtus*, 'manhood', has its original sense, and is nearly equivalent to 'band of men', or 'body of warriors'. It is thus used with great effect i. 566 *Troiae . . . virtutesque virosque*.

758. In phrases of Roman constitutional

esse iubet. gaudet regno Troianus Acestes
indicitque forum et patribus dat iura vocatis.
tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes
fundatur Veneri Idaliae, tumuloque sacerdos
ac lucus late sacer additur Anchiseo.
  Iamque dies epulata novem gens omnis, et aris
factus honos: placidi straverunt aequora venti
creber et aspirans rursus vocat Auster in altum.
exoritur procurva ingens per litora fletus;
complexi inter se noctemque diemque morantur.
ipsae iam matres, ipsi, quibus aspera quondam
visa maris facies et non tolerabile nomen,
ire volunt omnemque fugae perferre laborem.
quos bonus Aeneas dictis solatur amicis
et consanguineo lacrimans commendat Acestae.
tris Eryci vitulos et Tempestatibus agnam
caedere deinde iubet solvique ex ordine funem.
ipse caput tonsae foliis evinctus olivae
stans procul in prora pateram tenet, extaque salsos
proicit in fluctus ac vina liquentia fundit.
prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis;
certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt.
  At Venus interea Neptunum exercita curis

757–779 *MPR* 761 additus *P* 768 numen M^2, caelum *R* 772 agnos *M*
777–8 *inverso ordine P*

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law Acestes, as the sovereign power of the newly created city, proclaims the establishment of law courts, and, summoning a meeting of the *patres*, who, acting as a senate, will administer the government under him, furnishes them with a body of statutes for their guidance.

766. As in *noctemque diemque fatigant* viii. 94, the phrase does not mean 'throughout a night and a day', but rather 'from night into day'.

768. The MSS. vary between *nomen*, *numen*, and *caelum*—the last probably being an explanatory gloss on *numen* that has replaced it in the text, or else a recollection of the *non tractabile caelum* of iv. 53. *nomen* is more in keeping with the tone of the passage.

773. *solvi ex ordine funem*, 'to slip cable in succession'. For the combination of the active and passive infinitives *caedere* and *solvi* see note on ii. 61.

adloquitur talisque effundit pectore questus: 780
'Iunonis gravis ira neque exsaturabile pectus
cogunt me, Neptune, preces descendere in omnis;
quam nec longa dies pietas nec mitigat ulla,
nec Iovis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit.
non media de gente Phrygum exedisse nefandis 785
urbem odiis satis est nec poenam traxe per omnem
reliquias: Troiae cineres atque ossa peremptae
insequitur. causas tanti sciat illa furoris.
ipse mihi nuper Libycis tu testis in undis
quam molem subito excierit: maria omnia caelo 790
miscuit Aeoliis nequiquam freta procellis,
in regnis hoc ausa tuis . . .
per scelus ecce etiam Troianis matribus actis
exussit foede puppis et classe subegit
amissa socios ignotae linquere terrae. 795
quod superest, oro, liceat dare tuta per undas
vela tibi, liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim,
si concessa peto, si dant ea moenia Parcae.'
 Tum Saturnius haec domitor maris edidit alti:
'fas omne est, Cytherea, meis te fidere regnis, 800
unde genus ducis. merui quoque; saepe furores
compressi et rabiem tantam caelique marisque.
nec minor in terris, Xanthum Simoentaque testor,
Aeneae mihi cura tui. cum Troïa Achilles

780–783 *MPR* 784–803 *FMPR* 784 fatisve *F* 785 excidisse *F*
786 omnis *P*2 795 ignota *MPR*, terra *MP*2

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786. The syncopated infinitive, *traxe* for *traxisse*, is only used by Virgil here; but he writes *exstinxem*, *exstinxti*, *derexti*, and *vixet*, iv. 606, 682, vi. 57, xi. 118. Editors variously place the stop after *omnem*, *reliquias*, and *Troiae*: in the text Heyne's punctuation is followed.

793. *actis* goes with *per scelus*, 'driven deep into crime'.

796. *liceat quod superest dare tuta vela tibi*, 'let the remnant commit its sails in protection to you'.

805. The verb *exanimare* may mean, according to the context (1) to put out of breath, (2) to put out of one's wits, (3) to put out of life. Here (Virgil does not use it elsewhere) it combines the first two senses.

exanimata sequens impingeret agmina muris,
milia multa daret leto, gemerentque repleti
amnes nec reperire viam atque evolvere posset
in mare se Xanthus, Pelidae tunc ego forti
congressum Aenean nec dis nec viribus aequis
nube cava rapui, cuperem cum vertere ab imo
structa meis manibus periurae moenia Troiae.
nunc quoque mens eadem perstat mihi; pelle timores.
tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Averni.
unus erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres;
unum pro multis dabitur caput. . . .'
His ubi laeta deae permulsit pectora dictis,
iungit equos auro genitor, spumantiaque addit
frena feris manibusque omnis effundit habenas.
caeruleo per summa levis volat aequora curru;
subsidunt undae tumidumque sub axe tonanti
sternitur aequor aquis, fugiunt vasto aethere nimbi.
tum variae comitum facies, immania cete,
et senior Glauci chorus Inousque Palaemon
Tritonesque citi Phorcique exercitus omnis;
laeva tenent Thetis et Melite Panopeaque virgo,
Nisaee Spioque Thaliaque Cymodoceque.
hic patris Aeneae suspensam blanda vicissim
gaudia pertemptant mentem; iubet ocius omnis
attolli malos, intendi bracchia velis.

804–814 *FMPR* 815–827 *MPR* 805 immitteret *F* 807 neque evolvere *P* 810 eripui F^2, cuperent *F* 811 periturae FM^1 812 timorem *M* 814 missum M^1 821 equis M^1, fugiuntque ex aethere M^2 825 tenet *M*, tent *R* 829 remis *MR*

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814. *quaeret*, an emendation of the Venetian scholar Navagero, was printed in the Aldine edition of 1514, and has been adopted by many subsequent editors. But the MSS. *quaeres* gives an equally good sense, and there is no justification for altering it.

821. For *aequor aquis*, 'the watery level', repeated viii. 89, see App. A.

829. 'The yards to be stretched upon with the sails' is a stylistic elaboration of 'the sails to be stretched from the yards'. Not unnaturally, it was misunderstood, and two of the best MSS. in fact replace it by the ordinary phrase *intendi bracchia remis* which is of course

una omnes fecere pedem pariterque sinistros,
nunc dextros solvere sinus; una ardua torquent
cornua detorquentque; ferunt sua flamina classem.
  Princeps ante omnis densum Palinurus agebat
agmen; ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi.
iamque fere mediam caeli Nox umida metam
contigerat; placida laxabant membra quiete
sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae:
cum levis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris
aëra dimovit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras,
te, Palinure, petens, tibi somnia tristia portans
insonti, puppique deus consedit in alta
Phorbanti similis funditque has ore loquellas:
'Iaside Palinure, ferunt ipsa aequora classem,
aequatae spirant aurae, datur hora quieti.
pone caput fessosque oculos furare labori.
ipse ego paulisper pro te tua munera inibo.'
cui vix attollens Palinurus lumina fatur:
'mene salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos
ignorare iubes? mene huic confidere monstro?
Aenean credam quid enim fallacibus auris?
et, caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni—'
talia dicta dabat, clavumque adfixus et haerens

828–852 *MPR*   843 sua flamina *M*   850 austris P^2 851 caelo P^1

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inapplicable here. In the next lines *pariter sinistros, nunc dextros* is an economy of language for *nunc pariter sinistros, nunc pariter dextros*; and *sua flamina*, 'breezes of its own', are the breezes specially provided for the fleet by Neptune.

842. The diminutive *loquella*, not elsewhere used by Virgil, expresses the tiny voice of the unsubstantial phantom.

851. Whether we read *caeli* or *caelo* here—*caeli* has preponderant authority—this line presents difficulties. On the one hand *auris et caelo* is feeble, and Virgil does not elsewhere use *serenum* as a substantive—the plural *serena* of *Georg.* i. 393 is on a different footing: on the other hand the participial clause introduced by *et*, though attempts have been made to defend it, is barely if at all grammatical. It may be plausibly suggested that the sentence is deliberately left incomplete, the words dying off on Palinurus's tongue as he succumbs to the sleepy influence which in l. 847 he is barely resisting.

nusquam amittebat oculosque sub astra tenebat;
ecce deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem
vique soporatum Stygia super utraque quassat
tempora, cunctantique natantia lumina solvit.
vix primos inopina quies laxaverat artus,
et superincumbens cum puppis parte revulsa
cumque gubernaclo liquidas proiecit in undas
praecipitem ac socios nequiquam saepe vocantem;
ipse volans tenuis se sustulit ales ad auras.
currit iter tutum non setius aequore classis
promissisque patris Neptuni interrita fertur.
iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat,
difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos.
tum rauca adsiduo longe sale saxa sonabant,
cum pater amisso fluitantem errare magistro
sensit et ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis,
multa gemens casuque animum concussus amici:
'o nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno,
nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena.'

853–871 *MPR*   852 dictabat *P*   860 voce vocantem *M*   861 in auras *P*

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856. *cunctanti*, 'as he slowly gives way'. This is the sense likewise of the word in vi. 211, where see the note.

863. *interrita promissis Neptuni*, 'freed from fear by Neptune's promises', as though it were *freta promissis*. The expression is a little awkward, as at first sight it suggests the meaning of 'not terrified by Neptune's promises'.

865. The force of *quondam* is 'from of old': there is no antithesis to the *tum* of the next line.

According to Servius's note the first two lines of Book VI were placed there by Tucca and Varius; in Virgil's autograph MS. they came at the end of this Book, and some *antiqui codices* preserved that arrangement.

BOOK VI

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE intermezzo of Book VI, in its central position in the *Aeneid*, is at once the keystone of the poem, the introduction to the *maior rerum ordo* of Books VII–XII, and the 'transhumanization' (to use the noble expression of Dante, *Par*. i. 70) of the action. After the return of Aeneas to earth through the ivory gate, he is a different person—he has passed, as has been suggestively said, through an experience of the nature of a religious conversion—and the world in which he moves is also different. 'Things that are past are done with me.'

Both in the vision, to use that word for want of a better, of which the main substance of the Book, ll. 268–892, consists, and in the prologue and preliminary matter which precede it, Virgil was clearly making material alterations up to the last. While in one sense it is his highest achievement, it is at the same time one of his least complete. For completeness was in the nature of things impossible. In the successive episodes which lengthen out the prologue it is not merely fanciful to trace a reluctance to approach the main theme as well as an elaborate preparation for approaching it.

The arrival at Cumae in the opening lines continues the treatment of the earlier voyages; ll. 3–8 are in the rather crude annalistic manner of the epitomized episodes of Book III. Then, with an immediate uplift and change of key, the scene begins to be set for the descent into the underworld.

In this prologue, the two Misenus episodes (158–190 and 212–236) are, together with the five lines in the Sibyl's speech (149–153) which prepare the way for them, detachable exactly like the two Laocoon episodes in Book II. In neither case, if they were completely omitted, should we be conscious of any gap: though in both cases they add materially to the substance of the book into which they are introduced, and in this sense are not superfluous; and the insertion here is made with such skill that except in the slight awkwardness of the repetition in ll. 211 and 236 there is no rough edge left at the junctions. It is worth noticing that the insertion of the first of the two episodes is masked by its beginning and ending in the middle of a line; if it were omitted, the *eventus animo* of l. 158 would be continued, with complete coherence, by the *geminae cum forte columbae* of l. 190. Apart from them and from the eight connecting lines with which the Book opens, the prologue consists of 192 lines of closely-wrought narrative ending with the entrance, before sunrise, of Aeneas and Deiphobe into the subterranean realm. The new keynote is struck at its opening by the stress laid on the prehistoric Minoan origin of the mysterious sanctuary. Until little more than a generation ago, this seemed a piece of rather irrelevant archaeology; we can hardly doubt now that some tradition of that imposing lost civilization had come down to Virgil and kindled in his imagination. In fact, the description of the subterranean scenes through which Aeneas passes bears startling analogies, even in small details, to the discoveries made in our own days in Crete.

It is further to be noted that while the prayer of Aeneas is addressed (ll. 56, 64) to Apollo and the Olympian deities, he seeks, and finds in a vision or trance, an approach to still greater and more elemental powers. Only in the *regna invia vivis* can he become possessed of the full meaning of life and the vast orb of destiny.

Aeneas and the Sibyl disappear side by side into the darkness. There is a pause, and an invocation of the Gods who are sovereign over souls. Then, with the two words, *Ibant obscuri*, we find ourselves, we do not know how or where, in another world. Virgil with consummate art leaves it open to interpret what follows as a dream, a vision, or an actual experience. The imagery here and there is doubtless suggested by the ritual of the Eleusinian mysteries. The 'fields of air', the realm 'with a sun and stars of its own' which Aeneas finally traverses, his return to earth through the ivory gate of sleep, suggest a prolonged trance. The awful figures of ll. 273–94 seem to be pictured imagery on the walls of a great subterranean hall. The meeting with the ghost of Palinurus, the recognition of the phantoms of the comrades who had perished between Sicily and Carthage, the passage over the Stygian mere, have a vivid actuality. Then is unrolled (ll. 426–534) the pageant of the dead in the Mourning Fields, and the meeting with Dido among the dead lovers, and with Deiphobus among the ghostly armies that had fallen in the war of Troy.

The first part of the journey, or of the vision, ends here. It is noonday in the upper world. The way onward divides itself; on the right, to Elysium past the walls of the City of Dis; on the left, to the place of punishment. Into it Aeneas is not allowed to enter; he only sees its triple wall, its flaming moat, its iron tower, and hears from within the clank of fetters and the groans of the tortured. The Sibyl in a majestic interlude (559–627) gives a rapid survey of the crimes and the criminals that she herself, once only and by special grace and personal guidance of Hecate, has been permitted to see.

Then, taking the right-hand path in the glimmering darkness, they reach the gate of Elysium, give up the golden bough which has been their passport, and enter, or seem to enter, another and still more marvellous world, the realm of the blessed. The Sibyl's task is done (637). She does not leave Aeneas, as Virgil leaves Dante on the threshold of the Earthly Paradise; but from now she ceases to be either a guide or an expounder and is merely a silent companion. Directed by Musaeus, they find the spirit of Anchises. In language of unsurpassed magnificence he sets forth to Aeneas the doctrine of the *anima mundi*, of purgatorial experience, of the re-embodiment of souls; and then passes before Aeneas's eyes the pageant of his posterity and the heroic figures of Roman history.

After the death in the autumn of 23 B.C. of young Marcellus, the nephew and son-in-law of Augustus and the destined heir of the Empire, Virgil inserted as an epilogue to this pageant the splendid tribute to his memory and lamentation over his loss (ll. 860–86). In doing so, he probably removed ll. 895–9 from their original place in the catalogue (either after l. 825 or after l. 840) and prefixed to them the connecting line 834. The effect of the addition is artistically as fine as that of the lines on Camilla which similarly are an epilogue to the Italian catalogue of Book VII. Both add the Virgilian touch of romantic beauty and human pity; for Camilla too is destined to early death and (xi. 593–4) to the highest funeral honours. Marcellus here takes a place together with Euryalus and Lausus and Pallas.

A few concluding lines (886–900) relax the tension, let in the common daylight, and restore us, like Aeneas, to the earthly world with its tasks and its companionships. Through the Gate of Sleep, which is also the Gate of Waking, we return to life; but with the faint implied suggestion (l. 896) that 'alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichniss', and that what we call life is only a dream.

The labour bestowed by generations of commentators in endeavouring to extract from the speech of Anchises a coherent body of doctrine embodying a philosophy of the universe has been largely idle: still more so have been the attempts to assign definite origins for one or another of the doctrines which it implies or suggests, Orphism, Pythagoreanism, Platonism, as all these schools of thought had mingled or coalesced in the eclectic schools of Greek philosophy and become engrafted upon the central Stoic doctrine of the *anima mundi*: 'panthéisme un peu flottant', in the acid phrase of a distinguished French critic. The instrument of Virgil vibrates to many notes; as they re-issue from it they are fused into mysterious harmonies which refuse to be analysed. *Dicam equidem*, says Anchises before he opens his theme; as it proceeds, and at its close, he might have added a burden like that of the Sibyl in the *Volospá*, 'Vitoð ér enn eða hvat?' 'Know ye yet or what?' Philosophy at its utmost reach merges into poetry; but as it merges, it becomes transfigured. Earlier and later eschatologies, attempting precision, lost their hold on reality. Virgil's wistful uncertainty—it has been noted that he leaves it quite open whether the spirits, after their complete purgation from the 'taint of the body' is effected and their re-embodiments cease, remain eternally in Elysium or are absorbed into the universal soul—retains after two thousand years its unimpaired value.

The Minoan element in the scenery of the Virgilian underworld, and the catalogue given by the Sibyl of the criminals, crimes, and punishments of the Inferno, are commented on more fully in Appendices C and D.

AENEIDOS

LIBER SEXTUS

Sic fatur lacrimans, classique immittit habenas
et tandem Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris.
obvertunt pelago proras; tum dente tenaci
ancora fundabat navis et litora curvae
praetexunt puppes. iuvenum manus emicat ardens
litus in Hesperium; quaerit pars semina flammae
abstrusa in venis silicis, pars densa ferarum
tecta rapit silvas inventaque flumina monstrat.
At pius Aeneas arces quibus altus Apollo
praesidet horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae,
antrum immane, petit, magnam cui mentem animumque
Delius inspirat vates aperitque futura.
Iam subeunt Triviae lucos atque aurea tecta.
Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna
praepetibus pennis ausus se credere caelo

1–15 *MPR*

As a substantive episode in the Aeneid, an intermezzo between the two parts of the poem, this Book begins with l. 9 and ends with l. 898. The junctures with the preceding and following Books were left by Virgil in a tentative shape. There is no reason to doubt the tradition that in his own manuscript ll. 1 and 2 were attached to the end of Book V, Book VI opening with *Obvertunt pelago proras*. But this would be an impossibly abrupt beginning: and ll. 3–8 bear internal evidence of being a fragment of early composition, belonging to the more annalistic scheme of the narrative.

8. *silvas* is in apposition to *densa ferarum tecta*: so *silvam stabula alta ferarum* l. 179 below. *rapit silvas*, 'forages the woods': firewood and fresh water were the two most immediately pressing needs.

11. No distinction is to be drawn between *mens* and *animus*. The coupled phrase is a favourite one with Lucretius, who expressly identifies the two words, *animum dico, mentem quam saepe vocamus* iii. 94.

13. *tecta* has no doubt its primary meaning, the reference being to the gilded tiles of the roof. The gold plates on the doors with subjects in relief are separately mentioned in l. 32. The 'groves of Trivia' adjoin this temple of Apollo.

15. *praepes*, 'forward-moving', here has the sense of 'soaring'. In v. 254 it means 'swooping'. In *praepitis omina*

insuetum per iter gelidas enavit ad Arctos,
Chalcidicaque levis tandem super astitit arce.
redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebe, sacravit
remigium alarum posuitque immania templa.
in foribus letum Androgei; tum pendere poenas
Cecropidae iussi miserum septena quotannis
corpora natorum; stat ductis sortibus urna.
contra elata mari respondet Gnosia tellus:
hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto
Pasiphae mixtumque genus prolesque biformis
Minotaurus inest, Veneris monimenta nefandae;
hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error;
magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem
Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,
caeca regens filo vestigia. tu quoque magnam
partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes.
bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro,
bis patriae cecidere manus. quin protinus omnia
perlegerent oculis, ni iam praemissus Achates
adforet atque una Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos,
Deiphobe Glauci, fatur quae talia regi:
'non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit;

16–25 *MPR* 26–37 *FMPR* 17 arcaem *M*¹, arca *R* 33 omne *R* 37 poscunt *M*¹*R*

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pennae iii. 361, it has its technical augural sense of 'flying in front', that being a lucky or unlucky omen according to the direction of the flight.

17. *astitit*, came to a stop, checked his flight in order to alight.

21. Servius, followed by most if not all modern editors, explains *miserum* as a parenthetical interjection. It is better taken as the shortened form of *miserorum*; for Virgil's use of that form see note on v. 163. He has *miserorum* twice, ii. 140, iii. 622.

27. For *labor domus* compare the *operum labor* of i. 455.

39. The abrupt ending of this speech, which, unlike her brief and agitated words later in ll. 45 and 51, begins on a full and leisurely scale, suggests that Virgil has left it incomplete, and would have added another line.

40. It is uncertain, nor is it very material, whether *sacra iussa* means 'ordered rites' or 'sacred orders'.

42. The picture in this scene is of a temple built up against the side of a

had him killed so [illegible] dead

nunc grege de intacto septem mactare iuvencos
praestiterit, totidem lectas de more bidentis.'
Talibus adfata Aenean, nec sacra morantur
iussa viri, Teucros vocat alta in templa sacerdos.
excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum,
quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum,
unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibyllae.
ventum erat ad limen, cum virgo 'poscere fata
tempus' ait; 'deus ecce deus!' cui talia fanti
ante fores subito non vultus, non color unus,
non comptae mansere comae; sed pectus anhelum,
et rabie fera corda tument, maiorque videri
nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando
iam propiore dei. 'cessas in vota precesque,
Tros' ait 'Aenea? cessas? neque enim ante dehiscent
attonitae magna ora domus.' et talia fata
conticuit. gelidus Teucris per dura cucurrit
ossa tremor, funditque preces rex pectore ab imo:
'Phoebe, gravis Troiae semper miserate labores,
Dardana qui Paridis direxti tela manusque
corpus in Aeacidae, magnas obeuntia terras
tot maria intravi duce te penitusque repostas

ll32
Apollo + Paris kill
Achilles in

38–50 *FMPR*   51–59 *MPR*   39 ex more *F*

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cliff, the adytum or inner sanctuary to which it gives access being a natural cavern, or rather labyrinth of caverns: in the walls and floor of the cavern are a large number of orifices (*aditus, ostia, ora*) through which the 'voices' come to the Sibyl, and are either written down by her on 'leaves'—actual leaves or sheets of leaf-metal—or, as is done here at the special request of Aeneas, communicated verbally by her to the consultants.

48. She has unbound the fillets from her hair, as Helenus does before prophesying in iii. 370.

50. For the position of *quando* in the sentence, see note on i. 195.

51. '*cessas in vota*, tardus es ad vota facienda,' as Servius says. But his explanation of *attonitae* as *stupendae*, i.e. causing astonishment, though it may be paralleled by such instances as are cited in the note on i. 59, is a needless solution of what is no real difficulty. The temple-hall is 'astonished', as the 'pillars of heaven' are in Job xxvi. 11, by the manifestation of the divinity.

Massylum gentis praetentaque Syrtibus arva:
iam tandem Italiae fugientis prendimus oras,
hac Troiana tenus fuerit fortuna secuta.
vos quoque Pergameae iam fas est parcere genti,
dique deaeque omnes, quibus obstitit Ilium et ingens
gloria Dardaniae. tuque, o sanctissima vates,
praescia venturi, da, non indebita posco
regna meis fatis, Latio considere Teucros
errantisque deos agitataque numina Troiae.
tum Phoebo et Triviae solido de marmore templum
instituam festosque dies de nomine Phoebi.
te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris:
hic ego namque tuas sortis arcanaque fata
dicta meae genti ponam, lectosque sacrabo,
alma, viros. foliis tantum ne carmina manda,
ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis:
ipsa canas oro.' finem dedit ore loquendi.
At Phoebi nondum patiens immanis in antro
bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
excussisse deum; tanto magis ille fatigat
os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo.
ostia iamque domus patuere ingentia centum
sponte sua vatisque ferunt responsa per auras:
'O tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis,

60–83 *MPR*   69 templa *P*

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60. *praetenta Syrtibus arva*, 'the lands fringed by the Syrtes'. *praetenta* is nearly equivalent to the *obeuntia* of l. 58.

73. These *lecti viri* were the *duoviri* (later, *decemviri*) *sacris faciundis*, in whose charge the Sibylline books were placed when they were brought, in the sixth century B.C. or earlier, to Rome from Cumae, and by whom they were from time to time consulted by orders from the Senate. In B.C. 28 they were transferred from the Capitol to the new temple of Apollo on the Palatine.

75. *rapidis ventis*, 'snatching winds'; see note on i. 59.

77. For the sense of *immanis* in general, see note on i. 616. Here it pretty nearly means 'uncontrollably'.

89. *defuerint* is in effect equivalent to *deerunt*; so in ix. 298 *erit* is coupled with *defuerit*.

sed terrae graviora manent, in regna Lavini
Dardanidae venient, mitte hanc de pectore curam,
sed non et venisse volent. bella, horrida bella,
et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.
non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra
defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles,
natus et ipse dea; nec Teucris addita Iuno
usquam aberit, cum tu supplex in rebus egenis
quas gentis Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes!
causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris
externique iterum thalami . . .
tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.
quam tua te fortuna sinet via prima salutis,
quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.'
  Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla
horrendas canit ambages antroque remugit,
obscuris vera involvens: ea frena furenti
concutit et stimulos sub pectore vertit Apollo.
ut primum cessit furor et rabida ora quierunt,
incipit Aeneas heros: 'non ulla laborum,
o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit;
omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi.
unum oro: quando hic inferni ianua regis
dicitur et tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso,

84–107 *MPR*   84 terra *R*

---

95. The vulgate punctuation, with no stop after *ito* and a stop after *sinet* in the next line, though it seems to have been universally accepted, is clearly wrong.

97. The *Graia urbs* is the Arcadian city of Evander, and this prophecy is fulfilled in Book VIII.

104. It is curious that the syncopated *mi* is only used by Virgil in this passage, i.e. here and in l. 123 below; elsewhere always (some two hundred times) *mihi*. But no inference can be drawn from the fact as to the date of composition of this passage.

107. The picture (if any) which Virgil had in his mind when he says here 'where Acheron disgorges itself' cannot be definitely fixed. The *Stygia palus* is not distinguished by him from the rivers, Styx, Cocytus, and Acheron, nor are they from one another. He

ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora
contingat; doceas iter et sacra ostia pandas.
illum ego per flammas et mille sequentia tela
eripui his umeris medioque ex hoste recepi;
ille meum comitatus iter maria omnia mecum
atque omnis pelagique minas caelique ferebat,
invalidus, viris ultra sortemque senectae.
quin, ut te supplex peterem et tua limina adirem,
idem orans mandata dabat. natique patrisque,
alma, precor, miserere, potes namque omnia, nec te
nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis;
si potuit manis accersere coniugis Orpheus
Threicia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris,
si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit
itque reditque viam totiens. quid Thesea, magnum
quid memorem Alciden? et mi genus ab Iove summo.'
  Talibus orabat dictis arasque tenebat,
cum sic orsa loqui vates: 'sate sanguine divum,
Tros Anchisiade, facilis descensus Averno:
noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis;
sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,
hoc opus, hic labor est. pauci, quos aequus amavit
Iuppiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus,

108–130 *MPR*   109 contingam *PR*   113 caelique minas pelagique *M*
115 peterem, tua *P^1R*   126 Averno est *M^2*, Averni *P^2R*

---

speaks of it not only as a *palus*, but as a *gurges*. We are left, as is right, with a vague but awful impression of infernal torrents 'pouring a constant bulk, uncertain where'.

116. With *orans mandata dabat* Servius aptly compares *supplex tua numina posco* (i. 666): 'maior enim ad impetrandum vis est, eum rogare qui possit iubere'.

124. For *arasque tenebat*, meaning 'while he held the altars', see note on i. 20.

126. In this famous line, *Averni* and *Averno* were both read from the earliest times. The majority of editors have followed Heinsius in printing *Averno*; but there is really little choice.

138. For *Iunoni infernae* see note on iv. 638. Similarly, Our Lady is addressed in Villon's ballade as not only 'dame du ciel, regente terrienne', but also as 'emperiere des infernaux paluz'.

142. The words *pulchra suum* go

dis geniti potuere. tenent media omnia silvae,
Cocytusque sinu labens circumvenit atro.
quod si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido est
bis Stygios innare lacus, bis nigra videre
Tartara, et insano iuvat indulgere labori,
accipe quae peragenda prius. latet arbore opaca
aureus et foliis et lento vimine ramus,
Iunoni infernae dictus sacer; hunc tegit omnis
lucus et obscuris claudunt convallibus umbrae.
sed non ante datur telluris operta subire
auricomos quam qui decerpserit arbore fetus.
hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus
instituit. primo avulso non deficit alter
aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo.
ergo alte vestiga oculis et rite repertum
carpe manu; namque ipse volens facilisque sequetur,
si te fata vocant; aliter non viribus ullis
vincere nec duro poteris convellere ferro.
praeterea iacet exanimum tibi corpus amici,
heu nescis! totamque incestat funere classem,
dum consulta petis nostroque in limine pendes.
sedibus hunc refer ante suis et conde sepulcro.
duc nigras pecudes; ea prima piacula sunto.

131–153 *MPR* 133 est *om.* M^2P 141 quis *PR* 144 similis *M* 147 nec *R*

---

closely together, and might be paraphrased as 'the due of her beauty'.

149. For a discussion of the placing of the Misenus episode in the framework of this book, ll. 149–53, 158–90 from *secum* to *fatus erat*, and 212–36, see Introductory Note to this Book.

Here it is sufficient to note that the omission of ll. 149–53 would leave the remainder of Deiphobus' speech continuous and complete, and that the abruptness of transition is imperfectly smoothed over by the connecting word *praeterea*. There is also some indication of these lines being an insertion, not finally revised: *pendes*, 'you stand in suspense', does not seem very appropriate to the context; and in *duc nigras pecudes*, standing detached as it does, there is a certain awkwardness which suggests that what Virgil had in his mind would have been better expressed by *condensque sepulcro duc nigras pecudes*.

sic demum lucos Stygis et regna invia vivis
aspicies.' dixit, pressoque obmutuit ore.
Aeneas maesto defixus lumina vultu
ingreditur linquens antrum, caecosque volutat
eventus animo secum. cui fidus Achates
it comes et paribus curis vestigia figit.
multa inter sese vario sermone serebant,
quem socium exanimum vates, quod corpus humandum
diceret. atque illi Misenum in litore sicco,
ut venere, vident indigna morte peremptum,
Misenum Aeoliden, quo non praestantior alter
aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu.
Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum
et lituo pugnas insignis obibat et hasta.
postquam illum vita victor spoliavit Achilles,
Dardanio Aeneae sese fortissimus heros
addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus.
sed tum, forte cava dum personat aequora concha,
demens, et cantu vocat in certamina divos,
aemulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,
inter saxa virum spumosa immerserat unda.
ergo omnes magno circum clamore fremebant,
praecipue pius Aeneas. tum iussa Sibyllae,
haud mora, festinant flentes aramque sepulcri

154–177 *MPR* 154 Stygiis M^1R, Stygios P^2 161 exanimem *M*
177 sepulcro *P*

164–5. There was a tradition, recorded by Donatus, and as regards l. 165 by Servius, that the two line-beginnings *Misenum Aeoliden* and *aere ciere viros* were completed by Virgil extempore in the excitement of recitation. This does not sound like an invention.

171. For the meaning of *forte* here and again in ll. 186, 190 see note on i. 362. The performance on a shell, instead of his own trumpet, was of course a direct and intentional provocation of the Triton.

173. The deprecatory *si credere dignum est* is one of some half-dozen instances in which Virgil disclaims authenticity for a legend which he records. His tone in doing so varies from an expression of his own belief (*prisca fides facto*, ix. 79), through a hesitating acceptance (*auditis si quidquam credimus*, viii. 140, *si qua fidem est latura vetustas*, x. 792), down

congerere arboribus caeloque educere certant.
itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum,
procumbunt piceae, sonat icta securibus ilex
fraxineaeque trabes cuneis et fissile robur
scinditur, advolvunt ingentis montibus ornos.
nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus
hortatur socios paribusque accingitur armis.
atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat
aspectans silvam immensam, et sic forte precatur:
'si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus
ostendat nemore in tanto! quando omnia vere
heu nimium de te vates, Misene, locuta est.'
  Vix ea fatus erat geminae cum forte columbae
ipsa sub ora viri caelo venere volantes,
et viridi sedere solo. tum maximus heros
maternas agnoscit avis laetusque precatur:
'este duces, o, si qua via est, cursumque per auras
derigite in lucos ubi pinguem dives opacat
ramus humum. tuque, o, dubiis ne defice rebus,
diva parens.' sic effatus vestigia pressit
observans quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant.
pascentes illae tantum prodire volando
quantum acie possent oculi servare sequentum.
inde ubi venere ad fauces grave olentis Averni,

178–201 *MPR* 186 voce *R* 193 agnovit *M* 195 dirigite *M* 200 acies M^1

---

to the colourless *ut Grai perhibent* of viii. 135 and the *ferunt* of vi. 284, vii. 765 and x. 189, or the *fertur* of l. 893 below.

179–82. These four lines are studied closely on a passage in Book vi of Ennius' *Annales*, quoted by Macrobius. Here they come in rather awkwardly, and may move a little regret that Virgil, like Misenus, has exchanged his own silver trumpet for the harsher and more primitive sea-shell of his predecessor.

186. Servius calls the latter half of this line a stop-gap, and its wording 'so it is, he prays thus' is certainly feeble. The *sic voce precatur* of R and the *sic ore precatur* of an inferior MS. are probably both attempts to improve it.

200. The word *acies* is used by Cicero of the pupil of the eye *Nat. D.* II. lvii. 142. But here *acie* need not mean more than

tollunt se celeres liquidumque per aëra lapsae
sedibus optatis geminae super arbore sidunt,
discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.
quale solet silvis brumali frigore viscum
fronde virere nova, quod non sua seminat arbos,
et croceo fetu teretis circumdare truncos,
talis erat species auri frondentis opaca
ilice, sic leni crepitabat brattea vento.
corripit Aeneas extemplo avidusque refringit
cunctantem, et vatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae.
  Nec minus interea Misenum in litore Teucri
flebant et cineri ingrato suprema ferebant.
principio pinguem taedis et robore secto
ingentem struxere pyram, cui frondibus atris
intexunt latera et feralis ante cupressos
constituunt, decorantque super fulgentibus armis.
pars calidos latices et aëna undantia flammis
expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis et unguunt.
fit gemitus. tum membra toro defleta reponunt
purpureasque super vestis, velamina nota,
coniciunt. pars ingenti subiere feretro,

202–218 *MPR* 219–222 *FMPR* 203 gemina *MP*

'with their keenness', '*gli occhi aguzzando la vista*', as Sabbadini well renders it.

203. *geminae*, 'coupled', 'the pair of them'. The *gemina super arbore* of the older vulgate text, though it is the reading in two of the three good MSS., makes nonsense.

204. The range of meaning of *aura* may all be traced to its primary sense of 'waft', i.e. effluence or radiation; what conveys impressions to the senses, whether of sight as here, of hearing as in *famae aura*, 'breath of fame' vii. 646 and *nec aurae nec sonitus memor* xi. 801, or of smell as in *Georg*. iv. 417 *aura spiravit crinibus*, and Horace's *tua ne retardet aura maritos II Od*. viii. 23. From this the transition is easy, through phrases like *omnes terrent aurae* ii. 728, or *attulit clamorem aura* xii. 617, to the sense of 'breeze' as in *cristam quatit aura volantem* xii. 370 (and so the plural *aurae* may very often be rendered by 'breezes'), and then more largely to that of 'atmosphere' in phrases like *in tenuem evanuit auram* iv. 278, ix. 658, and *cunctis undamque auramque patentem* vii. 230. Finally, the *aurai simplicis ignem* of l. 747 below expresses, by a

triste ministerium, et subiectam more parentum
aversi tenuere facem. congesta cremantur
turea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.
postquam conlapsi cineres et flamma quievit,
reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam,
ossaque lecta cado texit Corynaeus aëno.
idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda
spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae,
lustravitque viros dixitque novissima verba.
at pius Aeneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
imponit suaque arma viro remumque tubamque
monte sub aërio, qui nunc Misenus ab illo
dicitur aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen.
His actis propere exsequitur praecepta Sibyllae.
spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatu,
scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,
quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes
tendere iter pennis: talis sese halitus atris
faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat:
unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Aornon.
quattuor hic primum nigrantis terga iuvencos

223–243 *FMPR* 225 ferunt fuso *P* 231 domos P^1R 241 super M^1P^1R
242 *om.* FM^1P, Avernum *R*

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remarkable anticipation of modern scientific doctrine, the ultimate resolution of matter and of the whole universe into the single 'fine element' of electromagnetic energy. Its sense here is made clear by the account given in Lucretius iv. 230 foll. of sight being the effect of the stream of atoms ceaselessly being radiated from all objects, and their impact on the eyes. Failing any non-technical word to convey this meaning precisely in English, *auri aura* may be most adequately rendered by 'the gleam of gold'.

211. There is no contradiction between the *cunctantem* of this line and the *ipse volens facilisque sequetur* of l. 146; *cunctantem* means 'yielding gradually': see note on v. 856. It is a quite different thing from the *diu luctans lentoque in stirpe moratus* of xii. 781.

223. The torch is *subiecta*, 'thrust in from below' into the pyre.

225. 'Bowls of poured oil' is Virgil's characteristic way of saying 'oil poured from bowls'.

238. For *tuta* see note on i. 571.

239. Here, as again in l. 728, *volantes* is a substantive, 'flying things', and is used in the feminine as being equivalent to *aves*.

242. This line is agreed to be an inter-

constituit frontique invergit vina sacerdos,
et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas
ignibus imponit sacris, libamina prima,
voce vocans Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem.
supponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem
suscipiunt pateris. ipse atri velleris agnam
Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaeque sorori
ense ferit, sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, vaccam.
tum Stygio regi nocturnas incohat aras
et solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis,
pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis.
  Ecce autem primi sub lumina solis et ortus
sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moveri
silvarum, visaeque canes ululare per umbram
adventante dea. ‘procul o, procul este, profani’
conclamat vates, ‘totoque absistite luco;
tuque invade viam vaginaque eripe ferrum:
nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo.’
tantum effata furens antro se immisit aperto;
ille ducem haud timidis vadentem passibus aequat.
  Di, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque silentes
et Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late,
sit mihi fas audita loqui, sit numine vestro
pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas.

244–267 *FMPR* 249 succipiunt *FP* 254 superque *FMPR*, infundens *M* 255 limina *FM*

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polated gloss. It is in one of the four primary MSS. and is inserted marginally in another, but is ignored by Servius.

250. The mother of the Eumenides was Night, the sister of Earth.

254. The MSS. all read *pingue superque oleum*, as in i. 668 they nearly all read *litora iacteturque odiis*. In both cases, *que* has been inserted in an attempt to regularize the metre. This lengthening of the stressed syllable in the second foot is comparatively rare in Virgil; other instances are *liminaque laurusque* iii. 91 and *pectoribus inhians* iv. 64. Conjectural emendations, *superne oleum* or *oleum super infundens*, may be dismissed. But it is quite possible that the MSS. preserve the text of Virgil's autograph, and that he meant to complete the sentence, and the rhythm of the paragraph, in another line or even in more than one.

Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram
perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna:
quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
est iter in silvis, ubi caelum condidit umbra
Iuppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.
Vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci
Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae;
pallentesque habitant Morbi tristisque Senectus,
et Metus et malesuada Fames ac turpis Egestas,
terribiles visu formae, Letumque Labosque;
tum consanguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis
Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum,
ferreique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens
vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.
in medio ramos annosaque bracchia pandit
ulmus opaca, ingens, quam sedem Somnia vulgo
vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent.
multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum,
Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque biformes
et centumgeminus Briareus ac belua Lernae
horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,
Gorgones Harpyiaeque et forma tricorporis umbrae.
Gorgonis in medio portentum immane Medusae,
vipereae circum ora comae, cui sibila torquent

268–272 *FMPR* 273–289 *MPR* 273 primis in *P* 281 innixa *R*

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255. The MSS. are equally divided between *lumina* and *limina*; but the latter is probably due to a reminiscence of *sub limina solis* in Catullus lxiv. 271.

260. The naked sword was part of the ritual. Ghosts were supposed to shrink from cold steel. The Sibyl reminds Aeneas later, ll. 290–4, that it cannot be used further.

268. The opening rhythm — — | — — — | is rare in Virgil and is used here with extraordinary effect.

273. *ante vestibulum*, 'at the front porch', not 'in front of the porch'.

274. The 'avenging Sorrows' are set over against the 'sinful Joys' of l. 278.

283. For *vulgo*, 'dispersedly', see note on iii. 643.

289. The four following lines *Gorgonis . . . caudis* were, according to D Servius, placed here in Virgil's MS. (apparently he means in the margin, but this is not

infamesque rigent oculi, mentoque sub imo
serpentum extremis nodantur vincula caudis.
corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum 290
Aeneas strictamque aciem venientibus offert,
et ni docta comes tenuis sine corpore vitas
admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formae,
inruat et frustra ferro diverberet umbras.
Hinc via Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas. 295
turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurges
aestuat atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam.
portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento
canities inculta iacet, stant lumina flammae, 300
sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus.
ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat
et ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba,
iam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.
huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat, 305
matres atque viri defunctaque corpora vita

290–306 *MPR* 300 flamma *M²P¹*

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clear) but removed by his editors. They may quite well be a piece of Virgilian drafting, meant to follow on the Chimaera, and then struck out and replaced by the single magnificent line 289.

298. The colour of this episode will be missed unless we realize that *portitor* does not mean (as it is often translated) 'ferryman' but 'collector of ferry-dues' or more widely 'customs-officer'.

300. This use of the genitive, *lumina flammae*, 'eyes of flame', is very rare, but not unexampled, though text-books of grammar lay down that it only occurs with an adjective attached, as for instance *atri velleris agnam* l. 249 above. Alteration into *flamma* (the reading of a minority of the primary MSS. and the form in which the line is quoted by several ancient commentators) was certain to occur. The ingenious conjecture *flammea* (adopted by Heinsius), though it has no authority, deserves mention, as it would at once account for the alternatives *flamma* and *flammae*, and metrically would be like *quin protinus omnia* l. 33 above, and *et verba precantia* vii. 237, both of which have been altered in various ways in good MSS.

303. The colour indicated by *ferrugineus*, 'rusty', is properly a dull red like that of iron-rust; it has that meaning here, as also in the *ferruginei hyacinthi* of *Georg*. iv. 183 and the *obscura ferrugo* which colours the sky in an eclipse, *Georg*. i. 467. But where

magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae,
impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum:
quam multa in silvis autumni frigore primo
lapsa cadunt folia, aut ad terram gurgite ab alto
quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus
trans pontum fugat et terris immittit apricis.
stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum,
tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore.
navita sed tristis nunc hos nunc accipit illos,
ast alios longe summotos arcet harena.
  Aeneas miratus enim motusque tumultu
'dic' ait, 'o virgo, quid vult concursus ad amnem?
quidve petunt animae? vel quo discrimine ripas
hae linquunt, illae remis vada livida verrunt?'
olli sic breviter fata est longaeva sacerdos:
'Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles,
Cocyti stagna alta vides Stygiamque paludem,
di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen.
haec omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est;

307–325 *MPR*   320 vertunt *R*

---

a warrior is described as *ferrugine clarus* ix. 582, xi. 772, a bright red is implied, and the epithet *Hiberus* indicates that it was cinnabar-dyed. Lucretius, iv. 76, speaks of *ferrugínus* and *russus* as two separate colours. Boats were habitually painted with minium or red lead, which is bright red when fresh but weathers to a dull rusty red: this holds also of the *color thalassicus* (Plaut. *M.G.* 1178–9) of sailors' red caps and cloaks, and of the *carbasus obscurata ferrugine Hibera* of Theseus' sails in Catullus lxiv. 227. That Virgil later (l. 410) describes Charon's boat as *caeruleus* 'grey-blue' need not cause us any concern.

313. The unusual syntax of this line is a conflation of two distinct phrases, *orantes transmittere cursum* (in which *transmittere cursum* is the object, as in *orantes veniam* i. 519), and *orantes ut primi transmitterent cursum* which is the normal form that such a sentence takes.

317. As frequently, *enim* here is not a connective particle, but merely emphasizes the word to which it is attached: *miratus enim* is equivalent to 'wondering sore', as *geminatus enim* in *Georg.* ii. 509 is to 'redoubled loudly'. Cf. *sed enim* l. 28 above.

325. The meaning of *inops* is 'resourceless', as in iv. 300, ix. 290. There is no special allusion to the coin put as a fee for Charon in the mouth of a corpse at burial.

portitor ille Charon; hi, quos vehit unda, sepulti.
nec ripas datur horrendas et rauca fluenta
transportare prius quam sedibus ossa quierunt.
centum errant annos volitantque haec litora circum;
tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt.' 330
  Constitit Anchisa satus et vestigia pressit:
multa putans sortemque animo miseratus iniquam
cernit ibi maestos et mortis honore carentis
Leucaspim et Lyciae ductorem classis Oronten,
quos simul a Troia ventosa per aequora vectos 335
obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque.
  Ecce gubernator sese Palinurus agebat,
qui Libyco nuper cursu, dum sidera servat,
exciderat puppi mediis effusus in undis.
hunc ubi vix multa maestum cognovit in umbra, 340
sic prior adloquitur: 'quis te, Palinure, deorum
eripuit nobis medioque sub aequore mersit?
dic age. namque mihi, fallax haud ante repertus,
hoc uno responso animum delusit Apollo,
qui fore te ponto incolumem finisque canebat 345
venturum Ausonios. en haec promissa fides est?

326–346 *MPR* 329 hi litora P^1 332 animi *M* 336 virumque *P*

337–83. The story told by the ghost of Palinurus in this episode is inconsistent in several respects with the narrative of the voyage as it finally took shape in the poem. That the prophecy of Apollo should only be mentioned now is quite in Virgil's manner: as is the mention, in the lines (333–6) introducing the episode, of Leucaspis (whose name does not occur elsewhere) as sharing the fate of Orontes. But the *Libyco cursu* of l. 338 clearly implies that the voyage just taken was direct from Carthage to Italy; in the narration at the end of Book V, the sea is conspicuously calm both when Palinurus falls overboard and afterwards, and the fleet arrives at Cumae the next day, so that there is no place for the three days of continuous violent storm spoken of in ll. 354–6, or for what is the apparent meaning of ll. 349 and 354, that steering-oar and helmsman were both swept off the ship by a huge wave, as in the storm of Book I; and l. 366 implies that Aeneas and the fleet had already touched at Velia on their way. This whole passage must therefore, like the account given by Deiphobus (ll. 509 foll.) of the part taken by Helen on the night of the

ille autem: ‘neque te Phoebi cortina fefellit,
dux Anchisiade, nec me deus aequore mersit.
namque gubernaclum multa vi forte revulsum,
cui datus haerebam custos cursusque regebam,
praecipitans traxi mecum. maria aspera iuro
non ullum pro me tantum cepisse timorem,
quam tua ne spoliata armis, excussa magistro,
deficeret tantis navis surgentibus undis.
tris Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes
vexit me violentus aqua; vix lumine quarto
prospexi Italiam summa sublimis ab unda.
paulatim adnabam terrae; iam tuta tenebam,
ni gens crudelis madida cum veste gravatum
prensantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis
ferro invasisset praedamque ignara putasset.
nunc me fluctus habet versantque in litore venti.
quod te per caeli iucundum lumen et auras,
per genitorem oro, per spes surgentis Iuli,
eripe me his, invicte, malis: aut tu mihi terram
inice, namque potes, portusque require Velinos;
aut tu, si qua via est, si quam tibi diva creatrix

347–367 *MPR* 349 vix arte *P* 350 gerebam *P* 352 illum *M*^{1}

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capture of Troy, be considered to be of comparatively early composition.

357. *sublimis ab unda*, ‘as I rose on the swell’.

359. In *madida cum veste*, as in the *madida in veste* of v. 179, the preposition, though not grammatically required, adds vividness to the picture of the wet clothing clinging round and hampering the man struggling in the water. From comparison of the passage in the *Odyssey* (v. 405) from which the description is adapted, it is clear that the *capita montis* in the next line are juts of rock at the edge of the water; the wording is rather awkwardly ambiguous, but the explanation offered by some editors that Palinurus had climbed up to the top of a cliff before he was attacked and killed is absurd. The promise of Apollo, an ‘equivocation of the fiend, That lies like truth’ was literally fulfilled as soon as Palinurus touched the shore.

365. The repetition of *aut tu*, here and in l. 367, is unusual, the normal idiom being *aut tu . . . aut*, or *aut . . . aut tu*. It gives additional urgency to the despairing plea of Palinurus.

ostendit, neque enim, credo, sine numine divum
flumina tanta paras Stygiamque innare paludem,
da dextram misero et tecum me tolle per undas,
sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam.'
Talia fatus erat coepit cum talia vates:
'unde haec, o Palinure, tibi tam dira cupido?
tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque severum
Eumenidum aspicies, ripamve iniussus adibis?
desine fata deum flecti sperare precando.
sed cape dicta memor, duri solacia casus.
nam tua finitimi, longe lateque per urbes
prodigiis acti caelestibus, ossa piabunt
et statuent tumulum et tumulo sollemnia mittent,
aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.'
his dictis curae emotae pulsusque parumper
corde dolor tristi; gaudet cognomine terra.
Ergo iter inceptum peragunt fluvioque propinquant.
navita quos iam inde ut Stygia prospexit ab unda
per tacitum nemus ire pedemque advertere ripae,
sic prior adgreditur dictis atque increpat ultro:
'quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis,
fare age quid venias iam istinc, et comprime gressum.
umbrarum hic locus est, somni noctisque soporae:
corpora viva nefas Stygia vectare carina.
nec vero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem

368–392 *MPR* 383 terrae *MPR* 385 conspexit *M* 387 adloquitur *R*
388 tendes *P* 390 locus et somni *R*

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372. There is no other instance in the *Aeneid* of *talia . . . cum talia*; and Priscian quotes the line with the normal wording *vix ea . . . cum talia*. But the MSS. all agree in the vulgate reading.

383. The last three words are difficult. If, with all the primary MSS., we read *gaudet cognomine terrae*, the meaning can only be that Palinurus rejoices in his name being given to the place; but the expression is then not only elliptical but harsh: the *gaudet regno Acestes* of v. 757, cited in support of it, is not really parallel. Servius does not mention this reading: he read *gaudet cognomine terra*, and explains that *cognomine* is the ablative of the adjective *cognominis*. As this adjective is not used elsewhere by Virgil, it might easily be misunderstood, and *terra* altered accordingly

T= ~~Phaedra~~ Helen — P= ~~Hippodamia~~

accepisse lacu, nec Thesea Pirithoumque,
dis quamquam geniti atque invicti viribus essent.
Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit
ipsius a solio regis traxitque trementem;
hi dominam Ditis thalamo deducere adorti.'
Quae contra breviter fata est Amphrysia vates:
'nullae hic insidiae tales, absiste moveri,
nec vim tela ferunt; licet ingens ianitor antro
aeternum latrans exsanguis terreat umbras,
casta licet patrui servet Proserpina limen.
Troius Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis,
ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras.
si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago,
at ramum hunc,' aperit ramum qui veste latebat,
'agnoscas.' tumida ex ira tum corda residunt.
nec plura his. ille admirans venerabile donum
fatalis virgae longo post tempore visum
caeruleam advertit puppim ripaeque propinquat.
inde alias animas, quae per iuga longa sedebant,
deturbat laxatque foros; simul accipit alveo
ingentem Aenean. gemuit sub pondere cumba
sutilis et multam accepit rimosa paludem.
tandem trans fluvium incolumis vatemque virumque
informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva.
Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci

Pi. Ixion
Theseus
12th Labour
Amphrysus r. of Thessaly
Apollo - Admetus
Ceres + Jupiter Pluto Nept
Proserpina
song chaos brothers Ni

393–417 *FMPR*

into *terrae*. The Servian text may be reinstated with little or no hesitation. It is possible, however, though not necessary, to take *terra* as a nominative, 'the land rejoices in the name', like *laetam cognomine gentem* iii. 133. In that case, for the half-personification may be compared *Ecl.* vi. 29 *Phoebo gaudet Parnasia rupes*, or *gaudet nivali vertice se attollens Appenninus* xii. 702.

408. The Servian paraphrase of *nec plura his*, 'nec est aliquid ulterius dictum vel a Sibylla vel a Charonte', is probably right. But if we must choose, it is the Sibyl, not Charon, who 'adds no more'.

414. For *multam* see note on i. 271.

417–23. The repetition in *ingens . . . immanis . . . antro* and *immania . . . ingens . . . antro* is probably calculated, but is

personat adverso recubans immanis in antro.
cui vates horrere videns iam colla colubris
melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam
obicit. ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens
corripit obiectam, atque immania terga resolvit
fusus humi totoque ingens extenditur antro.
occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto
evaditque celer ripam inremeabilis undae.
  Continuo auditae voces vagitus et ingens
infantumque animae flentes in limine primo
quos dulcis vitae exsortis et ab ubere raptos
abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.
hos iuxta falso damnati crimine mortis.
nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes:
quaesitor Minos urnam movet; ille silentum
conciliumque vocat vitasque et crimina discit.
proxima deinde tenent maesti loca, qui sibi letum
insontes peperere manu lucemque perosi
proiecere animas. quam vellent aethere in alto
nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!
fas obstat, tristisque palus inamabilis undae
alligat et novies Styx interfusa coercet.

418–423 *FMPR* 424–439 *MPR* 428 vita P^2 433 consilium *P*
436 animas quas M^2 438 fata obstant M^2, unda M^2R^2

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not very effective. Perhaps Virgil might in revision have struck out l. 423; but its superflux, both in language and in rhythm, is very characteristic of his style. See Introduction, pp. liii, liv.

424. This use of *sepultus* in the sense of 'drugged' or 'overwhelmed by sleep' is unusual, but cf. *dapibus vinoque sepultus* iii. 630. In ix. 236 some inferior MSS. read *somno vinoque sepulti*.

425. *evadit ripam*, not 'gets out on the bank', but 'gets past the bank': so *omnem videbar evasisse viam* ii. 730.

431. There has been much debate over the meaning of *sine sorte*, commentators having sought in it a reference to the *sortitio iudicum* (selection of jurors by lot) of Roman criminal procedure. But *sine sorte, sine iudice*, merely means 'unallotted and unjudged'.

438. The variant readings in this line, *fata, obstant, tristi*, and *unda* may be neglected: it should however be noted that *tristis* is a genitive qualifying *undae*, *inamabilis* a nominative qualifying *palus*.

440. *monstrantur* has its literal meaning (as again vii. 569) of 'are shown to visitors', 'are on view'. But in both cases

nec procul hinc partem fusi monstrantur in omnem 440
lugentes campi; sic illos nomine dicunt.
hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit
secreti celant calles et myrtea circum
silva tegit; curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt.
  His Phaedram Procrimque locis maestamque Eriphylen
crudelis nati monstrantem vulnera cernit, 446
Euadnenque et Pasiphaen; his Laodamia
it comes et iuvenis quondam, nunc femina, Caeneus
rursus et in veterem fato revoluta figuram.
inter quas Phoenissa recens a vulnere Dido 450
errabat silva in magna; quam Troius heros
ut primum iuxta stetit agnovitque per umbras
obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam,
demisit lacrimas dulcique adfatus amore est: 455
'infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo
venerat exstinctam ferroque extrema secutam?
funeris heu tibi causa fui? per sidera iuro,
per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est,
invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi. 460
sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,

440–461 *MPR* 442 peremit *M*^{1} 449 revocata *R* 452 umbram *M*
455 dimisit *M*

Virgil's touch has lifted a guide-book word into the atmosphere of high poetry.

442. The MSS. authority is decisive for the vulgate *peredit* 'has eaten through and through' as against the variant *peremit*. The verb is exceedingly rare, except in the participle *peresus*, which Virgil had used once, in *Georg.* iii. 561.

450. It is perhaps not superfluous to call express attention to the incomparable beauty of the rhythm in this line.

453. For the meaning of *surgere* here see note on ii. 8. It is agreeable to relieve Virgil from the criticism so often made on him by commentators who had not taken the pains to realize what he says, that he blunders badly about the new moon. His observation of nature, if not as impeccable as Wordsworth's, is almost uniformly accurate.

456. The question started by Servius, what 'message' or 'messenger' had come to Aeneas with the news of Dido's suicide has been often, rather idly, renewed. The intelligence might no doubt have reached him in Sicily; but there is no need to suppose anything beyond the *triste augurium* of v. 7.

per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,
imperiis egere suis; nec credere quivi
hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.
siste gradum teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro.
quem fugis? extremum fato quod te adloquor hoc est.'
talibus Aeneas ardentem et torva tuentem
lenibat dictis animam lacrimasque ciebat.
illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat
nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur
quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.
tandem corripuit sese atque inimica refugit
in nemus umbriferum, coniunx ubi pristinus illi
respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem.
nec minus Aeneas casu concussus iniquo
prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem.
Inde datum molitur iter. iamque arva tenebant
ultima, quae bello clari secreta frequentant.
hic illi occurrit Tydeus, hic inclutus armis
Parthenopaeus et Adrasti pallentis imago,
hic multum fleti ad superos belloque caduci
Dardanidae, quos ille omnis longo ordine cernens
ingemuit, Glaucumque Medontaque Thersilochumque,
tris Antenoridas Cererique sacrum Polyboeten,
Idaeumque etiam currus, etiam arma tenentem.

462–485 *MPR*   468 animum *MPR*   474 respondit *R*   475 percussus *R*   476 lacrimans M^2 477 tenebat *P*   481 hi *M*   484 Polyboten P^1

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462. *senta situ* means 'overgrown with decay'. Virgil does not use the word *sentus* elsewhere.

466. The *quem fugis?* repeats, with extraordinary effect, Dido's own words in iv. 314.

468. *animam*, the conjectural emendation of Jortin (1746), though it has met with little acceptance, is almost unquestionably correct. *torva tuens animus* is a phrase so forced as to be impossible; alleged parallels cited in its defence from the Greek tragedians carry little weight. *anima* is the vital principle or personality, which survives death: cf. *sancta anima descendam* xii. 648 and *animam condimus sepulcro* iii. 67.

The curious phrase *lacrimas ciebat*, 'summoned tears', has not the apppropriateness of Andromache's *longos ciebat*

circumstant animae dextra laevaque frequentes:
nec vidisse semel satis est; iuvat usque morari
et conferre gradum et veniendi discere causas.
at Danaum proceres Agamemnoniaeque phalanges
ut videre virum fulgentiaque arma per umbras,
ingenti trepidare metu; pars vertere terga,
ceu quondam petiere rates, pars tollere vocem
exiguam: inceptus clamor frustratur hiantis.
  Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum videt, et lacerum crudeliter ora,
ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
auribus et truncas inhonesto vulnere naris.
vix adeo agnovit pavitantem ac dira tegentem
supplicia, et notis compellat vocibus ultro:
'Deiphobe armipotens, genus alto a sanguine Teucri,
quis tam crudelis optavit sumere poenas?
cui tantum de te licuit? mihi fama suprema
nocte tulit fessum vasta te caede Pelasgum
procubuisse super confusae stragis acervum.
tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo litore inanem
constitui et magna manis ter voce vocavi.
nomen et arma locum servant; te, amice, nequivi
conspicere et patria decedens ponere terra.'
  Ad quae Priamides: 'nihil o tibi, amice, relictum;

486–490 *MPR*   491–509 *FMPR*   486 frementes *P*   488 poscere *R*   495 vidit F^1, vidit et M^1, videt F^2M^2PR 498 et dira *FR*   500 alto sanguine F^1 505 in litore MP^2 509 atque hic M^2

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incassum fletus (iii. 344), 'wrought herself up into a passion of weeping'. Heyne was inclined to regard it as a spurious insertion; even if authentic, it sounds like a stop-gap.

473. 'An ei de Aenea multa narraverit, nolim affirmare,' is the pungent comment of Heyne.

481. *ad superos* means 'upon earth', like *apud superos* l. 568 below. *caducus* here as in *Georg.* i. 368 has the rather unusual sense of 'fallen'.

495. The MSS. vary between *vidit*, *videt*, and *vidit et*. The *videt et* restored by Heinsius gives a more beautiful rhythm than the *vidit* which has been the vulgate text since Heyne.

501. *optavit sumere* 'chose to take', i.e. took deliberately, in cold blood.

507. The metrical device of *te amice*,

omnia Deiphobo solvisti et funeris umbris.
sed me fata mea et scelus exitiale Lacaenae
his mersere malis; illa haec monimenta reliquit.
namque ut supremam falsa inter gaudia noctem
egerimus, nosti: et nimium meminisse necesse est.
cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua venit
Pergama et armatum peditem gravis attulit alvo,
illa chorum simulans euhantis orgia circum
ducebat Phrygias; flammam media ipsa tenebat
ingentem et summa Danaos ex arce vocabat.
tum me confectum curis somnoque gravatum
infelix habuit thalamus, pressitque iacentem
dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti.
egregia interea coniunx arma omnia tectis
amovet et fidum capiti subduxerat ensem;
intra tecta vocat Menelaum et limina pandit,
scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti,
et famam exstingui veterum sic posse malorum.

510–527 *FMPR*   516 alveo *MR*   524 emovet F^1R, et movet P^1

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though quite consonant to the genius of the Latin language, and probably corresponding to actual normal pronunciation (see Hardie, *Res Metrica*, p. 46), is not used elsewhere in the *Aeneid*. It has special fitness as leading up to the beautiful echo in the *tibi amice* of Deiphobus' reply.

515–16. These two lines are adapted from Ennius' tragedy of *Alexander*: 'hunc maximo saltu superabit gravidus armatis equus Troianus muros, qui arduum suo partu perdat Pergamum.' Comparison of the two passages illustrates very interestingly the mechanism of Virgil's workmanship.

517. *orgia* is a secondary accusative attached to *circumducebat*, which is practically a single word divided between two lines like *circumfundimur* iii. 634, where see note. 'Divisit in duos versus unam partem orationis, sed ideo, quia est composita: lyrici vero etiam incompositam partem orationis in duos dividunt versus', is the note of Servius.

524. The coupling of *amovet* and *subduxerat* is a slight extension of the normal Virgilian coupling of a present and a preterite: see note on iv. 228. To press the tense of *subduxerat* is needless; but of course to remove the sword which lay under his pillow would be the first precaution to take.

528. The primary MSS. here are equally divided between *additus* and *additur*: and there is little to choose.

535. The time indicated is past mid-day in the upper world, the journey having been begun (l. 255) just before sunrise. But the *axis* of l. 536 is the axle-tree of

quid moror? inrumpunt thalamo, comes additus una
hortator scelerum Aeolides. di, talia Grais
instaurate, pio si poenas ore reposco. 530
sed te qui vivum casus age fare vicissim
attulerint; pelagine venis erroribus actus
an monitu divum? an quae te fortuna fatigat,
ut tristis sine sole domos, loca turbida, adires?'
  Hac vice sermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis 535
iam medium aetherio cursu traiecerat axem;
et fors omne datum traherent per talia tempus,
sed comes admonuit breviterque adfata Sibylla est:
'nox ruit, Aenea; nos flendo ducimus horas.
hic locus est partis ubi se via findit in ambas: 540
dextera quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit,
hac iter Elysium nobis; at laeva malorum
exercet poenas et ad impia Tartara mittit.'
Deiphobus contra: 'ne saevi, magna sacerdos;
discedam, explebo numerum reddarque tenebris. 545

528–545 *FMPR* 528 thalamos *R*, additur *FM* 532 attulerit *M*¹

Aurora's chariot. In its astronomical sense, *axis* means either (1) the pole, as in *Georg.* ii. 271, iii. 351, (2) the imaginary diameter between the two poles, i.e. the axle-tree of the heavens, as in iv. 482, vi. 797, or (3), more widely, the visible sky regarded as centred on the pole, as in ii. 512, vi. 790, viii. 28: none of these meanings apply here. Virgil does not say expressly what the *datum tempus* was, but it is fairly clear that it was twenty-four hours from sunrise to sunrise.

539. For the sense of *ruit* see note on ii. 250. Here it is best rendered by 'rushes on', without attempting any distinction between 'rushes up' and 'rushes down'.

540. The force of *ambas* is 'both the ways', as distinct from 'both ways' merely.

541. The *moenia Ditis* are those of l. 631, through which the Elysian Fields are approached, and different from those of l. 549 which are the ramparts of Tartarus.

543. *exercet* means 'puts into action', as in the *exercemus pacem* of iv. 100.

545. Servius took *explere* here (and also, as appears from the wording of his note, in one or more other passages in Virgil) to have its archaic sense of 'empty out', and cites Ennius (*Ann. fr. incert.* 49), 'navibus explebant se terrasque replebant'. This is likely enough, and makes no difference in the broad meaning of the passage, which is that Deiphobus will transfer himself from one to the other company. We speak indifferently of 'filling' and 'emptying' a cask of wine into bottles.

i decus, i, nostrum; melioribus utere fatis.'
tantum effatus, et in verbo vestigia torsit.
   Respicit Aeneas subito et sub rupe sinistra
moenia lata videt triplici circumdata muro,
quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,
Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetque sonantia saxa.
porta adversa ingens solidoque adamante columnae,
vis ut nulla virum, non ipsi exscindere bello
caelicolae valeant; stat ferrea turris ad auras,
Tisiphoneque sedens palla succincta cruenta
vestibulum exsomnis servat noctesque diesque.
hinc exaudiri gemitus et saeva sonare
verbera, tum stridor ferri tractaeque catenae.
constitit Aeneas strepitumque exterritus hausit.
'quae scelerum facies, o virgo, effare, quibusve
urgentur poenis? quis tantus clangor ad auras?'
   Tum vates sic orsa loqui: 'dux inclute Teucrum,
nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen;
sed me cum lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis,
ipsa deum poenas docuit perque omnia duxit.
Gnosius haec Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna
castigatque, auditque dolos, subigitque fateri
quae quis apud superos furto laetatus inani
distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.
continuo sontis ultrix accincta flagello

546–559 *FMPR* 560–570 *MPR* 547 pressit *MR* 553 ferro *M*
556 insomnis *R* 559 strepituque MP^2, haesit F^1MP^2R 561 qui P^1R,
plangor *MR*, auris *P* 562 tunc *P*, hinc orsa *PR*

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569. The wording here is unusually intricate, and whether *commissa piacula* be taken as equivalent to *commissorum piacula*, 'the expiations of his transgressions', or as meaning 'the incurred expiations', decidedly harsh, though as H. E. Butler notes, the latter can be supported by prose usage as in Cicero's *poenam committere* (II *Verr.* III. xii. 30) and *multam commiserit* (*Cluent.* xxxvii. 103). In any case *apud superos* goes with *commissa*.

570. The picture appears to be of Tisiphone rising from her seat at the threshold (l. 555) and trampling on the sinners, while she holds out in her left

Tisiphone quatit insultans, torvosque sinistra
intentans anguis vocat agmina saeva sororum.
tum demum horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae
panduntur portae. cernis custodia qualis
vestibulo sedeat, facies quae limina servet?
quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra
saevior intus habet sedem. tum Tartarus ipse
bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras
quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum.
hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes,
fulmine deiecti fundo volvuntur in imo.
hic et Aloidas geminos immania vidi
corpora, qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum
adgressi superisque Iovem detrudere regnis.
vidi et crudelis dantem Salmonea poenas,
dum flammam Iovis et sonitus imitatur Olympi.
quattuor hic invectus equis et lampada quassans
per Graium populos mediaeque per Elidis urbem
ibat ovans, divumque sibi poscebat honorem,
demens, qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen
aere et cornipedum pulsu simularet equorum.
at pater omnipotens densa inter nubila telum
contorsit, non ille faces nec fumea taedis
lumina, praecipitemque immani turbine adegit.
nec non et Tityon, Terrae omniparentis alumnum,

571–588 *MPR* 589–595 *FMPR* 571 tortos *P* 580 proles *R*
586 flammas *MR* 591 cursu *F*^{2}*M*^{2}*R* 595 omnipotentis *F*^{1}*M*^{1}

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hand the scourge of snakes that hangs at her girdle and summons her Sister-Furies by waving it. Presumably her right hand, like that of the Fury of l. 607, holds a torch.

585. This line, modelled on the Homeric καὶ μὴν Σίσυφον εἰσεῖδον κρατέρ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντα (*Od.* xi. 593), is complete in itself; the punctuation in the text removes the difficulty which has been raised over the connexion of this line with the next, and disposes of H. E. Butler's over-ingenious solution that in this punishment 'Salmoneus is condemned to imitate Jupiter in Hades amid his torment'.

cernere erat, per tota novem cui iugera corpus
porrigitur, rostroque immanis vultur obunco
immortale iecur tondens fecundaque poenis
viscera rimaturque epulis habitatque sub alto
pectore, nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis. 600
quid memorem Lapithas, Ixíona Pirithoumque et
quo super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique
imminet adsimilis? lucent genialibus altis
aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paratae
regifico luxu; Furiarum maxima iuxta 605
accubat et manibus prohibet contingere mensas,
exsurgitque facem attollens atque intonat ore.
hic, quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat,
pulsatusve parens et fraus innexa clienti,
aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis 610
nec partem posuere suis, quae maxima turba est,
quique ob adulterium caesi, quique arma secuti
impia nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras,
inclusi poenam exspectant. ne quaere doceri

596–614 *FMPR* 597 abunco *FR*, adunco *P* 601 Pirithoumque *FMPR*
602 quos F^2MP, quod F^1, cadenti *R* 607 increpat *P*

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597. Neither of the variants, *abunco* and *adunco*, occurs elsewhere in Virgil.

599. It is immaterial whether *epulis* be taken as a dative 'for his banquet' or as an ablative 'in his banquet'.

601–2. The difficulty in these two lines is notorious, and not certainly soluble. If the text of all the primary MSS. but one, *Ixiona Pirithoumque quos super*, be adopted, *quos super* can only refer to the Lapithae just named, namely Ixion and his son Pirithous. But the overhanging stone is nowhere associated with either of them. Consequently, many editors suppose a line to be lost between these two; but the majority of them print *quo super*, the reading of R, so as to make the supposed lost line expressly refer to Tantalus. Madvig's emendation, printed in the text here, solves the difficulty satisfactorily. Objection has been raised to it on the ground that a line-ending like *Pirithoumque et* cannot be paralleled in Virgil, though it is freely used by Horace in the more familiar hexameter of the Satires and Epistles (II *Sat.* ii. 58, viii. 92; I *Epist.* vi. 34, vii. 27). This objection, however, cuts both ways; *atque* at the end of a line only occurs once in the *Aeneid*, xii. 355; and it may be remarked that nowhere else in the *Aeneid* does Virgil end two successive lines with *-que* and that in fact R omits the *-que* at the end of l. 602. Similarly, the hypermetric ending

quam poenam, aut quae forma viros fortunave mersit.
saxum ingens volvunt alii, radiisque rotarum
destricti pendent; sedet aeternumque sedebit
infelix Theseus, Phlegyasque miserrimus omnis
admonet et magna testatur voce per umbras:
"discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos."
vendidit hic auro patriam dominumque potentem
imposuit; fixit leges pretio atque refixit;
hic thalamum invasit natae vetitosque hymenaeos:
ausi omnes immane nefas ausoque potiti.
non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,
ferrea vox, omnis scelerum comprendere formas,
omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.'
Haec ubi dicta dedit Phoebi longaeva sacerdos,
'sed iam age, carpe viam et susceptum perfice munus;
acceleremus' ait; 'Cyclopum educta caminis
moenia conspicio atque adverso fornice portas,
haec ubi nos praecepta iubent deponere dona.'
dixerat et pariter gressi per opaca viarum

615–633 *FMPR* 617 districte P^1 629 et iam *M* 630 ducta *FPR*

Latinorum vii. 160 is unique in Virgil: see note on vii. 237. For a fuller discussion of the whole of this catalogue, ll. 580–624, and its bearing on this particular passage, see App. D.

603. The reference here is of course not to the *lectus genialis* or marriage-bed, but to the couches prepared for a banquet on the day sacred to the *genius*, the 'naturalis deus uniuscuiusque loci vel rei aut hominis'. So in *Georg.* i. 302, the only other place where Virgil uses the epithet, *genialis hiemps* is very nearly equivalent to 'Christmas festival'.

608. The rhythms and structure of this and the two following lines are closely reproduced, and the phrase *dum vita manebat* verbally repeated, in ll. 661–3; the two passages taken together throw much light on the method of Virgil's workmanship.

617. *destricti*, stripped or flayed. As between *destricti* and the vulgate *districti*, MS. authority counts for little. But *districtus* nowhere else occurs in Latin in the sense of 'spatchcocked', which it would have to bear here. Virgil uses neither word elsewhere.

629. *perficere munus* here and in l. 637 means to complete payment of tribute or discharge of service.

630. Three of the four primary MSS. read *ducta*; but the vulgate *educta* (the reading of M) is no doubt correct. As in ii. 186, 461, xii. 674, it means 'built up'.

632. *praecepta* goes with *dona*, 'the pre

corripiunt spatium medium foribusque propinquant.
occupat Aeneas aditum corpusque recenti
spargit aqua ramumque adverso in limine figit.
His demum exactis, perfecto munere divae,
devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta
fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas.
largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit
purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.
pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris,
contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena;
pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt.
nec non Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos
obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum,
iamque eadem digitis, iam pectine pulsat eburno.
hic genus antiquum Teucri, pulcherrima proles,
magnanimi heroes, nati melioribus annis,
Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor.
arma procul currusque virum miratur inanis.
stant terra defixae hastae passimque soluti
per campum pascuntur equi. quae gratia currum
armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentis

634–654 *FMPR* 640 campus F^1R, campis P^1 651 mirantur *FM*
652 terrae *F* 653 campos *R*, curruum F^2P^1

---

scribed gifts'. The subject of *iubent*, 'they order', is left intentionally vague.

640. The *et* in this line is, at least superficially, anomalous; what makes it admissible is that *lumine purpureo* is in effect a compound epithet, 'brilliantly-luminous', also attached to *aether*.

644. As the phrase *pedibus plaudunt choreas* is obviously suggested by the Homeric πέπληγον χορὸν ποσίν, 'struck the dancing-floor with their feet', and as Virgil where he uses the word *chorea* elsewhere, in the sense of 'dance' (ix. 615, x. 224), scans it *chorēa*, it seems not unlikely that he meant *chorĕas* here as 'dancing-floors'.

646. The 'seven intervals of notes' are the notes of the conjunct tetrachords which made up the scale of the seven-stringed lyre; he 'answers to' them (*obloquitur*) in rhythms (*numeri*).

651. Their weapons are put aside, and their chariots stand unyoked, as more fully stated in the next line.

653. The syncopated genitive *currum* (for the normal *curruum*) is the reading of the majority of the MSS., is cited by Priscian, and was read by Servius, who notes it as the converse of the lengthened genitive *alituum* (viii. 27).

pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos. 655
conspicit, ecce, alios dextra laevaque per herbam
vescentis laetumque choro paeana canentis
inter odoratum lauri nemus, unde superne
plurimus Eridani per silvam volvitur amnis.
hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi, 660
quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,
quique pii vates et Phoebo digna locuti,
inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artis,
quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo:
omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta. 665
  Quos circumfusos sic est adfata Sibylla,
Musaeum ante omnis, medium nam plurima turba
hunc habet atque umeris exstantem suspicit altis:
'dicite, felices animae, tuque, optime vates,
quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus? illius ergo 670
venimus et magnos Erebi tranavimus amnis.'
atque huic responsum paucis ita reddidit heros:
'nulli certa domus; lucis habitamus opacis,
riparumque toros et prata recentia rivis
incolimus. sed vos, si fert ita corde voluntas, 675

655–675 FMPR

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658. *superne* may mean, according to the context, 'upward', 'above' as here, or 'from above', i.e. downward. For the origin of all rivers in a subterranean or submarine world cf. the more elaborate description in *Georg*. iv. 363–73.

664. The vulgate *alios*, introduced in the earliest printed texts, has practically no MS. support. *aliquos*, reinstated above, is at once subtler and more Virgilian. No precise parallel occurs in the *Aeneid*; but we may compare l. 719 below, *anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire animas*.

669–71. These are the last words of the Sibyl. Once in Elysium, she ceases to be a guide or an expounder, and merely accompanies Aeneas. The change (like that of Virgil's relation to Dante in the *Purgatorio*, though Virgil may not even accompany Dante into the Earthly Paradise) is emphasized by the repeated *natum unaque Sibyllam* of ll. 752 and 897. It is further to be noted that Virgil's Elysium is not, like Dante's, on a mountain-summit, but in a sunk plain or wide valley girdled by mountains, like the Valley of Kings in Canto vii of the *Purgatorio*.

hoc superate iugum, et facili iam tramite sistam.'
dixit, et ante tulit gressum camposque nitentis
desuper ostentat; dehinc summa cacumina linquunt.
At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti
inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras
lustrabat studio recolens, omnemque suorum
forte recensebat numerum, carosque nepotes
fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque.
isque ubi tendentem adversum per gramina vidit
Aenean, alacris palmas utrasque tetendit,
effusaeque genis lacrimae et vox excidit ore:
'venisti tandem, tuaque exspectata parenti
vicit iter durum pietas? datur ora tueri,
nate, tua et notas audire et reddere voces?
sic equidem ducebam animo rebarque futurum
tempora dinumerans, nec me mea cura fefellit.
quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum
accipio, quantis iactatum, nate, periclis!
quam metui ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent!'
ille autem: 'tua me, genitor, tua tristis imago
saepius occurrens haec limina tendere adegit;
stant sale Tyrrheno classes. da iungere dextram,
da, genitor, teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro.'
sic memorans largo fletu simul ora rigabat.
ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum;

676–687 *FMPR* 688–700 *FGMPR* 685 lacrimans palmas P^1 699 rigabant P^2, rigaebant F^1

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682. For the force of *forte* see note on i. 362.

692. For the idiom of *terras et per aequora* (for *per terras et aequora*) compare viii. 143, *non legatos neque per artem* (for *non per legatos neque per artem*).

698. The echo in this line of the parting scene with the ghost of Dido in l. 465, and in ll. 700–2 of the parting scene with the ghost of Creusa ii. 792–4, should not escape notice, as it is no mere repetition, but a wonderful stroke of art. For Aeneas, his father means more than either wife or lover.

703. Here, as frequently, *interea* opens a new paragraph as a note of transition,

ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago,
par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.
Interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta
seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvae,
Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem.
hunc circum innumerae gentes populique volabant,
ac, velut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena
floribus insidunt variis et candida circum
lilia funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus.
horrescit visu subito causasque requirit
inscius Aeneas, quae sint ea flumina porro,
quive viri tanto complerint agmine ripas.
tum pater Anchises: 'animae, quibus altera fato
corpora debentur, Lethaei ad fluminis undam
securos latices et longa oblivia potant.
has equidem memorare tibi atque ostendere coram
iampridem, hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum,
quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta.'
'o pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est
sublimis animas iterumque ad tarda reverti
corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?'
'dicam equidem nec te suspensum, nate, tenebo'
suscipit Anchises atque ordine singula pandit.
'Principio caelum ac terram camposque liquentis
lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra

701–724 *FGMPR* 725 *FMPR* 702 *om. P* 704 silvis *FM*^{2} 707 veluti *FGM* 718 Italiam . . . repertam *F*^{1}*R* 719 est *om. FG*^{1} 721 cupido est *F*^{1} 723 suspicit *MP*

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and its force is rather 'about this same time' than 'meanwhile'. Other instances of this use are i. 479, iii. 284, iv. 129, x. 575, and more particularly where *interea* opens a new Book as it does in V, X, and XI.

704. For *virgulta sonantia silvae* see note on iii. 442.

711. For the adjectival use of *porro* as attached to *flumina*, 'the rivers that stretch before him', see note on i. 13. The word is used elsewhere by Virgil normally, *porro accepit* v. 600, *percipe porro* ix. 190.

725. The *Titania astra* are the firmamental bodies, the 'host of heaven'. So

spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.
inde hominum pecudumque genus vitaeque volantum
et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus.
igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo 730
seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant
terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.
hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque auras
dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco.
quin et supremo cum lumine vita reliquit, 735
non tamen omne malum miseris nec funditus omnes
corporeae excedunt pestes, penitusque necesse est
multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.
ergo exercentur poenis veterumque malorum
supplicia expendunt: aliae panduntur inanes 740
suspensae ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto
infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni;
quisque suos patimur manis, exinde per amplum

726–743 *FMPR* 734 despiciunt *FMPR* 735 relinquit F^1 742 adque *F*

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the moon is called *decus astrorum* ix. 405. Of these heavenly bodies, the Sun, presided over by or identified with the Titan Hyperion, is the principal one; but to say, as many editors do, that *Titania astra* is put by poetical licence for *Titanium astrum* and means the sun, is quite impossible as well as needless.

730. 'Those seeds of theirs' are the particles of the universal pervading spirit which enter into and impart life to all living beings.

733. The subject of the sentence, as appears from the *clausae* of the next line, is the *animae* of l. 720.

737. *penitus*, *multa*, *diu* are all attached, with cumulative force, to *concreta* *inolescere* 'grow into and become incorporate with'.

743. The much-debated phrase *quisque suos patimur manis* in any case summarizes and includes the various forms of suffering or purgation (purgation through suffering) which Virgil has just mentioned, and might be rendered, with substantial accuracy, 'we pass through our several purgatorial experiences'. From the analogous *quae ne monstra paterentur* 'that they might not undergo these awful transformations', of vii. 21, it is clear that *manis* is the direct object of *patimur*: in both cases the wording is elliptical.

The word *Manes* (which only occurs as a plural) has three different though

mittimur Elysium et pauci laeta arva tenemus;
donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe
concretam exemit labem, purumque relinquit
aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem.
has omnis, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno,
scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant
rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti.'
  Dixerat Anchises natumque unaque Sibyllam
conventus trahit in medios turbamque sonantem,
et tumulum capit unde omnis longo ordine posset
adversos legere et venientum discere vultus.
  'Nunc age, Dardaniam prolem quae deinde sequatur
gloria, qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes,
inlustris animas nostrumque in nomen ituras,
expediam dictis, et te tua fata docebo.
ille, vides, pura iuvenis qui nititur hasta,
proxima sorte tenet lucis loca, primus ad auras

745–755 *FMPR* 756–761 *MPR* 746 tabem *R*, reliquit F^2PR 747 aurae F^2MPR, aure F^1 750 super ut M^1, supera aut F^1, superant *P* 754 possit *F*

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not always clearly distinguishable meanings in Virgil: (1) most frequently, the 'ghost'—there is no English term which precisely corresponds to it—of a dead person; (2) generalized from (1), the 'underworld', to which these 'ghosts' belong, though they can appear in, and exercise an influence over, the surroundings, whether of persons or of places, with which they have been previously associated; and (3) the Powers of that underworld, as most conspicuously in the Orpheus and Eurydice episode of *Georg.* iv. 469, 489, 505. Here Virgil leaves it purposely vague in which of these senses, or in what combination of them, he means it to be taken.

747. The archaic genitive vouched for by Donatus and Servius (all the good MSS. have *aurae*) is probably used here to give an added touch of solemnity. Elsewhere, iii. 354, ix. 26, and (if it be the correct reading there) vii. 464, it is a piece of conscious archaizing. For the meaning of the phrase *aurai simplicis ignem* see note on l. 204 above.

761. 'The next place allotted in the realm of light', i.e. in the upper world: *ad auras aetherias* has the same sense. Both here and in the similar *vescitur aura aetheria* of i. 546 Lachmann wished to read *aerius* instead of *aetherius*; but Virgil does not observe any sharp distinction between the terrestrial *aer* and the celestial *aether*.

aetherias Italo commixtus sanguine surget,
Silvius, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles,
quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx
educet silvis regem regumque parentem, 765
unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba.
proximus ille Procas, Troianae gloria gentis,
et Capys et Numitor et qui te nomine reddet
Silvius Aeneas, pariter pietate vel armis
egregius, si umquam regnandam acceperit Albam. 770
qui iuvenes! quantas ostentant, aspice, viris
atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu!
hi tibi Nomentum et Gabios urbemque Fidenam,
hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces,
Pometios Castrumque Inui Bolamque Coramque. 775
haec tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae.
quin et avo comitem sese Mavortius addet
Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater

762–778 *MPR* 762 surgit *M* 765 educit *M*¹ 766 nostrum longa *M*
776 gentes *M*¹ sine nomine

---

765. *educet*, here and again in l. 779, does not mean 'bring forth', but 'rear': a word which, in both of its senses, to rear a child and to rear a building, covers exactly the same ground as *educere* in Virgil wherever it occurs. Here Virgil is following a different tradition from that according to which (i. 263–6) Aeneas only survived for three years after the closing scene of the *Aeneid*. For the confusion between the line of his descendants through Ascanius and through Silvius, see App. E.

770. In the clause *si . . . Albam, si* has its normal meaning; 'if at a future time he inherits', i.e whenever he inherits, 'the kingship of Alba'.

780. As Virgil never elsewhere uses the singular *superus* in the sense of a deity, it is probable if not certain that *superum* here is the genitive plural; *suo superum honore* is thus the compressed expression of two things theoretically distinct though in fact the same, (1) *suo honore*, 'with his own badge', (2) *superum honore*, 'with the badge of the immortals'.

782. The force of *animos* here is most nearly given in English by 'heart', or 'pride' in the good sense of that word. In the similar expression *regum aequabat opes animis* of *Georg.* iv. 132, it more nearly corresponds to 'courageousness' or 'good cheer'.

787. For *supera alta*, 'the high upper realms', compare vii. 562 *supera ardua linquens*, of Allecto descending from heaven.

789. Caesar is of course Augustus, not Julius, as always in the *Aeneid*, and elsewhere in Virgil except in *Ecl.* ix. 47

educet. viden, ut geminae stant vertice cristae
et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?
en huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma
imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo,
septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,
felix prole virum: qualis Berecyntia mater
invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes
laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes,
omnis caelicolas, omnis supera alta tenentis.
'Huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem
Romanosque tuos. hic Caesar et omnis Iuli
progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem.
hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet
saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos
proferet imperium . . . iacet extra sidera tellus,

779–795 *MPR*   787 super alta *M*^{1}*PR*   793 per annos *R*

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and *Georg.* i. 466. The name is repeated with amplifications in l. 792; the title *Divi filius* was officially adopted by Octavianus as early as B.C. 42, and that of Augustus conferred on him by decree of the Senate B.C. 27.

795–805. This whole passage lacks final revision, and seems to incorporate marginalia of Virgil's in the text: ll. 796–7, and perhaps also ll. 801–5, may be plausibly conjectured to be fragments of the cancelled conclusion of *Georg.* iv. There seems to be a gap between the two halves of l. 795; and *extra sidera extra anni solisque vias*, which can only be interpreted to mean 'beyond the zodiac', is, even if Virgil here is confusing the zodiac with the tropic of Cancer (see Housman's Lucan, *Astronomical Appendix*, pp. 328–9), not true of Atlas though true of Central and Southern India.

The Garamantes, tribes of the Fezzan to the south of Tripoli, were subjugated by L. Cornelius Balbus when proconsul of Africa in B.C. 19. An embassy from India (not further specified) was received by Augustus when in the East, B.C. 20–19, at which time also he was concerned in arrangements with the client kingdoms between the Euxine and the Caspian and those in the Crimea and on the coasts of the Palus Maeotis, over which his 'empire' might in a loose sense be said to have extended. For further particulars reference should be made to the *Monimentum Ancyranum* xxxi and the commentaries on it. What is important to notice here is that the passage appears to have been drafted for insertion within the last few months of Virgil's life.

extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas
axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.
huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia regna
responsis horrent divum et Maeotia tellus,
et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili.
nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,
fixerit aeripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi
pacarit nemora et Lernam tremefecerit arcu;
nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis
Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris.
et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis,
aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?
'Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae
sacra ferens? nosco crinis incanaque menta
regis Romani primam qui legibus urbem
fundabit Curibus parvis et paupere terra
missus in imperium magnum. cui deinde subibit
otia qui rumpet patriae residesque movebit
Tullus in arma viros et iam desueta triumphis
agmina. quem iuxta sequitur iactantior Ancus
nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris.
vis et Tarquinios reges animamque superbam
ultoris Bruti, fascisque videre receptos?
consulis imperium hic primus saevasque securis
accipiet, natosque pater nova bella moventis
ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit.

796–821 *MPR*   803 placaret *M*, pacaret *R*   806 virtute *PR*, vires *PR*
812 qui *M*^{1}, quid *R*   819 primum *M*

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815. This description of Ancus Martius follows an unknown source.

822. The meaning of this line has been much debated, as *ferent* might either mean (1) 'endure', 'put up with', (2) 'extol', or (3) merely 'pass judgement on', without any implication of the judgement being either favourable or adverse. This last sense is the most satisfactory.

835. For *meus* as a vocative form see note on i. 664.

838. There can be no doubt that the reference here is to the L. Aemilius Paulus whose victory at Pydna, B.C. 168, was followed by the extinction of the Macedonian Kingdom. The mention of

infelix! utcumque ferent ea facta minores:
vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido.
quin Decios Drusosque procul saevumque securi
aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum.
illae autem paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis,
concordes animae nunc et dum nocte premuntur,
heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitae
attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt,
aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci
descendens, gener adversis instructus Eois!
ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella
neu patriae validas in viscera vertite viris;
tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo,
proice tela manu, sanguis meus . . .
ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corintho
victor aget currum caesis insignis Achivis.
eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenas
ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotentis Achilli,
ultus avos Troiae templa et temerata Minervae.
quis te, magne Cato, tacitum aut te, Cosse, relinquat?
quis Gracchi genus aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,
Scipiadas, cladem Libyae, parvoque potentem
Fabricium vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem?
quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? tu Maximus ille es,
unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.
excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,

822–847 *MPR* 824 Brutosque *R* 827 prementur P^1R 845 tun P^1
846 restitues *R*

Argos and Mycenae must not be pressed, any more than in i. 284–5; neither was ever destroyed by the Romans, and Mycenae had in fact been an abandoned site for three centuries. The Macedonian kings, who claimed to trace their origin to Achilles, are regarded as the inheritors in some sense of the supremacy of Agamemnon at the time of the Trojan war.

841. For the participial *tacitus*, 'unspoken of', see note on iv. 38.

846. The line of Ennius (*Annales*, xii, fr. 1) of which this is a slight verbal variation had long been proverbial in Rome.

847. *mollities*, 'morbidezza', tenderness or

credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus
describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:
tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
hae tibi erunt artes, pacique imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.'
  Sic pater Anchises atque haec mirantibus addit:
'aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
ingreditur victorque viros supereminet omnis.
hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
sistet, eques sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem,
tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.'
atque hic Aeneas, una namque ire videbat
egregium forma iuvenem et fulgentibus armis,
sed frons laeta parum et deiecto lumina vultu:

848–857 *MPR* 858–862 *FMPR* 848 cedo P^1 852 haec P^1

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delicacy, was a technical term of art-criticism.

852. *paci*, the reading of all the primary MSS. and of the best MS. of Servius, should undoubtedly be reinstated here for the vulgate *pacis*. *paci imponere morem*, to make peace into a fixed tradition, or more largely, to build up character upon peace, states, with incomparable terseness and precision, the task of the Empire. For the singular *morem* instead of the more customary plural *mores* compare *varium caeli praediscere morem Georg*. i. 51, *quis neque mos neque cultus erat* viii. 316, and *morem ritusque sacrorum* xii. 836.

858. It should be carefully noted that *rebellis* (as more obviously where Virgil again uses it in xii. 185) does not mean 'revolting', but 'renewing war'. *tumultus*, 'rising', was the regular and almost the technical term for a hostile outbreak among the Celtic tribes of Northern Italy.

859. The ancient commentators criticized this line as not strictly accurate in its archaeology. The three dedications in question were agreed to be: (1) that by Romulus, which founded the practice; (2) that by Ser. Cornelius Cossus, Master of the Cavalry, in B.C. 437; (3) that by the consul M. Claudius Marcellus in B.C. 222. But the *spolia opima* were, according to the best authorities available, dedicated not to Quirinus, but to Jupiter Feretrius. The matter is not one which to a modern reader of the *Aeneid* is of much importance, and it may be sufficient here to quote the relevant portion of the very interesting Servian note, and to refer for further discussion of the various questions involved, to the commentators on Livy iv. 20 and to Warde Fowler's *Religious Experience of the Roman People*. What Servius says, after mentioning an inadmissible interpretation of the line, is: 'possumus, quod est melius,

'quis, pater, ille, virum qui sic comitatur euntem?
filius, anne aliquis magna de stirpe nepotum?
qui strepitus circa comitum! quantum instar in ipso!
sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra.'
tum pater Anchises lacrimis ingressus obortis:
'o nate, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum;
ostendent terris hunc tantum fata neque ultra
esse sinent. nimium vobis Romana propago
visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent.
quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem
campus aget gemitus, vel quae, Tiberine, videbis
funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem!
nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos
in tantum spe tollet avos, nec Romula quondam
ullo se tantum tellus iactabit alumno.

863–872 *FMPR* 873–877 *MPR* 865 quis F^2*MR*

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secundum legem Numae hunc locum accipere, qui praecepit prima opima spolia Iovi Feretrio debere suspendi, quod iam Romulus fecerat; secunda Marti, quod Cossus fecit; tertia Quirino, quod fecit Marcellus. Quirinus autem est Mars qui praeest paci . . . Varie de hoc loco tractant commentatores.'

It may be added that the five lines *aspice . . . Quirino* were presumably moved down to their present place by Virgil from an earlier point in the noble catalogue of Anchises (perhaps from between ll. 825 and 826) when, after the death of the young Marcellus in the autumn of B.C. 23, he inserted the magnificent passage which follows; and that the introductory line 854 was then prefixed to them.

865. The use of *instar* here without a genitive of the thing with which comparison is made (as e.g. *instar montis equum* ii. 15 or *atri turbinis instar* xii. 923) is unique. The word which comes nearest to it in English is 'magnitude' as used by Keats in the concluding line of his sonnet 'On seeing the Elgin Marbles for the first time'; its primary sense in Latin, as determined by Lindsay, was probably 'counterweight'.

867. *ingressus*, 'advancing', is similarly used in the sense of 'beginning in reply' iv. 107.

874. The *recens tumulus* is the Mausoleum of Augustus, an immense terraced mound on vaulted stone substructures, erected by the Emperor in B.C. 28 on the Campus Martius close to the Tiber bank as the burial-place for himself and his family. Marcellus was the first occupant of it. The special relevance of *aget*, 'shall conduct', is in the picture it suggests of the funeral procession, which was of unexampled magnificence; no less than 600 *lecti* or 'mourning coaches' were provided for it by Augustus himself.

876. *spe* (or as it might perhaps be more

heu pietas, heu prisca fides invictaque bello
dextera! non illi se quisquam impune tulisset
obvius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem
seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.
heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas!
tu Marcellus eris. manibus date lilia plenis,
purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
his saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
munere.' sic tota passim regione vagantur
aëris in campis latis atque omnia lustrant.
quae postquam Anchises natum per singula duxit

878 *MPR* 879–888 *FMPR* 885 inanis F^1M^1

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correctly written, *spei* scanned as a monosyllable) is a genitive, dependent on *tantum*. The disyllabic *spei* is not cited with any certainty from Latin verse of the classical period; prose usage is of course no evidence one way or the other.

878. The *invicta bello dextera*, as is made clear from what follows, is an unrealized anticipation; Marcellus, when he died at the age of 18, had not taken part in any campaign.

881. Servius notes here, 'non possunt armi calcaribus fodi'. But the seat of the Roman cavalry-soldier, who rode without stirrups, must have been such as to make it not only possible but natural.

883. The exact syntactical relation of *date* and *spargam* is debatable. Here as in the analogous *date vulnera lymphis abluam* of iv. 683 (on which see the note) there is a fusion or coalescence of two separate constructions. It is more relevant to the poetical quality of the passage (perhaps the most frequently quoted of all in Virgil) to notice the delicate antithesis between *plenis* and the *inani* of the next line but one. Some critics have wished that Anchises speech closed on the cadence of this last word, and have wondered why Virgil did not write *his cumulem donis et munere fungar inani*. It may be well, therefore, to observe by what a further refinement of art the over-running of the sentence into the next line not merely prolongs that dying note, but also interlocks the Marcellus passage, which otherwise would be structurally detachable and might thus leave the effect of being, as it actually was, an insertion. Virgil evidently thought it worth while to do this, even at the expense of a certain abruptness in the connecting *sic*, which is all for which room was now left.

887. The 'fields of air' have nothing to do with the Homeric *ἠερόεντα κέλευθα*, the 'misty ways', of *Od.* xx. 64. The phrase is a subtle suggestion, at the close of the pageant through which we have been conducted, that it was all a visionary journey, 'the similitude of a dream'. It leads up to the lines that follow, in which Aeneas returns into the upper world through the Gates of Sleep.

incenditque animum famae venientis amore,
exin bella viro memorat quae deinde gerenda,
Laurentisque docet populos urbemque Latini,
et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.
Sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur
cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris,
altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia manes.
his ibi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam
prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna.
Ille viam secat ad navis sociosque revisit.

889–899 *FMPR*   889 melioris *M*   890 exim F^{1} 897 his ubi *M*, hi bi P^{1}

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893. The twin gates, of horn and of ivory, are taken from the *Odyssey* (xix. 562–7) where, however, they are the Gates of Dreams; the dreams that issue from the gate of horn being true, and those from the gate of ivory deceptive. Much pains have been spent in inventing reasons why Aeneas and the Sibyl are dismissed through the ivory gate, and many fanciful interpretations put forward. The simplest explanation is to be found in the prevalent belief that the only 'true' dreams were those of the morning hours, not from midnight, but beginning before dawn; cf. Moschus, *Europa*, l. 2, νυκτὸς ὅτε τρίτατον λάχος ἵσταται, ἐγγύθι δ' ἠώς, εὖτε καὶ ἀτρεκέων ποιμαίνεται ἔθνος ὀνείρων, Horace, I *Sat.* x. 33, 'post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera'; and more precisely, Ovid, *Her.* xix. 195 'sub aurora, iam dormitante lucerna, somnia quo cerni tempore vera solent'. Aeneas and the Sibyl had entered the underworld a little before sunrise of the previous day (l. 255); they are dismissed from it during the next night, when only the ivory gate is open, the gate of horn being still shut. The gate passed, the Sibyl silently disappears: and Aeneas returns to the sleeping camp.

899–901. These last three lines, like the opening lines of the book, are perhaps only a tentative draft conclusion. Two of them occur elsewhere, l. 899, with a slight verbal variation, viii. 546, and l. 901 verbally, iii. 277. Bentley, followed by Ribbeck and other editors, bracketed this last line as an interpolation here, and its authenticity is, to say the least, doubtful. In three of the four good MSS.—though this may be a mere accident—it stands by itself at the top of a fresh page.

There is no need to take *secat* (with Servius on x. 107) as an archaic form of *sequitur*; *secat viam* is the Homeric πεῖρε κέλευθον (*Od.* ii. 434), the English, colloquial only, 'cut along'.

With some hesitation, I have followed Heyne in substituting *limite* for *litore* in l. 900. This is the reading approved by Bentley, but found only in a few inferior MSS. It gives an unexceptionable sense, 'on a straight track', i.e. cutting across in a direct line from the anchorage at Cumae (l. 3 above) to the harbour of Gaeta on the promontory

tum se ad Caietae recto fert limite portum. 900
ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes.

900–901 *FMPR* 900 litore *FMPR*

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at the further extremity of the Sinus Caietanus. The awkward repetition of *litore* in the vulgate text is thus avoided: and though from Cumae as far as the mouth of the Liris the Italian coast runs almost in a straight line, *rectum litus* is not applicable to the contour of the coast between Cumae and Caieta as a whole.

BOOK VII

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Book VII opens the main theme of the *Aeneid.* The change of key from Book VI is effected, with admirable skill, in the first 36 lines. The dreamy atmosphere of the 'fields of air', the solemnity and something even of the weirdness of those unearthly realms, linger in the lightly-touched scenes of the 'due rites' over the peaceful departure of Caieta, the moonlit voyage in the soft night-wind, and the song of Circe coming over the sea from her lit palace: then, in the splendours of dawn, the fleet sails into the Tiber mouth, and the wanderings are at last at an end.

A fresh invocation of the Muses strikes the note for the new narrative and transfers the interest to Latium. In that 'land of ancient peace' (l. 45) the 'foreign army'—both words are now (l. 38) applied for the first time to the Trojan wanderers—has now landed, and the rumours of its approach have already spread. The embassy to the Court of King Latinus opens the prospect of a peaceful settlement. It is broken by the fresh intervention of Juno, and the despatch of Allecto to do the work of 'terror and mischief' (l. 552). Under her malign influence Turnus and Amata are seized with madness: Latinus abdicates: a casual skirmish brought on by Allecto kindles the flame of war, and the Latins and their allies mobilize. The book concludes with the muster-roll of the Italian armies.

The whole Book has been wrought up to a high finish. There are a few traces of early and partly unrevised work (ll. 162–5 and 274–9); and in the monologue of Juno, ll. 293–322, the stress laid on Scylla and Charybdis seems to imply (like the words of Aeneas in i. 200) allusion to an episode in the wanderings which had been planned but afterwards dropped. The whole monologue is a splendid and effective reduplication and amplification of Juno's great outburst in i. 37–49, by which the *maior rerum ordo* now opening is further emphasized. The same calculated duplication from Book I, and its enhancement with a larger and more tragic issue, are marked also in the parts taken by Aeolus and Allecto, in the stag-hunts of Aeneas and Iulus, and in the improvised banquets on the Carthaginian shore and the bank of the Tiber.

The Book is notably free from those rhetorical amplifications which belong to Virgil's earlier drafting and which were left by him in a good many cases undistilled and unconcentrated: only two passages, ll. 278–9 and 808–11, can fairly be classed under this head. The two lines 553 and 554 are pretty certainly alternatives set down for consideration; and the nine detached sentences strung together in ll. 623–40 are, more clearly still, dumped material laid out for selection: and the same may apply to the two passages beginning *ceu quondam* and *nec quisquam* (699–702, 703–5) in the description of the forces led by Messapus. In the Catalogue, ll. 664–5 and 666–9 (on which see the notes) are generally agreed to be unplaced fragments of the Virgilian autograph inserted at this point by the editors.

The six unfinished lines are, as has been already noted, a mark rather of a late than of an early stage in composition; and the Book as a whole (perhaps the most varied and brilliant in the whole poem) wants only a few final re-touchings to be complete.

AENEIDOS

LIBER SEPTIMUS

Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix,
aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti;
et nunc servat honos sedem tuus, ossaque nomen
Hesperia in magna, si qua est ea gloria, signat.
at pius exsequiis Aeneas rite solutis,
aggere composito tumuli, postquam alta quierunt
aequora, tendit iter velis portumque relinquit.
aspirant aurae in noctem nec candida cursus
luna negat, splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus.
Proxima Circaeae raduntur litora terrae,
dives inaccessos ubi Solis filia lucos
adsiduo resonat cantu, tectisque superbis
urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum
arguto tenuis percurrens pectine telas.
hinc exaudiri gemitus iraeque leonum
vincla recusantum et sera sub nocte rudentum,

1–4 *MPR*   5–16 *FMPR*   2 famam moriens *P*¹   4 signant *MP*
7 portus *P*   8 cursum *R*   13 nocturno in lumine *M*   16 saeva *P*

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1. The ***tu quoque*** marks the resumption of the narrative, as already just indicated at the end of Book VI, after the intermezzo of the underworld, with a third name added to those of Palinurus and Misenus. Of the nurse of Aeneas, and the source of the legend of her death and burial at Caieta, nothing else is known.

4. Two of the three primary MSS. read *signant*. But it hardly gives an intelligible meaning to say that the ashes of Caieta 'stamped a name' on the place of her burial.

8. The moon *non negat cursus*, allows the fleet a straight run across the bay between the promontories of Caieta and Circeii, the latter of which (l. 10) they round close in-shore.

12. This transitive use of *resonare*, 'to fill with sound', is not cited elsewhere.

13. From comparison of the similar passage in *Georg*. i. 291–4, it seems clear that *nocturna in lumina* is equivalent to the *seros ad luminis ignis* of that passage, and the *ad lumina* of viii. 411, and means 'by torchlight'.

15. For *irae*, 'angry sounds', see note on i. 25.

saetigerique sues atque in praesepibus ursi
saevire ac formae magnorum ululare luporum,
quos hominum ex facie dea saeva potentibus herbis
induerat Circe in vultus ac terga ferarum.
quae ne monstra pii paterentur talia Troes
delati in portus neu litora dira subirent,
Neptunus ventis implevit vela secundis,
atque fugam dedit et praeter vada fervida vexit.
  Iamque rubescebat radiis mare et aethere ab alto
Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis,
cum venti posuere omnisque repente resedit
flatus, et in lento luctantur marmore tonsae.
atque hic Aeneas ingentem ex aequore lucum
prospicit. hunc inter fluvio Tiberinus amoeno
verticibus rapidis et multa flavus harena
in mare prorumpit. variae circumque supraque
adsuetae ripis volucres et fluminis alveo
aethera mulcebant cantu lucoque volabant.
flectere iter sociis terraeque advertere proras
imperat et laetus fluvio succedit opaco.

17–36 *FMPR*

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21. The unusual combination *quae talia*, instead of merely *quae* or *qualia*, is not employed elsewhere by Virgil. Milton copied it in *P.L.* xii. 374 'words, which these he breathed'. For *pati monstra*, 'suffer monstrous change', see note on vi. 743.

25. As the truth to nature of this description has been strangely questioned, it may not be superfluous to point out that from shipboard the sea before sunrise reflects, with great magnificence, the crimsons and purples of the morning sky.

27. *venti posuere*, 'the winds fall dead': so *zephyri posuere* x. 103.

29. The *ingens lucus* is the scrub, *futaie*, along the river banks. The epithet combines the senses of 'dense' and 'native': see *Classical Review*, vol. xxvi, pp. 251 foll. It does not imply trees of great size.

37–45. This second prologue, with its renewed invocation of the Muse, emphasizes the fact that only now does the main theme of the *Aeneid* open, all hitherto having led up to it. There is a striking analogy in the opening chapter of Book xxxi of Livy: 'iam provideo animo, velut qui proximis litori vadis inducti mare pedibus ingrediuntur, quicquid progredior in vastiorem me altitudinem ac velut profundum invehi'. As a matter of

Nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora, rerum
quis Latio antiquo fuerit status, advena classem
cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris,
expediam, et primae revocabo exordia pugnae.
tu vatem, tu, diva, mone. dicam horrida bella,
dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges,
Tyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam
Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
maius opus moveo.
                    Rex arva Latinus et urbes
iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat.
hunc Fauno et nympha genitum Laurente Marica
accipimus; Fauno Picus pater, isque parentem
te, Saturne, refert, tu sanguinis ultimus auctor.
filius huic fato divum prolesque virilis
nulla fuit, primaque oriens erepta iuventa est.
sola domum et tantas servabat filia sedes
iam matura viro, iam plenis nubilis annis.
multi illam magno e Latio totaque petebant
Ausonia; petit ante alios pulcherrimus omnis

37–55 *FMPR*   53 iam in plenis *P*

---

fact the preceding portion of the *Aeneid* is only some 400 lines shorter than that which follows; but the emphasis in l. 45 is laid not on their relative length, but on their relative importance in the scheme of Providence and the history of the world.

Why Erato, the Muse of Love, and not Calliope, the Muse of the Epic, as in ix. 525, is invoked here as the representative of the sisterhood of the Muses, is a question which has been frequently debated; it would not have caused any difficulty to Dante. The Servian note, 'pro Calliope vel pro qualicunque Musa posuit', is that of a grammarian rather than of an interpreter, but is at least preferable to the current explanation, that Virgil merely copied it unthinkingly from the invocation which opens the second half of the *Argonautica*.

46. There is some superficial inconsistency between this 'long peace' and the later references to recent hostilities between the Latins and Etruscans (l. 425) and to the 'constant warfare' going on at this actual time between the Latins and Evander's people, viii. 55. But both might well be regarded as mere 'trouble on the frontier' and not regular wars on a large scale.

51. This is a peculiar use of *oriens*, 'rising' or 'springing', not in the ordinary meaning of being born, but of rising towards manhood.

Turnus, avis atavisque potens, quem regia coniunx
adiungi generum miro properabat amore;
sed variis portenta deum terroribus obstant.
laurus erat tecti medio in penetralibus altis
sacra comam multosque metu servata per annos,
quam pater inventam, primas cum conderet arces,
ipse ferebatur Phoebo sacrasse Latinus,
Laurentisque ab ea nomen posuisse colonis.
huius apes summum densae, mirabile dictu,
stridore ingenti liquidum trans aethera vectae
obsedere apicem, et pedibus per mutua nexis
examen subitum ramo frondente pependit.
continuo vates 'externum cernimus' inquit
'adventare virum et partis petere agmen easdem
partibus ex isdem et summa dominarier arce.'
praeterea, castis adolet dum altaria taedis,
et iuxta genitorem astat Lavinia virgo,
visa, nefas, longis comprendere crinibus ignem
atque omnem ornatum flamma crepitante cremari,
regalisque accensa comas, accensa coronam
insignem gemmis, tum fumida lumine fulvo
involvi ac totis Volcanum spargere tectis.
id vero horrendum ac visu mirabile ferri:

56–58 *FMPR* 59–78 *MPR*

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60. For *metu servata*, 'preserved in awe', the exact equivalent of *religione servata* in ii. 715, see note on ii. 151: and cf. *horrendum religione parentum* l. 172 below.

70. *partibus ex isdem* is generally, and no doubt rightly, explained as meaning from the direction of the sea; but its correspondence with the *trans aethera vectae* of l. 65 gives the further suggestion that the foreign host will come 'out of the air', i.e. from an unexpected source.

75. For the favourite Virgilian idiom *accensa comasque accensa coronam* (instead of the normal *accensa comasque coronamque*) compare l. 327 *odit et Pluton odere sorores*, x. 313 *perque aerea suta per tunicam*, xi. 171 *Tyrrhenique duces Tyrrhenum exercitus omnis*.

79. The elliptical construction in this and the next line would, if set out in full, be *canebant id portendere ipsam fore illustrem sed populo fore magnum bellum*.

namque fore inlustrem fama fatisque canebant
ipsam, sed populo magnum portendere bellum.
  At rex sollicitus monstris oracula Fauni,
fatidici genitoris, adit lucosque sub alta
consulit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro
fonte sonat saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim.
hinc Italae gentes omnisque Oenotria tellus
in dubiis responsa petunt; huc dona sacerdos
cum tulit et caesarum ovium sub nocte silenti
pellibus incubuit stratis somnosque petivit,
multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris
et varias audit voces fruiturque deorum
conloquio atque imis Acheronta adfatur Avernis.
hic et tum pater ipse petens responsa Latinus
centum lanigeras mactabat rite bidentis,
atque harum effultus tergo stratisque iacebat
velleribus: subita ex alto vox reddita luco est:
'ne pete conubiis natam sociare Latinis,
o mea progenies, thalamis neu crede paratis;
externi venient generi, qui sanguine nostrum
nomen in astra ferant, quorumque a stirpe nepotes
omnia sub pedibus, qua Sol utrumque recurrens
aspicit Oceanum, vertique regique videbunt.'

79–101 *MPR*   84 saevumque *M*   95 subito *M*

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83. This Albunea is of course not the Albunea of Horace at Tivoli (I *Od.* vii. 12) but one in the neighbourhood of Lavinium: it is identified by Carcopino with a group of sulphurous pools on the Via Ardeatina a couple of miles from Lavinium (the modern Prattica), fed from wooded hills on the east and north-east. *nemorum maxima*, 'the largest in the woodland', is a phrase repeated from *Georg.* ii. 15. Sulphurous springs were numerous in the whole of this volcanic region.

91. For *Averna*, 'the realms below', see note on iii. 442.

93. The force of *mactabat*, where one might expect *mactarat*, seems to be 'proceeded to sacrifice'.

99. The modal distinction between *ferant*, 'shall exalt' and *videbunt*, 'will see', is delicate; it may be designed to give an accent of further certainty to the concluding words of the prophecy.

101. The close-coupled *vertique regique* emphasizes overthrow and dominion as parts of a single process.

haec responsa patris Fauni monitusque silenti
nocte datos non ipse suo premit ore Latinus,
sed circum late volitans iam Fama per urbes
Ausonias tulerat, cum Laomedontia pubes 105
gramineo ripae religavit ab aggere classem.
  Aeneas primique duces et pulcher Iulus
corpora sub ramis deponunt arboris altae
instituuntque dapes, et adorea liba per herbam
subiciunt epulis, sic Iuppiter ipse monebat, 110
et Cereale solum pomis agrestibus augent.
consumptis hic forte aliis, ut vertere morsus
exiguam in Cererem penuria adegit edendi,
et violare manu malisque audacibus orbem
fatalis crusti patulis nec parcere quadris: 115
'heus, etiam mensas consumimus' inquit Iulus,
nec plura, adludens. ea vox audita laborum
prima tulit finem, primamque loquentis ab ore
eripuit pater ac stupefactus numine pressit.
continuo 'salve fatis mihi debita tellus 120

102–120 *MPR* 110 ille *M²* 119 et *R*

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108. The curious flatness of this line is accounted for (though hardly justified) by the fact that it consists of two half-lines from Lucretius (i. 258, ii. 30) pieced together; it is, however, distinctly relieved by omitting the comma which most if not all editors place at the end of the line, and letting the rhythm flow on.

110. *Iuppiter ille*, the reading of Servius, is a plausible variant supported to some extent by the *illa fames* of l. 128, and was approved by Bentley; but it has little MS. authority, and the vulgate *Iuppiter ipse*, which gives a satisfactory sense, need not be disturbed. It occurs thrice elsewhere in Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 149, *Aen.* ix. 128, xii. 725, but in these passages *ille* would be inappropriate.

114. With the *orbis crusti* may be compared the *liba farinacea in modum rotae ficta* mentioned by Festus s.v. *Summanalia*. The *quadrae* are not squares, but the quarters into which these round cakes were cut.

117. *adludens*, 'playing upon the word'. The verb is not used elsewhere by Virgil.

118. For *prima* and *primam*, 'immediately', see note on i. 1.

119. The fantastic explanations offered by various editors, that *pressit* means (1) held tight, did not allow to escape, (2) pondered over, or (3) followed up (as one speaks of pressing an argument), may all be neglected. It means simply 'stopped the utterance'; as Servius briefly notes, 'pressit vocem Ascanii'.

vosque' ait 'o fidi Troiae salvete penates:
hic domus, haec patria est. genitor mihi talia namque,
nunc repeto, Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit:
"cum te, nate, fames ignota ad litora vectum
accisis coget dapibus consumere mensas, 125
tum sperare domos defessus, ibique memento
prima locare manu molirique aggere tecta."
haec erat illa fames, haec nos suprema manebat
exitiis positura modum . . .
quare agite et primo laeti cum lumine solis 130
quae loca, quive habeant homines, ubi moenia gentis,
vestigemus et a portu diversa petamus.
nunc pateras libate Iovi precibusque vocate
Anchisen genitorem, et vina reponite mensis.'
Sic deinde effatus frondenti tempora ramo 135
implicat et geniumque loci primamque deorum
Tellurem Nymphasque et adhuc ignota precatur
flumina, tum Noctem Noctisque orientia signa
Idaeumque Iovem Phrygiamque ex ordine matrem

121–139 *MPR* 125 ambesis *R*

The alleged objection, that Ascanius had stopped already, is almost ludicrous.

122. The variation of phrasing in *hic domus, haec patria*, as is clear from comparison of iii. 714, iv. 347, xii. 572, is to avoid a close repetition of either *hic* or *haec*.

For the position of *namque* in the sentence see note on i. 195.

124. The discrepancy which has been urged between this passage and the narrative of Book III, in which the terrifying prophecy is uttered by the Harpy Celaeno (ll. 250 foll.), and encouragement that it will find a prosperous fulfilment is given by Helenus (ll. 394–5) is only superficial: at all events, no contradiction is involved in what is stated here, that Anchises 'bequeathed' (*reliquit*) to Aeneas, before his own death, a repetition of Helenus' assurance, together with the injunction to let the omen, when it should occur, determine the exact place for his first settlement.

133. *libate pateras* would in a strict use of language be *libate ex pateris*. So we can speak in English of 'pouring glasses'. This libation is the prelude to the renewal of the banquet in ll. 146–7.

135. For *sic deinde* see note on v. 14.

138. The invocation of the stars which are beginning to appear (see note on ii. 8) indicates that it is now growing dark. In the lines which follow, a cloud in the sky is lit up by a flicker of lightning.

invocat, et duplicis caeloque Ereboque parentis.
hic pater omnipotens ter caelo clarus ab alto
intonuit, radiisque ardentem lucis et auro
ipse manu quatiens ostendit ab aethere nubem.
diditur hic subito Troiana per agmina rumor
advenisse diem quo debita moenia condant.
certatim instaurant epulas atque omine magno
crateras laeti statuunt et vina coronant.
  Postera cum prima lustrabat lampade terras
orta dies, urbem et finis et litora gentis
diversi explorant: haec fontis stagna Numici,
hunc Thybrim fluvium, hic fortis habitare Latinos.
tum satus Anchisa delectos ordine ab omni
centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis
ire iubet, ramis velatos Palladis omnis,
donaque ferre viro pacemque exposcere Teucris.

140–155 *MPR*   143 manum M^1

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147. For the meaning of *vina coronant* see note on i. 724.

149. The *urbs gentis* is the Latin capital, Lavinium or Laurolavinium in the *ager Laurens*. Virgil in this and the following books seems deliberately to avoid giving it a definite name: the nearest he comes to doing so is where he speaks of the *arx Laurens* viii. 1, and makes one of the terms of peace set out by Aeneas *urbi dabit Lavinia nomen* xii. 194. In the earlier books a name is only given to it in prophecies: *moenia Lavini* and *sedes Lavini* in that of Jupiter (i. 258, 270), *regna Lavini* in that of the Sibyl (vi. 84). No town seems in fact to have existed in this district in Virgil's own time, the *vicus Laurentium* being merely a cluster of buildings round the imperial villa of Laurentum (Tor Paterno). The *fines* of the Latin kingdom, bounded by the Tiber on the north, are otherwise indeterminate; but see xi. 316 foll. for a description of the territory which Latinus proposes to cede to Aeneas. Its *litora* stretched from the Tiber mouth as far down, approximately, as Ardea. The Numicus is most probably identified with the Canale dello Stagno which drains the *palus Laurentia*. For further details see App. F.

153. The number of a hundred, here and again in the Latin embassy of xi. 331, if not a mere epic exaggeration, must be meant to include the whole suite of the *oratores* as well as themselves. For the members of such embassies from Rome, from four to ten was the normal number; in the earlier Republic they were called *oratores*, a name afterwards superseded by that of *legati*; they were ordinarily nominated by the senate from among those who held, or

haud mora, festinant iussi rapidisque feruntur
passibus. ipse humili designat moenia fossa
moliturque locum, primasque in litore sedes
castrorum in morem pinnis atque aggere cingit.
iamque iter emensi turris ac tecta Latinorum
ardua cernebant iuvenes muroque subibant.
ante urbem pueri et primaevo flore iuventus
exercentur equis domitantque in pulvere currus,
aut acris tendunt arcus aut lenta lacertis
spicula contorquent, cursuque ictuque lacessunt:
cum praevectus equo longaevi regis ad auris
nuntius ingentis ignota in veste reportat
advenisse viros. ille intra tecta vocari
imperat et solio medius consedit avito.
Tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis
urbe fuit summa, Laurentis regia Pici,

156–171 *MPR*   160 et tecta M^1, Latini M^2 163 exercetur *P*.

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had held, high public office, and so those of Book XI are called *Latini de prima gente*; during the progress of a war they might be appointed by the commander-in-chief. Why on this occasion they are said to be chosen *ex omni ordine* is not clear, unless the phrase is meant to include their retinue, 'a body of 100 picked men of all ranks'.

The epithet *augustus*, except as the title of the Emperor, does not occur in the *Aeneid* elsewhere than in this passage. Its emphatic repetition *augusta ad moenia, tectum augustum*, is perhaps designed to suggest that this ancient palace was the predecessor of the imperial villa of the poet's own time.

159. The *pinnae* are the forked or 'feathered' stakes fixed as an entanglement in the earthen rampart of a Roman camp. They were carried among the baggage of a Roman army, like the 'Swedish feathers' used as an improvised field-fortification by the army of Gustavus Adolphus.

164. Here, as in ix. 665 *intendunt acris arcus* and xi. 800 *convertere animos acris, acres* (nominative) may be the true reading. *acer* in Virgil is nearly always applied to persons (37 times), or to animals (horse, dog, wolf, boar, gad-fly); and sometimes, metaphorically, to such words as *cura, metus, dolor*; but not elsewhere to inanimate objects. The verbal antithesis in this line between *acris* and *lenta* in totally different applications is quite in Virgil's manner.

165. *ictu*, sc. in boxing; not, as Servius explains wrongly, *iaculatione*.

167. 'Bene novitatis ostendit opinionem', remarks Servius, 'ingentes enim esse quos primum videmus opinamur.'

horrendum silvis et religione parentum.
hic sceptra accipere et primos attollere fascis
regibus omen erat; hoc illis curia templum,
hae sacris sedes epulis; hic ariete caeso
perpetuis soliti patres considere mensis.
quin etiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum
antiqua e cedro, Italusque paterque Sabinus
vitisator curvam servans sub imagine falcem,
Saturnusque senex Ianique bifrontis imago
vestibulo astabant, aliique ab origine reges,
Martiaque ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi.
multaque praeterea sacris in postibus arma,
captivi pendent currus curvaeque secures
et cristae capitum et portarum ingentia claustra
spiculaque clipeique ereptaque rostra carinis.
ipse Quirinali lituo parvaque sedebat
succinctus trabea laevaque ancile gerebat
Picus, equum domitor, quem capta cupidine coniunx
aurea percussum virga versumque venenis
fecit avem Circe sparsitque coloribus alas.
tali intus templo divum patriaque Latinus
sede sedens Teucros ad sese in tecta vocavit,
atque haec ingressis placido prior edidit ore:

172–179 *MPR*   180–194 *FMPR*   182 Martia qui F^1M

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174. *omen*, 'augury', implies the further notion of ritual; one may compare the *primis iugarat ominibus* of i. 345.

176. 'At long tables', as was the old Roman practice, superseded in Virgil's time (as in modern England) by groups of small tables, the *triclinia*, at which the diners did not sit on benches, but reclined on couches.

206. *his agris*, said in Latium of the Etruscan city of Cortona, is one of the many delicate touches by which Virgil keeps emphasizing the unity of Italy.

207. The reading *penetrarit*, though only found in one of the four primary MSS., is accepted by most critics since Bentley. The alternative *penetravit* could, however, be equally in accordance with Virgil's usage, as in vi. 779 and elsewhere.

210. The expression *stellans caelum* (taken by Virgil from Lucretius and the older poets) means 'sparkling heaven', not expressly 'starred', though it comes to much the same thing.

'Dicite, Dardanidae, neque enim nescimus et urbem
et genus, auditique advertitis aequore cursum,
quid petitis? quae causa rates aut cuius egentis
litus ad Ausonium tot per vada caerula vexit?
sive errore viae seu tempestatibus acti,
qualia multa mari nautae patiuntur in alto,
fluminis intrastis ripas portuque sedetis,
ne fugite hospitium, neve ignorate Latinos
Saturni gentem haud vinclo nec legibus aequam,
sponte sua, veterisque dei se more tenentem.
atque equidem memini, fama est obscurior annis,
Auruncos ita ferre senes, his ortus ut agris
Dardanus Idaeas Phrygiae penetrarit ad urbes
Threiciamque Samum, quae nunc Samothracia fertur.
hinc illum Corythi Tyrrhena ab sede profectum
aurea nunc solio stellantis regia caeli
accipit et numerum divorum altaribus auget.'
Dixerat, et dicta Ilioneus sic voce secutus:
'rex, genus egregium Fauni, nec fluctibus actos
atra subegit hiems vestris succedere terris,
nec sidus regione viae litusve fefellit:
consilio hanc omnes animisque volentibus urbem
adferimur, pulsi regnis quae maxima quondam

195–217 *FMPR* 207 penetravit *FMP* 211 numerom P^1, numero P^2 212 dictum M^1

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211. The change of subject in a pair of parallel clauses, 'the palace of heaven receives him, and [he] increases the number of the Gods' altars', is a favourite Virgilian artifice, e.g. iv. 532 *saevit amor magnoque* [*Dido*] *irarum fluctuat aestu*, xii. 352 *illum alio adfecit pretio neque* [*Dolon*] *equis adspirat Achillis*; probably, though not necessarily, xii. 70 *illum turbat amor figitque* [*ille*] *in virgine vultus*; and more venturously, *ubi confecti cursus et dona peregit* v. 362. In x. 196, *ille instat aquae, saxumque undis minatur, arduus*, the clause with a different subject is inserted in the middle of the other clause. The vulgate *addit* is, though found in a few inferior and late MSS., a mere emendation arbitrarily made to regularize the construction, and as some of the editors who adopt it have seen, would require a further alteration of *numerum* into *numen* to give a satisfactory sense.

215. For *regione viae* see note on ii. 737.

extremo veniens sol aspiciebat Olympo.
ab Iove principium generis, Iove Dardana pubes
gaudet avo, rex ipse Iovis de gente suprema 220
Troius Aeneas tua nos ad limina misit.
quanta per Idaeos saevis effusa Mycenis
tempestas ierit campos, quibus actus uterque
Europae atque Asiae fatis concurrerit orbis,
audiit et si quem tellus extrema refuso 225
summovet Oceano et si quem extenta plagarum
quattuor in medio dirimit plaga solis iniqui.
diluvio ex illo tot vasta per aequora vecti
dis sedem exiguam patriis litusque rogamus
innocuum et cunctis undamque auramque patentem. 230
non erimus regno indecores, nec vestra feretur
fama levis tantique abolescet gratia facti,
nec Troiam Ausonios gremio excepisse pigebit.
fata per Aeneae iuro dextramque potentem,
sive fide seu quis bello est expertus et armis: 235
multi nos populi, multae, ne temne quod ultro
praeferimus manibus vittas ac verba precantia,
et petiere sibi et voluere adiungere gentes;
sed nos fata deum vestras exquirere terras
imperiis egere suis. hinc Dardanus ortus, 240
huc repetit iussisque ingentibus urget Apollo

218–241 *FMPR* 221 mittit *F* 232 tantive *R* 237 vittasque precantia verba F^2, vittas et verba precantum *R*

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223. The meaning of *uterque orbis* is rather 'two continents' than 'two worlds': see Housman on Manilius iv. 677.

225. 'The utmost land uncovered by ocean at ebb', i.e. the extreme limit of the habitable world; Virgil probably had in his mind the half-submerged *insula Batavorum*. In what follows, the fame of the Trojan war is said to have penetrated even through the torrid zone to the Antipodean regions.

230. The exact meaning of *innocuum* is not easy to determine; the interpretation of Servius, 'quo vindicato nulli possit noceri', is probably right; but in x. 302 it means 'unharmed'.

237. This line is not hypermetric, as is clear from the analogous ending *quin protinus omnia* | *perlegerent* of vi. 33.

Tyrrhenum ad Thybrim et fontis vada sacra Numici.
dat tibi praeterea fortunae parva prioris
munera, reliquias Troia ex ardente receptas.
hoc pater Anchises auro libabat ad aras,
hoc Priami gestamen erat cum iura vocatis
more daret populis, sceptrumque sacerque tiaras
Iliadumque labor vestes. . . .'
Talibus Ilionei dictis defixa Latinus
obtutu tenet ora soloque immobilis haeret,
intentos volvens oculos. nec purpura regem
picta movet nec sceptra movent Priameia tantum
quantum in conubio natae thalamoque moratur,
et veteris Fauni volvit sub pectore sortem:
hunc illum fatis externa ab sede profectum
portendi generum paribusque in regna vocari
auspiciis, huic progeniem virtute futuram
egregiam et totum quae viribus occupet orbem.
Tandem laetus ait: 'di nostra incepta secundent
auguriumque suum! dabitur, Troiane, quod optas.
munera nec sperno: non vobis rege Latino
divitis uber agri Troiaeve opulentia deerit.
ipse modo Aeneas, nostri si tanta cupido est,
si iungi hospitio properat sociusque vocari,
adveniat, vultus neve exhorrescat amicos:

242–247 *FMPR*   248–265 *FMPRV*   254 volvens F^1 262 Troiaeque P^2 264 sociusve *FRV*

Latinorum in l. 160 is the only instance in Virgil of a hypermetric line other than one ending with *-que*. All three lines have been tampered with by emendation, *Latinorum* being altered into *Latini*, *omnia* into *omne*, and *precantia* into *precantum* as early as MSS. of the sixth century.

249. *defixa obtutu tenet ora haeretque* is the equivalent of *obtutu haeret defixus* i. 495, with the words *solo immobilis*, 'not stirring from his place', tacked on to it.

252. The repetition in *nec purpura movet nec sceptra movent* is unusual, as there is no need for it to carry an added emphasis like that of *odit Pluton odere sorores* in l. 327 below.

256. *regna paribus auspiciis* is a single phrase, and very nearly equivalent to 'a reign of equal authority'.

pars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse tyranni.
vos contra regi mea nunc mandata referte.
est mihi nata, viro gentis quam iungere nostrae
non patrio ex adyto sortes, non plurima caelo
monstra sinunt; generos externis adfore ab oris,
hoc Latio restare canunt, qui sanguine nostrum
nomen in astra ferant. hunc illum poscere fata
et reor et, si quid veri mens augurat, opto.'
haec effatus equos numero pater eligit omni:
stabant ter centum nitidi in praesepibus altis:
omnibus extemplo Teucris iubet ordine duci
instratos ostro alipedes pictisque tapetis:
aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent,
tecti auro fulvum mandunt sub dentibus aurum:
absenti Aeneae currum geminosque iugalis
semine ab aetherio spirantis naribus ignem,
illorum de gente patri quos daedala Circe
supposita de matre nothos furata creavit.
talibus Aeneadae donis dictisque Latini
sublimes in equis redeunt pacemque reportant.
Ecce autem Inachiis sese referebat ab Argis
saeva Iovis coniunx aurasque invecta tenebat,
et laetum Aenean classemque ex aethere longe
Dardaniam Siculo prospexit ab usque Pachyno.

266–273 *FMPRV* 274–276 *FMPR* 277–289 *FMR* 281 flagrantis *F*
288 longo *M*

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266. 'Part of the peace' i.e. one of the terms of peace. For *tyranni* see note on i. 361.

274. *omni numero* 'for all the train': so l. 574 below, *pastorum numerus* 'the train of shepherds'. See also note on l. 698 below.

The five lines which follow are certainly a tentative and unrevised draft, which would have been worked down (if not, as one might prefer to think, struck out) on revision. This is clear both from the loose trailing construction, from the weak elaboration of the description, and from the awkward repetition in l. 276 of what has already been said in l. 274. In viii. 551–3 the same motive recurs and is admirably treated.

286. Virgil does not say to where Juno

moliri iam tecta videt, iam fidere terrae,
deseruisse rates; stetit acri fixa dolore,
tum quassans caput haec effundit pectore dicta:
'Heu stirpem invisam et fatis contraria nostris
fata Phrygum! num Sigeis occumbere campis,
num capti potuere capi? num incensa cremavit
Troia viros? medias acies mediosque per ignis
invenere viam. at, credo, mea numina tandem
fessa iacent, odiis aut exsaturata quievi.
quin etiam patria excussos infesta per undas
ausa sequi et profugis toto me opponere ponto.
absumptae in Teucros vires caelique marisque.
quid Syrtes aut Scylla mihi, quid vasta Charybdis
profuit? optato conduntur Thybridis alveo
securi pelagi atque mei. Mars perdere gentem
immanem Lapithum valuit, concessit in iras
ipse deum antiquam genitor Calydona Dianae,
quod scelus aut Lapithis tantum aut Calydone merente?
ast ego, magna Iovis coniunx, nil linquere inausum
quae potui infelix, quae memet in omnia verti,
vincor ab Aenea. quod si mea numina non sunt
magna satis, dubitem haud equidem implorare quod usquam est:
flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.
non dabitur regnis, esto, prohibere Latinis,

290–313 *FMR* 298 haud *M* 307 Lapithas M^2, Calydo F^1, Calydona F^2M^2, merentē *F*, merentes M^1, merentem M^2 310 vincar M^1

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was 'returning', but presumably to Carthage; Pachynus, the southern promontory of Sicily, would be on the line of flight from Argos to Carthage.

287. *auras invecta tenebat*, 'held on her course riding the air'. But *auras* is grammatically the object of *tenebat*, *invecta* being used absolutely, like *caelo invectus aperto* of Neptune in i. 155, though there the use is made easier by the *flectit equos* which immediately follows. The ordinary expression, *invectus equis*, occurs vi. 587.

298. For *odiis* see note on iv. 623.

307. The variant readings of this line (*Lapithas*, *Lapithis*; *Calydona*, *Calydone*; *merentem*, *merentes*, *merente*) are merely grammatical, and immaterial to sense or rhythm. The text above is that preferred by Servius and Priscian.

atque immota manet fatis Lavinia coniunx:
at trahere atque moras tantis licet addere rebus,
at licet amborum populos exscindere regum.
hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum.
sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, virgo,
et Bellona manet te pronuba. nec face tantum
Cisseis praegnas ignis enixa iugalis;
quin idem Veneri partus suus et Paris alter,
funestaeque iterum recidiva in Pergama taedae.'
  Haec ubi dicta dedit, terras horrenda petivit;
luctificam Allecto dirarum ab sede dearum
infernisque ciet tenebris, cui tristia bella
iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi.
odit et ipse pater Pluton, odere sorores
Tartareae monstrum: tot sese vertit in ora,
tam saevae facies, tot pullulat atra colubris.
quam Iuno his acuit verbis ac talia fatur:
  'Hunc mihi da proprium, virgo sata Nocte, laborem,
hanc operam, ne noster honos infractave cedat
fama loco, neu conubiis ambire Latinum
Aeneadae possint Italosve obsidere finis.
tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres
atque odiis versare domos, tu verbera tectis
funereasque inferre faces: tibi nomina mille,

314–325 *FMR* 326–329 *FMRV* 330–337 *MRV* 317 at gener *M*
324 sororum M^2R 330 dictis *R* 337 funereas inferre *V*

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326. From the normal meaning of *crimen*, 'accusation', as in ii. 98, vi. 430, 433, xi. 407, through an intermediate sense of 'ground of accusation' as in *crimina belli* below l. 339 and *crimen commune* xii. 16, it comes to be used in the wider sense of 'blot' or 'fault', as in *sine crimine vitam* iv. 550 and *maculavi crimine nomen* x. 851: so must be explained *medio in crimine caedis* l. 577 below, and probably the enigmatic *crimen amor vestrum* of x. 188.

327. According to ordinary mythology, the Furies were the daughters of Acheron and Night: *pater Pluton* probably here only means 'Pluto their lord'.

329. The plural *facies* has the force of 'changes of countenance'.

331. *labor* and *opera* have much the same meaning: cf. the combination in *operum laborem* i. 455. *da proprium*, 'give me

mille nocendi artes; fecundum concute pectus,
disice compositam pacem, sere crimina belli;
arma velit poscatque simul rapiatque iuventus.'
Exin Gorgoneis Allecto infecta venenis
principio Latium et Laurentis tecta tyranni
celsa petit, tacitumque obsedit limen Amatae,
quam super adventu Teucrum Turnique hymenaeis
femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant.
huic dea caeruleis unum de crinibus anguem
conicit, inque sinum praecordia ad intima subdit,
quo furibunda domum monstro permisceat omnem.
ille inter vestis et levia pectora lapsus
volvitur attactu nullo, fallitque furentem
vipeream inspirans animam; fit tortile collo
aurum ingens coluber, fit longae taenia vittae
innectitque comas et membris lubricus errat.
ac dum prima lues udo sublapsa veneno
pertemptat sensus atque ossibus implicat ignem
necdum animus toto percepit pectore flammam,
mollius et solito matrum de more locuta est,
multa super natae lacrimans Phrygiisque hymenaeis:
'Exsulibusne datur ducenda Lavinia Teucris,
o genitor, nec te miseret nataeque tuique,
nec matris miseret, quam primo Aquilone relinquet

338–351 *MRV* 352–361 *MR* 340 exim *M* 351 spirans *MV*
357 est *om. M* 358 nata *R*

---

for my own', cf. i. 73 *propriam dicabo*.

343. 'The soundless threshold' i.e. the threshold at which she silently takes her place.

350. The meaning of *attactu nullo* is 'without attaching itself' (as we speak of ivy attaching itself to a tree), or as Servius well paraphrases it, 'sine morsu'. In *fallit furentem* 'insensibly maddens her', *furentem* is 'proleptic' as in the *furentem incendat reginam* of i. 659.

358. The coupling of *natae hymenaeis* and *Phrygiis hymenaeis* is no doubt due to the dislike of Augustan poets for the genitive form in -ii which was then only beginning to come into use; otherwise it would have been natural for Virgil to write *natae Phrygiique*, as he does *natae Turnique hymenaeos* in l. 398. The *nata* of one good MS. normalizes the construction with a reminiscence of *bellum Turnique hymenaeos* xi. 217.

perfidus alta petens abducta virgine praedo?
at non sic Phrygius penetrat Lacedaemona pastor,
Ledaeamque Helenam Troianas vexit ad urbes?
quid tua sancta fides? quid cura antiqua tuorum 365
et consanguineo totiens data dextera Turno?
si gener externa petitur de gente Latinis,
idque sedet, Faunique premunt te iussa parentis,
omnem equidem sceptris terram, quae libera nostris
dissidet, externam reor et sic dicere divos. 370
et Turno, si prima domus repetatur origo,
Inachus Acrisiusque patres mediaeque Mycenae.'
His ubi nequiquam dictis experta Latinum
contra stare videt, penitusque in viscera lapsum
serpentis furiale malum totamque pererrat, 375
tum vero infelix ingentibus excita monstris
immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem.
ceu quondam torto volitans sub verbere turbo,
quem pueri magno in gyro vacua atria circum
intenti ludo exercent; ille actus habena 380
curvatis fertur spatiis, stupet inscia supra
impubesque manus mirata volubile buxum,
dant animos plagae; non cursu segnior illo
per medias urbes agitur populosque ferocis.
quin etiam in silvas simulato numine Bacchi 385
maius adorta nefas maioremque orsa furorem

362–386 *MR* 363 annon *M* 370 poscere M^1 385 silvis M^1

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370. *dissidet* here has its primary sense, 'is on a separate footing from our own': a very rare use of the verb. It does not occur in Virgil in its ordinary sense of 'disagree'.

377. Elsewhere in Virgil *immensus* has its ordinary sense of 'immense' or 'immeasurable', which could hardly be applied to the small city of Latinus; and Heyne, followed by several other editors, altered *immensam* into *immensum*, 'immeasurably' or 'unrestrainedly'. But this would only weaken the force of *sine more*: and *immensa urbs* is rather 'the outstretched city', 'the city all up and down'. Similarly *immensus iacuit*, of the Cyclops, iii. 632, means 'outstretched' or 'sprawling'.

381. For *inscia* see note on ii. 307.

383. The blows 'excite' the top, 'dant

evolat et natam frondosis montibus abdit,
quo thalamum eripiat Teucris taedasque moretur,
euhoe Bacche fremens, solum te virgine dignum
vociferans: etenim mollis tibi sumere thyrsos,
te lustrare choro, sacrum tibi pascere crinem.
fama volat, furiisque accensas pectore matres
idem omnis simul ardor agit nova quaerere tecta:
deseruere domos, ventis dant colla comasque;
ast aliae tremulis ululatibus aethera complent
pampineasque gerunt incinctae pellibus hastas.
ipsa inter medias flagrantem fervida pinum
sustinet ac natae Turnique canit hymenaeos
sanguineam torquens aciem, torvumque repente
clamat: 'io matres audite ubi quaeque Latinae!
si qua piis animis manet infelicis Amatae
gratia, si iuris materni cura remordet,
solvite crinalis vittas, capite orgia mecum.'
  Talem inter silvas, inter deserta ferarum
reginam Allecto stimulis agit undique Bacchi.
postquam visa satis primos acuisse furores
consiliumque omnemque domum vertisse Latini,
protinus hinc fuscis tristis dea tollitur alis
audacis Rutuli ad muros, quam dicitur urbem
Acrisioneis Danae fundasse colonis
praecipiti delata Noto. locus Ardea quondam

387–403 *MR*   404–411 *MRV*   391 choros M^2R 395 illae (?) M^2

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turbini concitatiorem motum' as Heyne well paraphrases it. *non cursu segnior illo*, 'not slacker than it in her speed'.

384. For *ferocis* see note on i. 263.

386. *nefas*, while it most frequently has the sense of 'offence against heaven' or 'sin', is also used of anything of alarming omen, as in *dictu nefas prodigium* iii. 365, and in the description of the portentous flame in Lavinia's hair l. 73 above; and it is here so applied to Amata's increasing madness. See also note on l. 595 below.

398. 'Hic aperte expressit dementiam', Servius comments: 'nam cum consecraverit filiam Libero, hymenaeum canit eius et Turni.'

dictus avis, et nunc magnum tenet Ardea nomen,
sed fortuna fuit. tectis hic Turnus in altis
iam mediam nigra carpebat nocte quietem.
Allecto torvam faciem et furialia membra
exuit, in vultus sese transformat anilis
et frontem obscenam rugis arat, induit albos
cum vitta crinis, tum ramum innectit olivae;
fit Calybe Iunonis anus templique sacerdos,
et iuveni ante oculos his se cum vocibus offert:
'Turne, tot incassum fusos patiere labores,
et tua Dardaniis transcribi sceptra colonis?
rex tibi coniugium et quaesitas sanguine dotes
abnegat, externusque in regnum quaeritur heres.
i nunc, ingratis offer te, inrise, periclis;
Tyrrhenas, i, sterne acies, tege pace Latinos.
haec adeo tibi me, placida cum nocte iaceres,
ipsa palam fari omnipotens Saturnia iussit.
quare age et armari pubem portisque moveri
laetus in arma para, et Phrygios qui flumine pulchro
consedere duces pictasque exure carinas.

412–427 *MRV* 428, 429 *FMRV* 430, 431 *FMR* 412 manet *M*^{1}*V*
413 hic tectis *V* 430 iube *M*

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412. The MSS. vary between *tenet* and *manet*; the meaning is identical, *tenet* being intransitive, 'continues', 'holds good'. It does not appear to occur in this sense in pre-Augustan Latin, but is frequent in Livy; *manet* is probably an editorial emendation.

417. For *obscenam*, 'ill-omened', see note on iii. 367.

419. The construction is *anus sacerdos Iunonis templique*, 'the aged priestess of Juno and her temple'.

429–31. There is something wrong with the text here, though whether it be due to corruption or to its being an unfinished draft cannot be ascertained. *para armari pubem* is not Latin; the *iube* substituted for *para* in the Medicean MS. is probably a conjectural emendation; and *armari moverique in arma* is intolerably clumsy. It may be suspected that ll. 429 and 430 are the materials for two lines, put provisionally into metrical form in order to get a run of rhythm, but not so obviously incomplete as to oblige his editors to strike out the whole passage. See Introduction, pp. xlix foll.

432. For the use of *vis* in the sense of a 'force' of men or a 'pack' of animals see note on iv. 132. Here, as in the analogous *vim deum infernam* of xii.

caelestum vis magna iubet. rex ipse Latinus,
ni dare coniugium et dicto parere fatetur,
sentiat et tandem Turnum experiatur in armis.'
Hic iuvenis vatem inridens sic orsa vicissim
ore refert: 'classis invectas Thybridis undam
non, ut rere, meas effugit nuntius auris.
ne tantos mihi finge metus. nec regia Iuno
immemor est nostri . . .
sed te victa situ verique effeta senectus,
o mater, curis nequiquam exercet, et arma
regum inter falsa vatem formidine ludit.
cura tibi divum effigies et templa tueri;
bella viri pacemque gerent quis bella gerenda.'
Talibus Allecto dictis exarsit in iras.
at iuveni oranti subitus tremor occupat artus,
deriguere oculi: tot Erinys sibilat hydris
tantaque se facies aperit; tum flammea torquens
lumina cunctantem et quaerentem dicere plura
reppulit, et geminos erexit crinibus anguis,
verberaque insonuit rabidoque haec addidit ore:

432–451 *FMR*   436 alveo *M*^{2}*R*   444 gerant *M*   451 rapidoque *F*

199, it means the collected body of the deities, celestial or infernal.

435. For the passive use attached to certain deponent participles see note on iv. 38. But *orsa*, and its compound *exorsa* in x. 111 and *Georg.* ii. 46, are practically nouns, equivalent to *ordia* (obsolete and only surviving in the Lucretian *ordia prima* for the normal *primordia*) and *exordia*. *orsa* is so used again x. 632 and xi. 123.

444. Heyne, following Burmann, proposed to strike out *quis bella gerenda* as a spurious completion of an unfinished line; and other editors have held it to be at least otiose, and a stop-gap. But the whole line, 'war or peace will be dealt with by men, whose business war is', is unexceptionably Virgilian. By the addition of *pacemque* Turnus emphasizes that he is not, so far, committed to war; and his *bella pacemque* leads up to the *bella letumque* of Allecto's angry reply, l. 455.

446. In early Latin *orare* meant to plead in the technical sense, i.e. to state a case. It is so used by Virgil here and again x. 96, and in the fuller phrase of *orabunt causas*, vi. 849. Later, and normally in classical Latin, it took, like the English 'plead', the more general sense of 'beseech'.

451. Except in the famous *alarum*

'en ego victa situ, quam veri effeta senectus
arma inter regum falsa formidine ludit;
respice ad haec: adsum dirarum ab sede sororum,
bella manu letumque gero . . .'
sic effata facem iuveni coniecit et atro
lumine fumantis fixit sub pectore taedas.
olli somnum ingens rumpit pavor, ossaque et artus
perfundit toto proruptus corpore sudor.
arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit:
saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli,
ira super: magno veluti cum flamma sonore
virgea suggeritur costis undantis aëni
exsultantque aestu latices, furit intus aquai
fumidus atque alte spumis exuberat amnis,
nec iam se capit unda, volat vapor ater ad auras.
ergo iter ad regem polluta pace Latinum
indicit primis iuvenum et iubet arma parari;
tutari Italiam, detrudere finibus hostem,
se satis ambobus Teucrisque venire Latinisque.
haec ubi dicta dedit divosque in vota vocavit,

452–469 *FMR* 470, 471 *MR* 459 perfudit *M*, praeruptus *F* 464 aquae vis *FR* 466 nec se iam *F*

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verbera, 'the beating of your wings' in xii. 876, *verber* has always with Virgil the sense of the lash itself, not the stroke given by it. *verbera insonuit* is a variation of the *sonare verbera* of vi. 557; elsewhere in Virgil (as in the parallel phrase, v. 579 *insonuit flagello*) *insonare* is intransitive.

456. Servius observes, 'atro lumine, furiali, inferno; alias ratione caret'; and so commentators say that *atro* must be understood as meaning *funereo* or the like. But the phrase 'dark glare' requires no defence: and this is the description of a dream.

464. According to an early tradition, this line in Virgil's autograph ended *furit intus aquae amnis*, and was altered, before publication, by Varius and Tucca. Servius, who states that they altered *aquae amnis* into *aquai*, goes on to say, or to imply, that the reason for the alteration was the 'asperity' of two successive lines ending with *amnis*. The Moretan Glossary on the other hand says, '*aquae vis* apposuit Tucca, quia nimis aspere sonuit *aquae amnis*, quod Virgilius prius ibi posuit'. The primary MSS. vary between *aquai* and *aquae vis*. It is impossible to suppose that Virgil meant the two lines to stand in the form in which he is said to have

certatim sese Rutuli exhortantur in arma.
hunc decus egregium formae movet atque iuventae,
hunc atavi reges, hunc claris dextera factis.
Dum Turnus Rutulos animis audacibus implet,
Allecto in Teucros Stygiis se concitat alis,
arte nova speculata locum. quo litore pulcher
insidiis cursuque feras agitabat Iulus,
hic subitam canibus rabiem Cocytia virgo
obicit et noto naris contingit odore,
ut cervum ardentes agerent; quae prima laborum
causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestis.
cervus erat forma praestanti et cornibus ingens,
Tyrrhidae pueri quem matris ab ubere raptum
nutribant Tyrrhusque pater, cui regia parent
armenta et late custodia credita campi.
adsuetum imperiis soror omni Silvia cura
mollibus intexens ornabat cornua sertis,
pectebatque ferum puroque in fonte lavabat.
ille manum patiens mensaeque adsuetus erili
errabat silvis rursusque ad limina nota

472–481 *MR* 482–485 *MRV* 486–491 *FMRV* 481 malorum M^2
486 lati F^1M^1RV 490 manu FM^1

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left them written; and it is very probable that what was found in his autograph was two lines meant as alternatives, with the ending word of the former line left uncertain or incomplete, then the latter line complete. *aquai* and *aquae vis* would thus represent two different attempts to get both lines in, with as little alteration as possible. If l. 465 were discarded, the alleged *aquae amnis* in l. 464 would present no insuperable difficulty: the elision of a long vowel or a diphthong in this place of the verse is unusual, but *aquae amnis* would probably not offend a Latin ear any more than *ibi ignem* in ix. 351, nor would *amnis aquae* be any more anomalous than *fons* or *rivus aquae*. The word *amnis* is similarly used of the water in a pot xii. 417.

467. For *polluta* see note on v. 6.

469. For the coupling of active and passive infinitives after *iubet*, see note on iii. 61. But here it is perhaps preferable to punctuate as above, so as to connect the line with the one which follows, not with the one which precedes.

478. In strictness *agitabat* only applies to *cursu*, not to *insidiis*. But the picture is of the game being chased into toils previously set.

490. *manum* is a syncopated genitive plural, like *currum* in vi. 653.

ipse domum sera quamvis se nocte ferebat.
hunc procul errantem rabidae venantis Iuli
commovere canes, fluvio cum forte secundo
deflueret ripaque aestus viridante levaret.
ipse etiam eximiae laudis succensus amore
Ascanius curvo direxit spicula cornu;
nec dextrae erranti deus afuit, actaque multo
perque uterum sonitu perque ilia venit harundo.
saucius at quadripes nota intra tecta refugit
successitque gemens stabulis, questuque cruentus
atque imploranti similis tectum omne replebat.
Silvia prima soror palmis percussa lacertos
auxilium vocat et duros conclamat agrestis.
olli, pestis enim tacitis latet aspera silvis,
improvisi adsunt, hic torre armatus obusto,
stipitis hic gravidi nodis; quod cuique repertum
rimanti telum ira facit. vocat agmina Tyrrhus,
quadrifidam quercum cuneis ut forte coactis
scindebat, rapta spirans immane securi.
At saeva e speculis tempus dea nacta nocendi
ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo
pastorale canit signum cornuque recurvo
Tartaream intendit vocem, qua protinus omne
contremuit nemus et silvae insonuere profundae;
audiit et Triviae longe lacus, audiit amnis
sulpurea Nar albus aqua fontesque Velini,

492–507 *FMRV*   508, 509 *FMR*   510–517 *MR*   497 derexit F^1R, d . . . exit *V*
498 dextra *M*   502 replevit *RV*   510 scindebant M^1 514 incendit M^1R^2

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505. Here, as elsewhere when applied to animals (lion, wolf, gadfly, hornet), *asper* has the sense of fierce or exasperated.

509. He drops his beetle and wedges, and catches up his woodman's axe. For *ut forte* see note on i. 362.

525. 'The field all iron cast a gleaming brown' *Paradise Regained* iii. 326.

540. *aequo Marte*, 'in regular warfare'; as Servius paraphrases it, *bello manifesto*; it repeats the *non iam certamine agresti* of l. 523.

543. *caeli convexa per auras*, the reading of R and (corrected from *conversa*) of M, and, according to Servius, of all the early commentators on Virgil, is

et trepidae matres pressere ad pectora natos.
Tum vero ad vocem celeres, qua bucina signum
dira dedit, raptis concurrunt undique telis 520
indomiti agricolae, nec non et Troïa pubes
Ascanio auxilium castris effundit apertis.
direxere acies. non iam certamine agresti
stipitibus duris agitur sudibusve praeustis,
sed ferro ancipiti decernunt atraque late 525
horrescit strictis seges ensibus, aeraque fulgent
sole lacessita et lucem sub nubila iactant:
fluctus uti primo coepit cum albescere ponto,
paulatim sese tollit mare et altius undas
erigit, inde imo consurgit ad aethera fundo. 530
hic iuvenis primam ante aciem stridente sagitta,
natorum Tyrrhi fuerat qui maximus, Almo,
sternitur; haesit enim sub gutture vulnus et udae
vocis iter tenuemque inclusit sanguine vitam.
corpora multa virum circa seniorque Galaesus, 535
dum paci medium se offert, iustissimus unus
qui fuit Ausoniisque olim ditissimus arvis:
quinque greges illi balantum, quina redibant
armenta, et terram centum vertebat aratris.
Atque ea per campos aequo dum Marte geruntur, 540
promissi dea facta potens, ubi sanguine bellum
imbuit et primae commisit funera pugnae,
deserit Hesperiam et caeli convexa per auras

518–543 *MR* 523 derexere *M* 543 conversa M^1

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generally considered a corruption. The explanation of Probus and Donatus, that *per* is to be read twice, with *caeli convexa* and with *auras*, is impossible: the emendations suggested, *conversa per auras*, *convexa pererrans*, *convexa peragrans*, are very unconvincing. Elsewhere in Virgil, *caeli convexa* means 'the vault of heaven': here, however, if it be the true reading, *convexa* must be a nominative singular used on the analogy of *devexus* 'sloping downward' or 'descending', which occurs thrice in the *Georgics*, and once in the *Aeneid* viii. 280 (where see note); and *caeli convexa per auras* must mean

Iunonem victrix adfatur voce superba:
'en, perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi;
dic in amicitiam coeant et foedera iungant,
quandoquidem Ausonio respersi sanguine Teucros.
hoc etiam his addam, tua si mihi certa voluntas:
finitimas in bella feram rumoribus urbes,
accendamque animos insani Martis amore
undique ut auxilio veniant; spargam arma per agros.'
  Tum contra Iuno: 'terrorum et fraudis abunde est:
stant belli causae, pugnatur comminus armis,
quae fors prima dedit sanguis novus imbuit arma.
talia coniugia et talis celebrent hymenaeos
egregium Veneris genus et rex ipse Latinus.
te super aetherias errare licentius auras
haud pater ille velit, summi regnator Olympi.
cede locis. ego, si qua super fortuna laborum est,
ipsa regam.' talis dederat Saturnia voces,
illa autem attollit stridentis anguibus alas
Cocytique petit sedem supera ardua linquens.
est locus Italiae medio sub montibus altis,
nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris,

544–564 *MR*   562 super *MR*

---

gathering herself together (for rapid passage) through the aery sky: the reverse action to that of Mercury in iv. 253 where he spreads his wings for a similar purpose, and *paribus nitens alis toto praeceps se corpore ad undas misit.*

549. The plural *rumores* in Virgil has always the force of 'incitements'; so ix. 464 *acuunt rumoribus iras*, xii. 228 *rumores serit varios.*

553–4. The successive line-endings *armis, arma*, have an awkward effect: it may be suspected that the text represents an artificial combination by the original editors of two alternative lines, *stant belli causae, sanguis novus imbuit arma*, and *quae fors prima dedit pugnatur comminus armis.*

559. *cede loco*, a phrase of common usage, merely means 'give place', 'withdraw': the substitution of the plural *locis* ('region' or 'neighbourhood' as in vi. 445, viii. 311, 604) gives the further meaning here required, 'withdraw from the whole sphere of action'.

562. Here, as always where the word *supera* occurs in Virgil, the majority, or sometimes all, of the best MSS. read *super*. In four out of the five cases, the following word begins with *a*, so that confusion was almost inevitable. *supera*

Amsancti valles; densis hunc frondibus atrum
urget utrimque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus
dat sonitum saxis et torto vertice torrens.
hic specus horrendum et saevi spiracula Ditis
monstrantur, ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
pestiferas aperit fauces, quis condita Erinys,
invisum numen, terras caelumque levabat.
  Nec minus interea extremam Saturnia bello
imponit regina manum. ruit omnis in urbem
pastorum ex acie numerus, caesosque reportant,
Almonem puerum foedatique ora Galaesi,
implorantque deos obtestanturque Latinum.
Turnus adest medioque in crimine caedis et igni
terrorem ingeminat: Teucros in regna vocari,
stirpem admisceri Phrygiam, se limine pelli.
tum quorum attonitae Baccho nemora avia matres
insultant thiasis, neque enim leve nomen Amatae,
undique collecti coeunt Martemque fatigant.
ilicet infandum cuncti contra omina bellum,
contra fata deum perverso numine poscunt.
certatim regis circumstant tecta Latini;

565–580 *MR*   581 *M*^{2}*R*   582–585 *MR*   570 condit *M*   571 levavit *R*

---

ardua here has practically the same meaning as *supera alta* in vi. 787.

568. *specus* is one of those curious words which, normally masculine, are also found as feminine and neuter: in the other six instances where Virgil uses it, there is nothing to determine its gender. Servius says that 'old MSS.' in his time had *horrendus* here, presumably omitting *et*.

577. Servius notes, '*igni*, fervore seditionis'; and Conington aptly points out that the seemingly violent metaphor is really the same as in the *medio flagrante tumultu* of xi. 225.

580. *quorum matres* is a compressed phrase, meaning not 'whose mothers', but 'the matrons in whose households'.

584. The meaning of the curious phrase *perverso numine* has been much debated. Virgil does not elsewhere, except in the *perverse Menalca* of *Ecl.* iii. 13, use the words *pervertere* or *perversus*; but the ordinary sense of *perversus* is exactly the same as that of 'perverse' in English. If it is participial here, the phrase would mean 'turning the divine will upside down', i.e. in flat contradiction to it. But a fourfold repetition of what is in effect the same statement, in *infandum*, *contra omina*, *contra fata*,

ille velut pelagi rupes immota resistit,
ut pelagi rupes magno veniente fragore,
quae sese multis circum latrantibus undis
mole tenet; scopuli nequiquam et spumea circum
saxa fremunt laterique inlisa refunditur alga.
verum ubi nulla datur caecum exsuperare potestas
consilium, et saevae nutu Iunonis eunt res,
multa deos aurasque pater testatus inanis,
'frangimur heu fatis' inquit 'ferimurque procella!
ipsi has sacrilego pendetis sanguine poenas,
o miseri. te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit
supplicium, votisque deos venerabere seris.
nam mihi parta quies, omnisque in limine portus
funere felici spolior.' nec plura locutus
saepsit se tectis rerumque reliquit habenas.
  Mos erat Hesperio in Latio, quem protinus urbes
Albanae coluere sacrum, nunc maxima rerum
Roma colit, cum prima movent in proelia Martem,
sive Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum
Hyrcanisve Arabisve parant, seu tendere ad Indos
Auroramque sequi Parthosque reposcere signa:

586–593 M^2RV 594–606 FM^2RV 589 et *om.* M^2 *corr.* *V* 592 consilio M^2 593 testatur M^2R 605 Hyrcaniisque *F*

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perverso numine, is beyond what Virgil allows himself as a rule: and it seems better to suppose with Page that *numen* here has its primary sense of 'impulse' as Lucretius iv. 179, in speaking of the stream of 'images' radiated from objects, says *in quem locum diverso numine tendunt*. There is no certain instance of this use of *numen* elsewhere in Virgil, though sometimes as for instance in *ne quo se numine mutet* i. 674 or *haud numine nostro* ii. 396, it is not improbable. The Servian note '*perverso*, irato', does not throw any light on the interpretation attached to the phrase in the sources from which Servius drew.

595. For *has poenas* = *huius rei poenas* see note on ii. 171. Somewhat similarly in the next line, *te nefas, te supplicium* is equivalent to 'the punishment of your sin'.

598. 'Quite on the threshold of harbour': the ordinary phrase of prose would be *in ostio portus*, 'in the harbour-gate', or as we prefer to say in English 'in the harbour mouth'. The thought, and also its expression, are like those of Diodorus as quoted by Seneca *de Vita*

sunt geminae Belli portae, sic nomine dicunt,
religione sacrae et saevi formidine Martis;
centum aerei claudunt vectes aeternaque ferri
robora, nec custos absistit limine Ianus:
has, ubi certa sedet patribus sententia pugnae,
ipse Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino
insignis reserat stridentia limina consul,
ipse vocat pugnas; sequitur tum cetera pubes,
aereaque adsensu conspirant cornua rauco.
hoc et tum Aeneadis indicere bella Latinus
more iubebatur tristisque recludere portas.
abstinuit tactu pater aversusque refugit
foeda ministeria, et caecis se condidit umbris.
tum regina deum caelo delapsa morantis
impulit ipsa manu portas, et cardine verso
belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis.
ardet inexcita Ausonia atque immobilis ante.
pars pedes ire parat campis, pars arduus altis
pulverulentus equis furit; omnes arma requirunt.
pars levis clipeos et spicula lucida tergent
arvina pingui subiguntque in cote securis.

607–611 *F*M^2*RV*   612–615 *F*M^2*R*   616–627 *FMR*   611 haec M^2
622 rupit *FR*

Beata c. 19: 'plenus bona conscientia reddidit sibi testimonium vita excedens laudavitque aetatis in portu et ad ancoram quietem'.

604–6. These three lines have the appearance of a later insertion. The events to which they refer took place between 25 and 20 B.C.

608. For *religio* and *formido* see note on ii. 151. In this context the words are almost synonymous.

610. The normal sense of *robora* in Virgil is 'oaken timbers', whether trunks (xi. 137), beams (ii. 482), or planks (ii. 186), but sometimes it has the general force of 'strengths' or 'reinforcements of strength'. In *robora ferri* it has this latter meaning, as in the equivalent *ferratos postis* of l. 622.

623–40. This passage is a draft, consisting of nine distinct sentences, set down without being welded into a complete period. Alterations in their order, suggested by some editors, leave the matter much as they found it. For the unusual division of l. 625 see note on x. 543, and for *auro*, 'of gold' in l. 639, App. A.

signaque ferre iuvat sonitusque audire tubarum.
quinque adeo magnae positis incudibus urbes
tela novant, Atina potens Tiburque superbum,
Ardea Crustumerique et turrigerae Antemnae.
tegmina tuta cavant capitum flectuntque salignas
umbonum cratis; alii thoracas aënos
aut levis ocreas lento ducunt argento.
vomeris huc et falcis honos, huc omnis aratri
cessit amor; recoquunt patrios fornacibus ensis.
classica iamque sonant, it bello tessera signum.
hic galeam tectis trepidus rapit, ille frementis
ad iuga cogit equos, clipeumque auroque trilicem
loricam induitur fidoque accingitur ense.

Pandite nunc Helicona, deae, cantusque movete,
qui bello exciti reges, quae quemque secutae
complerint campos acies, quibus Itala iam tum

628–643 *FMR*   628 iubet *M*   638 rapidus M^1, trementis FM^1R
641 monete F^2 642 acciti *M*

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641. The image in this fresh invocation, preluding the muster-roll of the armies of Italy which fills the rest of the book, is of the gates of Helicon, the sanctuary of the Muses, being opened and the 'songs' being set in motion, or wakened into life, by the divine influence which issues from them.

The order of the catalogue is as follows. It opens and closes with the two principal figures, Mezentius and Turnus, who take the most important part in the fighting which follows; the death of Mezentius at the end of Book X, and of Turnus at the end of Book XII, under the sword of Aeneas, being the decisive moments in the war. Turnus, as commander-in-chief of the allied armies, and as the rival of Aeneas for the hand of the Latin princess and the succession to the Latin kingdom, is properly left to the last; and consequently, Mezentius (with his noble and princely son Lausus) opens the list. Between them, the other princes or captains are ranged, with one important exception, in alphabetical order: 'there is', as Warde Fowler points out, 'no very intelligible geographical order in the show', and it is clear that none was designed. The order is: Aventinus, Catillus, Coras (and his twin brother Caeculus: the two are always coupled where mentioned later), Clausus (who follows alphabetically upon Caeculus), Halaesus, Oebalus, Ufens, Umbro, and Virbius. Aventinus, Oebalus, and Virbius do not reappear later: the exploits or fates of the others are told in Books X–XII. The exception in alpha-

floruerit terra alma viris, quibus arserit armis;
et meministis enim, divae, et memorare potestis;
ad nos vix tenuis famae perlabitur aura.
  Primus init bellum Tyrrhenis asper ab oris
contemptor divum Mezentius agminaque armat.
filius huic iuxta Lausus, quo pulchrior alter
non fuit excepto Laurentis corpore Turni;
Lausus, equum domitor debellatorque ferarum,
ducit Agyllina nequiquam ex urbe secutos
mille viros, dignus patriis qui laetior esset
imperiis et cui pater haud Mezentius esset.
  Post hos insignem palma per gramina currum
victoresque ostentat equos satus Hercule pulchro
pulcher Aventinus, clipeoque insigne paternum
centum anguis cinctamque gerit serpentibus Hydram;
collis Aventini silva quem Rhea sacerdos
furtivum partu sub luminis edidit oras,

644 *FMR*   645, 646 *FMPR*   647–660 *MPR*   649 hunc M^1

---

betical order is Messapus. As the catalogue was edited and has reached us, he is placed between the twins and Clausus. If this be not an editorial misplacement, he may possibly have been placed in this central position in order to emphasize his importance as the third, together with Turnus and Mezentius, of the principal allied chiefs. Being invulnerable, he does not share the fate of his colleagues; he is prominent in the fighting of Books IX–XII; and the last we hear of him is (xii. 661) as heading the last desperate defence of the Latin capital before Turnus reappears and the single combat between him and Aeneas brings the war to an end.

Finally, at the conclusion of the catalogue, and with exquisite dramatic beauty, over which we 'have eyes to wonder, but lack tongues to praise', is added the lonely and lovely figure of the maiden-warrior Camilla.

654. For *imperiis*, 'exercises of command', or almost 'methods of rule', see note on i. 230. The ending of two consecutive lines with the same word (as again with *fuisset* viii. 396–7) does not seem to have offended Virgil's ear, though elsewhere as in viii. 271–2, and ix. 544–5, he only employs it with a distinct rhetorical value which in these two instances is absent. Milton only has it twice in *Paradise Lost* (vii. 369–70 and ix. 328–9), but three times in Book i of *Paradise Regained*, and in one of these (377–9) not only in two but in three consecutive lines.

mixta deo mulier, postquam Laurentia victor
Geryone exstincto Tirynthius attigit arva,
Tyrrhenoque boves in flumine lavit Hiberas.

pila manu saevosque gerunt in bella dolones,
et tereti pugnant mucrone veruque Sabello. 665

ipse pedes, tegimen torquens immane leonis,
terribili impexum saeta cum dentibus albis
indutus capiti, sic regia tecta subibat,
horridus Herculeoque umeros innexus amictu.

Tum gemini fratres Tiburtia moenia linquunt, 670
fratris Tiburti dictam cognomine gentem,
Catillusque acerque Coras, Argiva iuventus,
et primam ante aciem densa inter tela feruntur:
ceu duo nubigenae cum vertice montis ab alto
descendunt Centauri Homolen Othrymque nivalem 675
linquentes cursu rapido; dat euntibus ingens
silva locum et magno cedunt virgulta fragore.

661–663 *MPR* 664–677 *MPRV* 669 innixus *PR* 671 de nomine *P*

664–5. These two lines, as Warde Fowler saw, must be an unplaced or displaced fragment; and the same probably is true of the next four lines, 666–9, which can hardly refer to Aventinus. It may be doubted indeed whether they belong to the catalogue at all, or come from some earlier cancelled draft in which certain chiefs were represented as meeting at the palace of Latinus. Such a meeting is suggested or implied in the opening paragraph of Book VIII.

673. The phrase *densa inter tela feruntur*, as well as the tone of the simile which follows, suggest that the lines were originally part of a battle-piece. The Centaurs are the personification of avalanches, sweeping down the naked snow-clad slopes, forcing their path among the huge pine trees, and finally crashing through the underwood into the valley. Cf. note on xii. 687.

689. The slinger's left foot was bare, to take a firmer grip of the ground when he reached forward; on the right (or advanced) foot he wore a boot of raw hide as a protection against missiles.

692. The word *fas* conveys that it was in virtue of a certain sacredness or enchantedness that he was invulnerable.

695. The Falisci were a clan of Southern Etruria, who inhabited the slopes down

Nec Praenestinae fundator defuit urbis,
Volcano genitum pecora inter agrestia regem
inventumque focis omnis quem credidit aetas,
Caeculus. hunc legio late comitatur agrestis:
quique altum Praeneste viri quique arva Gabinae
Iunonis gelidumque Anienem et roscida rivis
Hernica saxa colunt, quos dives Anagnia pascit,
quos, Amasene pater. non illis omnibus arma
nec clipei currusve sonant; pars maxima glandes
liventis plumbi spargit, pars spicula gestat
bina manu, fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros
tegmen habent capiti; vestigia nuda sinistri
instituere pedis, crudus tegit altera pero.
At Messapus, equum domitor, Neptunia proles,
quem neque fas igni cuiquam nec sternere ferro,
iam pridem resides populos desuetaque bello
agmina in arma vocat subito ferrumque retractat.
hi Fescenninas acies Aequosque Faliscos,
hi Soractis habent arces Flaviniaque arva
et Cimini cum monte lacum lucosque Capenos.

678–689 *MPRV* 690–697 *MPR* 681 late legio *M* 689 tegmina *P* capitis M^2

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towards the Tiber valley between Lake Ciminus and Mount Soracte. Their two towns were Falerii (Civita Castellana), and Fescennium; the site of the latter is not identified, but *Fescenninas acies* almost certainly indicates a position on 'edges', i.e. a ridge breaking sharply down in cliffs. Axe Edge, Wenlock Edge, the Edgehills, are well-known instances of this use of the word in England. According to Strabo, *Aequum Faliscum* was another name for New Falerii, a site as it would seem on level ground, to which the inhabitants of Old Falerii migrated in early times There is accordingly a play upon words in this line which cannot be rendered in English. In the next line, as there is no trace or record of any town (still less of more than one) on Mount Soracte, we must suppose that *Soractis arces*, 'the strongholds of Soracte', is merely a vivid way of describing the citadel-like mass of Soracte itself: so in the *Georgics* Virgil speaks of the *Riphaeae arces* i. 240, and of the *Rhodopeïae arces* iv. 461. Compare the *castella in tumulis* as the description of the dolomitic rocks of the Italian Tyrol in *Georg*. iii. 475. But the suggestion (made tentatively by Warde Fowler) that the words *acies* and *arces* have been accidentally transposed,

ibant aequati numero regemque canebant:
ceu quondam nivei liquida inter nubila cycni
cum sese e pastu referunt et longa canoros 700
dant per colla modos, sonat amnis et Asia longe
pulsa palus . . .
nec quisquam aeratas acies exagmine tanto
misceri putet, aëriam sed gurgite ab alto
urgeri volucrum raucarum ad litora nubem. 705
Ecce Sabinorum prisco de sanguine magnum
agmen agens Clausus magnique ipse agminis instar,
Claudia nunc a quo diffunditur et tribus et gens
per Latium, postquam in partem data Roma Sabinis.
una ingens Amiterna cohors priscique Quirites, 710
Ereti manus omnis oliviferaeque Mutuscae;
qui Nomentum urbem, qui Rosea rura Velini,
qui Tetricae horrentis rupes montemque Severum
Casperiamque colunt Forulosque et flumen Himellae,
qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt, quos frigida misit 715

698–715 *MPR* 699 flumina *P* 703 ex agmine *MPR* 708 e quo *M*¹
712 Rosa *M*, Rosca *P*¹, Roscia *P*² 713 amnemque *P*

---

is plausible enough to demand consideration.

698. *aequati numero* means 'dressed' or aligned by companies: this is different from the *compositi in turmas* of the Trojan and allied cavalry xi. 599, which only means 'arranged in squadrons'.

703. For *exagmine* see note on ii. 727.

708. For the origins of the patrician *gens Claudia* and the plebeian (at first purely local) *tribus Claudia*, both formed from admission of Sabine immigrants to the citizenship, see Livy ii. 16 and iv. 3.

710. The *prisci Quirites* are the inhabitants of Cures: the connexion between them and the Roman *Quirites* or *populus Romanus Quiritium*, if this be not a mere accidental similarity of name, is quite problematical.

715. In the *Aeneid* the river Tiber is always (17 times) called by its Etruscan name of Thybris: and the strong presumption here is that Tiberis and Fabaris are coupled as the names of two small tributaries between which the tribe in question, not otherwise specified, dwelt. But as no such small river is named elsewhere, this must remain conjectural. The Fosso Correse, south of and roughly parallel in its course from the mountains with the Farfar (the ancient Fabaris) would satisfy the geography. It is to be noted that Virgil's use of *Quirites* and *Latini* in this same passage shows that the ambiguity of a name is not felt by him as an objection, but rather the contrary: and further, that when he once, in the *Georgics*, mentions

Nursia, et Ortinae classes populique Latini,
quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen:
quam multi Libyco volvuntur marmore fluctus
saevus ubi Orion hibernis conditur undis,
vel cum sole novo densae torrentur aristae 720
aut Hermi campo aut Lyciae flaventibus arvis.
scuta sonant pulsuque pedum conterrita tellus.
  Hinc Agamemnonius, Troiani nominis hostis,
curru iungit Halaesus equos Turnoque ferocis
mille rapit populos, vertunt felicia Baccho 725
Massica qui rastris, et quos de collibus altis
Aurunci misere patres Sidicinaque iuxta
aequora, quique Cales linquunt amnisque vadosi
accola Volturni, pariterque Saticulus asper
Oscorumque manus. teretes sunt aclydes illis 730
tela, sed haec lento mos est aptare flagello.
laevas caetra tegit, falcati comminus enses.
  Nec tu carminibus nostris indictus abibis,

716–733 *MPR*   722 cursu *M*   727 senes M^2

---

the Tiber by its Latin name of Tiberis, he deliberately adds the epithet Tuscus. On the other hand, for an adjective he uniformly has Tiberinus (*pater Tiberinus Georg.* iv. 369, *deus Tiberinus* viii. 31) and also uses that form as an adjectival noun three times (*Tiberinus* vii. 30, *Tiberine* vi. 873, vii. 797), Thybrinus only once (*Thybrina fluenta* xii. 35).

716. There is no direct record of any town or district called Orta or Latinium; but Latinius occurs as a gentile name in inscriptions, and in Pliny's list of communities which took part in the sacrificial feasts on the Alban Mount, Hortenses and Latinienses are named. *classes* has presumably its technical Latin meaning of divisions of a community based on degrees of property-qualification.

720. *sole novo*, 'in the early sun', has much the same meaning as *aestate nova* in i. 430: harvest in these regions being in April and May.

725. '*rapit*, raptim adducit' (Servius): so again x. 178.

730. The *aclys*, not otherwise known, is clearly a throwing-spear to which rotation was given by a thong attached to the middle of the shaft. The explanation of Servius that it was a weapon resembling the Swiss *morgenstern* is inadmissible. The *cateia* of l. 741 may be a similar weapon, but more probably is a throwing-axe, the special weapon, in later times, of the Franks and hence known as the *francisca*.

Oebale, quem generasse Telon Sebethide nympha
fertur, Teleboum Capreas cum regna teneret,
iam senior; patriis sed non et filius arvis
contentus late iam tum dicione premebat
Sarrastis populos et quae rigat aequora Sarnus,
quique Rufras Batulumque tenent atque arva Celemnae,
et quos maliferae despectant moenia Bellae,
Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateias;
tegmina quis capitum raptus de subere cortex,
aerataeque micant peltae, micat aereus ensis.
  Et te montosae misere in proelia Nersae,
Ufens, insignem fama et felicibus armis,
horrida praecipue cui gens adsuetaque multo
venatu nemorum, duris Aequicula glaebis.
armati terram exercent semperque recentis
convectare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto.
  Quin et Marruvia venit de gente sacerdos
fronde super galeam et felici comptus oliva
Archippi regis missu, fortissimus Umbro,
vipereo generi et graviter spirantibus hydris
spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat,
mulcebatque iras et morsus arte levabat.
sed non Dardaniae medicari cuspidis ictum
evaluit neque eum iuvere in vulnera cantus
somniferi et Marsis quaesitae montibus herbae.

734–758 *MPR*   737 tenebat *MP*   738 qua *R*   755 feras *P*   757 in vulnere M^1R, ad vulnera M^2 758 in montibus M^2

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749. The unplaced lines 664–9 above would follow here quite aptly, but the case is not strong enough for their transference in the text.

751. For *fronde et felici oliva* (practically a variation of *fronde felicis olivae*) see note on i. 18.

760. The 'pools', *lacus*, are probably not lakes, but, as in viii. 66, pools in a river.

764. Here, and in the repetition of the line ix. 585, *placabilis* is puzzling, as both altars were notorious for human sacrifice: so much so, that the suggestion has been hazarded of altering *et placabilis* into *implacabilis* (a genitive) in both lines. Three interpretations may be guessed at, none of them convincing: (1) that *placabilis* is a euphemism, like

te nemus Angitiae, vitrea te Fucinus unda,
te liquidi flevere lacus . . .
    Ibat et Hippolyti proles pulcherrima bello,
Virbius, insignem quem mater Aricia misit,
eductum Egeriae lucis umentia circum
litora, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianae.
namque ferunt fama Hippolytum, postquam arte novercae
occiderit patriasque explerit sanguine Poenas
turbatis distractus equis, ad sidera rursus
aetheria et superas caeli venisse sub auras,
Paeoniis revocatum herbis et amore Dianae.
tum pater omnipotens aliquem indignatus ab umbris
mortalem infernis ad lumina surgere vitae,
ipse repertorem medicinae talis et artis
fulmine Phoebigenam Stygias detrusit ad undas.
at Trivia Hippolytum secretis alma recondit
sedibus et nymphae Egeriae nemorique relegat,
solus ubi in silvis Italis ignobilis aevum
exigeret versoque ubi nomine Virbius esset.
unde etiam templo Triviae lucisque sacratis
cornipedes arcentur equi, quod litore currum
et iuvenem monstris pavidi effudere marinis.
filius ardentis haud setius aequore campi
exercebat equos curruque in bella ruebat.
    Ipse inter primos praestanti corpore Turnus

759–783 *MPR*   769 Paeonis *M*¹   773 Poenigenam *MR*

---

the name of Eumenides given to the Furies, (2) that of Servius, '*placabilis*, ac si diceret, non qualis ante fuit', (3) that *placabilis* means 'that has to be appeased', with the implication that this has to be done in a strange and sinister fashion.

766. The *patriae poenae* in this line are the half-personified 'vengeances' of his father: so in *Georg.* iv. 455 Orpheus *suscitat poenas* upon Aristaeus. This sense and the sense of punishment or penalty of course overlap one another, as in phrases like *poenas Danaum metuens* ii. 572. I follow Professor Slater in printing *Poenas* with a capital for the sake of clearness.

vertitur arma tenens et toto vertice supra est.
cui triplici crinita iuba galea alta Chimaeram 785
sustinet Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis;
tam magis illa fremens et tristibus effera flammis
quam magis effuso crudescunt sanguine pugnae.
at levem clipeum sublatis cornibus Io
auro insignibat, iam saetis obsita, iam bos, 790
argumentum ingens, et custos virginis Argus,
caelataque amnem fundens pater Inachus urna.
insequitur nimbus peditum clipeataque totis
agmina densentur campis, Argivaque pubes
Auruncaeque manus, Rutuli veteresque Sicani, 795
et Sacranae acies et picti scuta Labici;
qui saltus, Tiberine, tuos sacrumque Numici
litus arant Rutulosque exercent vomere collis
Circaeumque iugum, quis Iuppiter Anxurus arvis
praesidet, et viridi gaudens Feronia luco 800

784–800 *MPR*

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787. In strict grammar, *illa fremens et effera* would be in the accusative, with the *Chimaeram* of l. 785. But if a sufficient pause be made at the end of l. 786, what follows is in effect a fresh sentence. See also note on x. 498 for a similar relaxation of syntax.

791. *argumentum* is the regular term for the 'subject' of a painting or sculpture, and so here is the 'device' on the shield. It is probable though not certain that *ingens* has, beyond its normal sense of 'vast', the secondary implied sense of 'native' which it seems frequently to bear in Virgil's mind, so that *argumentum ingens* would be nearly equivalent to 'ancestral device'. For a full discussion of Virgil's use of *ingens*—it is a word which occurs 200 times in his poems, 168 times in the *Aeneid* alone—see *Classical Review*, vol. xxvi, pp. 251 foll.

794. The 'Argive host' are presumably those among Turnus' followers who like himself traced their descent from Inachus and the people whom Inachus ruled at Argos. There are Greek names on both sides in the fighting of the following Books.

799. *quis arvis* (like the *quorum matres* of l. 580 above) is a compressed way of saying *ii, quorum arvis*.

800. The worship of the goddess Feronia was widespread in Central Italy: this *lucus Feroniae* is clearly identified by the two lines which follow as being the one of her two most celebrated sanctuaries which was on the Appian Way between two and three miles from Terracina, overlooking the marshes through which the Ofanto makes its way into the sea: the contrast is emphasized between the verdure of this grove and the sullen

qua Saturae iacet atra palus gelidusque per imas
quaerit iter vallis atque in mare conditur Ufens.
  Hos super advenit Volsca de gente Camilla
agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas,
bellatrix, non illa colo calathisve Minervae 805
femineas adsueta manus, sed proelia virgo
dura pati cursuque pedum praevertere ventos.
illa vel intactae segetis per summa volaret
gramina nec teneras cursu laesisset aristas,
vel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumenti 810
ferret iter celeris nec tingeret aequore plantas.
illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuventus
turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,
attonitis inhians animis ut regius ostro
velet honos levis umeros, ut fibula crinem 815
auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
et pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum.

801–817 *MPR* 814 haesere animis *P*

---

marshland which spreads away from below it. Her other chief sanctuary was near the Tiber by Mount Soracte.

808–11. These four lines, suggested by the Homeric description of the divine horses of Erichthonius (*Il.* xx. 226–9), have been criticized, not without reason notwithstanding their beauty, as hyperbolical and out of tone with their surroundings. The triple repetition of *illa*, *illa*, *illam* in ll. 805, 808, 812 suggests that they were only placed here by Virgil tentatively.

BOOK VIII

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Book VIII continues the prelude to the war in Italy, and is mainly occupied with the visit to Evander's settlement on the site of Rome, and the conclusion of alliance with the Arcadians and Etruscans. This theme is prefaced by a recapitulatory sketch, ll. 1–17, of the situation on the other side—*talia per Latium*—naming the generals of the allied Italian forces, and mentioning the despatch by them of an envoy to seek aid from Diomede in South Italy. The paragraph has been criticized, not unjustly, as in its substance a little prosaic, and has even been marked as a stop-gap. But its versification is in Virgil's maturer and more certain manner, and the date of its composition cannot be very early.

The main theme of the book is amplified and varied in interest by the scene of the apparition of the Tiber-god, by the story of Cacus and Hercules related to Aeneas by Evander, and by the episode of Venus and Vulcan and the forging of the divine armour, ending on the elaborate description of the shield, which occupies the last hundred lines, with its portraiture of twelve scenes from Roman history: (1) the wolf-mother and the twins, (2) the Rape of the Sabines, (3) the alliance of Sabines and Romans, (4) the execution of Mettus, (5) the siege of Rome by Porsena, (6) Manlius on the Capitol, (7) the procession of the *ancilia*, (8) Catiline in Tartarus, (9) Cato in Elysium, (10) the battle of Actium, (11) Cleopatra in Egypt, (12) the triumph of Augustus in 29 B.C.

The book is, like Book VII, in a very nearly complete state. The few passages which still await compression and revision are the description of the Cyclopean forges (ll. 445–53), that of the tortures inflicted by Mezentius (ll. 485–8), and the scene of the waking of Evander, in which the eight lines 457–64 seem to present two alternative drafts, and those which follow, 465–9, are decidedly feeble and have the air of a stop-gap. One paragraph, ll. 520–40, is, as Heyne justly remarks, a little awkwardly placed; and in it, the apparition of the phantom armour may be criticized as anticipating and detracting from the effect of the later scene (ll. 608 foll.) in which the actual armour is presented to Aeneas by his mother. It may further be observed that the episode of the white sow and her litter, though as an integral feature in the legend it had a claim to inclusion, is detachable, as is also the earlier intimation of it in the speech of Helenus, iii. 389–93. Like the larger Laocoon episode in Book II, it is given in two separate parts, ll. 41–9 and 81–5. Both the former of these, in which the Tiber-god foretells it and explains its significance, and the latter, in which it occurs, interrupt the speech and the narrative respectively, and have all the appearance of inserted afterthoughts. It is noticeable that the three unfinished lines in the book (41, 469, 536) all occur in these questionable passages, and support the view that they are comparatively late insertions.

The pageant of Roman history represented on the shield not only forms a noble conclusion to the book, but is a fresh prelude to the remainder of the poem with its battles, its heroisms, and its tragedies. The traditional and superficial view of the *Aeneid* as falling into two halves may be supplemented and rectified by another view of it as a structure made up of three acts. The first act (Books I–IV) ends on the cadence of *in ventos vita recessit*; the last (Books IX–XII) on the deeper note of *vita fugit indignata sub umbras*; and the intermediate act (Books V–VIII), which is not only intermediate but central, qualifies its triumphant close by the strangely suggestive *rerum ignarus imagine gaudet*, words in which it is not too fanciful to recognize, beneath the surface, one of those subtle and profound touches in which Virgil (saying as he does 'much in little, and often in silence') gives not only a criticism but an interpretation of human life.

AENEIDOS

LIBER OCTAVUS

Ut belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce
extulit et rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu,
utque acris concussit equos utque impulit arma,
extemplo turbati animi, simul omne tumultu
coniurat trepido Latium saevitque iuventus
effera. ductores primi Messapus et Ufens
contemptorque deum Mezentius undique cogunt
auxilia et latos vastant cultoribus agros.
mittitur et magni Venulus Diomedis ad urbem
qui petat auxilium, et Latio consistere Teucros,
advectum Aenean classi victosque penatis
inferre et fatis regem se dicere posci,
edoceat, multasque viro se adiungere gentis
Dardanio et late Latio increbrescere nomen:
quid struat his coeptis, quem, si fortuna sequatur,
eventum pugnae cupiat, manifestius ipsi
quam Turno regi aut regi apparere Latino.
Talia per Latium. quae Laomedontius heros
cuncta videns magno curarum fluctuat aestu,
atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc
in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat,
sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aënis
sole repercussum aut radiantis imagine lunae

1–14 *MPR*   15–23 *MPRV*   2 sonuerunt P^1 10 considere P^2

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3. The meaning of *concussit equos* is 'shook the reins out over his chariot-horses'; of *impulit arma* 'struck on his armour', clashing his sword against his shield to rouse excitement in his troops.

16. *ipsi*, to Diomede himself, from his previous knowledge of Aeneas.

23. The precise meaning of *imagine lunae* has been much debated. Normally in Virgil *imago* means form shape, or aspect; hence, likeness or representation; also phantom as opposed to reality, e.g. vi. 293, x. 643, 656, 663, or imagined as opposed to actual

omnia pervolitat late loca, iamque sub auras
erigitur summique ferit laquearia tecti.
nox erat et terras animalia fessa per omnis
alituum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat,
cum pater in ripa gelidique sub aetheris axe
Aeneas, tristi turbatus pectora bello,
procubuit seramque dedit per membra quietem.
huic deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amoeno
populeas inter senior se attollere frondes,
visus; eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu
carbasus, et crinis umbrosa tegebat harundo:
tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:
  'O sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem
qui revehis nobis aeternaque Pergama servas,
exspectate solo Laurenti arvisque Latinis,
hic tibi certa domus, certi, ne absiste, penates;
neu belli terrere minis; tumor omnis et irae
concessere deum . . .
iamque tibi, ne vana putes haec fingere somnum,

24–39 *MPRV*   40–42 *MPR*   29 pectore M^1

---

event x. 456. He uses it once or twice in the sense of reflected image or reflection, whether of light or of sound (*Ecl.* ii. 27, *Georg.* iv. 50), and Servius attempts to explain it here as the borrowed light of the moon opposed to the original light of the sun. But it seems pretty certainly to mean no more than 'the face of the moon'.

26. For *animalia* see note on iii. 147.

27. For the unusual form *alituum* see note on vi. 653.

41. *concessere*, 'have withdrawn': so *huc concede* ii. 523, *vita concessit* x. 820. The words are rather a promise for the future than a statement of fact: for the hostility of Juno remains uncompromising until the very close of the *Aeneid*. But if Virgil had filled in the gap, he might have qualified them.

It is to be observed, that if the intermediate lines *iamque tibi . . . haud incerta cano* were removed, the *nunc qua ratione quod instat* of l. 49 would follow on naturally, completing the broken line. So likewise below, if ll. 81–5 (which come in rather abruptly) were removed, l. 86 would follow smoothly and naturally on l. 80. The inference is that these two passages, in which the omen of the white sow and its interpretation are related, were a later insertion, not fully incorporated into the structure of the narrative. Both have a certain awkwardness of phrasing, and

litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus
triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,
alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati:
hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum,
ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam.
haud incerta cano. nunc qua ratione quod instat
expedias victor paucis, adverte, docebo.
Arcades his oris, genus a Pallante profectum,
qui regem Euandrum comites, qui signa secuti,
delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem
Pallantis proavi de nomine Pallanteum,
hi bellum adsidue ducunt cum gente Latina;
hos castris adhibe socios et foedera iunge.
ipse ego te ripis et recto flumine ducam,
adversum remis superes subvectus ut amnem.
surge age, nate dea, primisque cadentibus astris
Iunoni fer rite preces, iramque minasque
supplicibus supera votis. mihi victor honorem

43–61 *MPR*   46 *om. MP*   50 expediam $M^{2}P$ 56 foedere *P*

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some amount of repetition or unnecessary verbiage.

46. This line is probably an interpolation. It is weak in itself, is absent from two of the three primary MSS., and was apparently not known to Servius. But if the passage is, as noted above, an unrevised draft, the line may have formed part of it.

47. *ex quo* is exactly equivalent to the English 'whereby'; in accordance with, or in fulfilment of, which omen. So likewise *ex illo*, 'thence', in l. 268 below.

48. The meaning of *urbem clari cognominis Albam* is merely 'Alba, a city of famous name'. There is no play of words on *clarus* and *albus*.

57. 'Between my banks and straight up the river': the phrase does not of course imply that the river itself ran in a straight line: the distance from the Trojan camp to Evander's settlement is 12–13 miles as the crow flies, but half as much again by river. So Caesar *B.G.* vi. 25 says that the Hercynian forest stretches *recta fluminis Danuvii regione*, 'straight along the line of the river Danube'. But there is perhaps a further allusion here, and in the description of ll. 86–9, to the unfulfilled project, which Augustus inherited from Julius Caesar, of canalizing the Tiber between Ostia and Rome in connexion with the creation of an important harbour at Ostia.

59. For *cadentibus astris* see note on ii. 8.

persolves. ego sum pleno quem flumine cernis
stringentem ripas et pinguia culta secantem,
caeruleus Thybris, caelo gratissimus amnis.
hic mihi magna domus, celsis caput urbibus exit.'
  Dixit, deinde lacu Fluvius se condidit alto
ima petens; nox Aenean somnusque reliquit.
surgit et aetherii spectans orientia solis
lumina rite cavis undam de flumine palmis
sustinet ac talis effundit ad aethera voces:
'nymphae, Laurentes nymphae, genus amnibus unde est,
tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,
accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis.
quo te cumque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra
fonte tenet, quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis,
semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis,

62–70 *MPR*   71–76 *FMPR*   63 singula M^1 65 certa domus *P*
67 relinquit *R*   75 tenent *FR*

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65. The difficulty of this vexed line arises less from any ambiguity of wording than from the essential anomalies involved in the identification of the river-god with the river itself. 'I am the river Tiber', he says; and so he is present not only at this spot, in the 'pool', *lacus*, out of which his figure seems in the dream of Aeneas to rise, and into which, l. 66, it sinks back, but in the whole course of the river from source to sea, as well as in the vast underground lakes from which the river, like others, is supposed to be fed. That subterranean water-realm, *umida regna*, more fully depicted in *Georg.* iv. 363 foll., is thought of, and is there described, as the common source for all the rivers of the world. The *magna domus* of this passage is primarily 'here', in the pool from which the phantom of the river-god appears, but is also more largely the water-realm below, the *caput unde se erumpit pater Tiberinus* of *Georg.* iv. 369. That *caput*, that 'head' or reservoir of waters, makes its issue into the upper world as the source or sources of the Tiber; and these sources issue in a region of hill-fortresses, *celsae urbes*. *celsis urbibus* is a local ablative, or more accurately, a locative: in classical prose it would (except with such words as have preserved a separate locative inflexion) require an attached preposition, *in* or *ab*.

This interpretation is made certain by ll. 74–5, on which see note. The notion, entertained as early as Servius, that *magna domus celsis caput urbibus* means the Rome of the future, may be dismissed without hesitation.

68. The *orientia lumina solis* are the 'splendori antelucani', the light of the still unrisen sun. The voyage of ll. 94–7 begins at dawn and ends towards mid-day.

corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.
adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes.'
 Sic memorat, geminasque legit de classe biremis
remigioque aptat, socios simul instruit armis.
ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum,
candida per silvam cum fetu concolor albo
procubuit viridique in litore conspicitur sus:
quam pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxima Iuno,
mactat sacra ferens et cum grege sistit ad aram.
 Thybris ea fluvium, quam longa est, nocte tumentem
leniit, et tacita refluens ita substitit unda,
mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis
sterneret aequor aquis, remo ut luctamen abesset.
ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo,
labitur uncta vadis abies; mirantur et undae,

77–91 *FMPR* 78 proprius P^1 90 peragunt *R*, Rumone M^1

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71. The rivers are regarded as the children of the Nymphs who are the tutelary deities of their sources: and the Tiber in the next line as the 'father' of these tributary streams.

74. According to the cautious Roman ritual, by which in addressing a god by name the words were added 'or by whatever other name it please thee to be called', Aeneas provides against his having misheard or misunderstood the precise details given by the god in his dream.

77. For the vocative *fluvius* see note on i. 664.

78. *numina* has here its primary sense, 'significations of your will'.

80. He picks crews for the two ships, and as a further precaution, arms them.

86. For *quam longa est* see note on iv. 193.

87. *substitit ita ut* means 'stayed thus, so that'. Virgil never uses *ita ut* in the sense of 'so that'.

89. For *aequor aquis* see App. A.

90. *rumor secundus* has been variously interpreted as (1) the parting cheers of their companions on shore which follow them as they move off, (2) the 'murmur aquae carina et remis percussae' (so Heyne following Donatus). Having regard to the similar phrase *fremitu secundo* in v. 338, the former is preferable: and it is supported by the lines quoted from Ennius (*Ann.* vii, frs. 16 and 17) by Nonius, *legio redit ut rumore secundo* and *populi rumore secundo.* La Cerda's explanation of it as meaning the *celeusma nauticum*, the cheers of the crews themselves, on the analogy of x. 266 where the flight of cranes *fugiunt clamore secundo*, is also possible, but gives a less vivid picture. Whether to punctuate before or after *rumore secundo* is a matter of individual taste.

91. The device of style by which *mirantur et undae, miratur nemus* is sub-

miratur nemus insuetum fulgentia longe
scuta virum fluvio pictasque innare carinas.
olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant
et longos superant flexus, variisque teguntur
arboribus, viridisque secant placido aequore silvas.
sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem
cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum
tecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo
aequavit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat.
ocius advertunt proras urbique propinquant.
  Forte die sollemnem illo rex Arcas honorem
Amphitryoniadae magno divisque ferebat
ante urbem in luco. Pallas huic filius una,
una omnes iuvenum primi pauperque senatus
tura dabant, tepidusque cruor fumabat ad aras.
ut celsas videre rates, atque inter opacum
adlabi nemus et tacitos incumbere remis,
terrentur visu subito cunctique relictis
consurgunt mensis. audax quos rumpere Pallas
sacra vetat raptoque volat telo obvius ipse,
et procul e tumulo: 'iuvenes, quae causa subegit
ignotas temptare vias? quo tenditis?' inquit,
'qui genus? unde domo? pacemne huc fertis an arma?'
tum pater Aeneas puppi sic fatur ab alta
paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit olivae:

92 *FMPR*   93–98 *FMPRV*   99–116 *MPRV*   92 mirantur *F*   115 fatus *R*

---

stituted for the ordinary *mirantur et undae et nemus* is a favourite one with Virgil: thus for instance *Ecl.* iv. 6 *iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna*; cf. also l. 161 below, and the note on vii. 75.

94. For *noctemque diemque* see note on v. 766 and on l. 68 above.

96. The comment of Servius, 'ostendit adeo perspicuam fuisse naturam fluminis ut in eo apparerent imagines nemorum quas Troianae naves secabant' is undoubtedly right. In view of it, the objection strangely raised by editors that 'such a fancy is modern' is wholly unintelligible; it is neither a fancy nor modern.

108. Servius read *tacitis incumbere remis*, noting 'pro ipsi taciti'. But all the primary MSS. have *tacitos*; and this is

'Troiugenas ac tela vides inimica Latinis;
quos illi bello profugos egere superbo,
Euandrum petimus. ferte haec et dicite lectos
Dardaniae venisse duces socia arma rogantis.'
  Obstipuit tanto percussus nomine Pallas:
'egredere o quicumque es,' ait 'coramque parentem
adloquere ac nostris succede penatibus hospes,'
excepitque manu dextramque amplexus inhaesit.
progressi subeunt luco fluviumque relinquunt.
tum regem Aeneas dictis adfatur amicis:
  'Optime Graiugenum, cui me Fortuna precari
et vitta comptos voluit praetendere ramos,
non equidem extimui Danaum quod ductor et Arcas
quodque a stirpe fores geminis coniunctus Atridis;
sed mea me virtus et sancta oracula divum
cognatique patres, tua terris didita fama,
coniunxere tibi et fatis egere volentem.
Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor,
Electra, ut Grai perhibent, Atlantide cretus,
advehitur Teucros; Electram maximus Atlas
edidit, aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis.
vobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia
Cyllenae gelido conceptum vertice fudit;
at Maiam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas,
idem Atlas generat caeli qui sidera tollit.

117, 118 *MPRV*   119–141 *MPR*   123 et M^1 139 fundit P^1 140 creditis *P*

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preferable, as it makes it clear that the crews, not the ships themselves, are the subject of the whole clause *atque . . . remis*. *incumbere remis* here means, not as elsewhere 'bend to the oars' in rowing, but 'lean forward over the oars' as they cease rowing: so *incumbunt pelago*, 'lean forward over the sea', ii. 205.

131–2. The force of *mea . . . tua*, which are both emphatic, is 'on my side . . . on your side'. The suggestion that these two lines have become disordered, and would read better *sed mea me virtus, tua terris didita fama, cognatique patres et sancta oracula divum*, is more plausible than convincing; *tua terris didita fama* is reserved as the crowning motive.

141. For the tense of *generat* see note on ii. 275.

sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno.
his fretus non legatos neque prima per artem
temptamenta tui pepigi; me, me ipse meumque
obieci caput et supplex ad limina veni.
gens eadem, quae te, crudeli Daunia bello
insequitur; nos si pellant nihil afore credunt
quin omnem Hesperiam penitus sua sub iuga mittant,
et mare quod supra teneant quodque adluit infra.
accipe daque fidem. sunt nobis fortia bello
pectora, sunt animi et rebus spectata iuventus.'
  Dixerat Aeneas. ille os oculosque loquentis
iamdudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus.
tum sic pauca refert: 'ut te, fortissime Teucrum,
accipio agnoscoque libens! ut verba parentis
et vocem Anchisae magni vultumque recordor!
nam memini Hesionae visentem regna sororis
Laomedontiaden Priamum, Salamina petentem
protinus Arcadiae gelidos invisere finis.
tum mihi prima genas vestibat flore iuventas,
mirabarque duces Teucros, mirabar et ipsum
Laomedontiaden; sed cunctis altior ibat
Anchises. mihi mens iuvenali ardebat amore

142–163 *MPR*   147 atfore M^1, adfore M^2P^2, fore *R*

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143. For the artifice of style in *neque legatos neque per artem* for *neque per legatos neque per artem*, see note on vi. 692.

146. Daunus was the father of Turnus; still alive, but regarded as having in old age handed over the Rutulian kingdom to his son. That Aeneas here specifies the Rutulians, not the Latins, as the common enemy merely implies that Turnus is now in effect the leader of both nations, Latinus having (vii. 600) practically abdicated.

153. *lustrabat*, 'travelled round' is exactly equivalent here to the English 'perused', a word which came rather unaccountably into use in the early 16th century and then rapidly established itself.

159. *memini Priamum invisere* is not 'I remember that Priam visited' (which would be *invisisse*) but 'I remember Priam's visit'.

161. *et ipsum* 'his very self': the words *duces* and *ipsum* being coupled not by the *et*, but by the repetition of *mirabar*: see note on l. 91 above.

173. It is not certain whether Virgil means to connect this annual festival

compellare virum et dextrae coniungere dextram;
accessi et cupidus Phenei sub moenia duxi.
ille mihi insignem pharetram Lyciasque sagittas
discedens chlamydemque auro dedit intertextam,
frenaque bina meus quae nunc habet aurea Pallas.
ergo et quam petitis iuncta est mihi foedere dextra,
et lux cum primum terris se crastina reddet,
auxilio laetos dimittam opibusque iuvabo.
interea sacra haec, quando huc venistis amici,
annua, quae differre nefas, celebrate faventes
nobiscum, et iam nunc sociorum adsuescite mensis.'
  Haec ubi dicta, dapes iubet et sublata reponi
pocula gramineoque viros locat ipse sedili,
praecipuumque toro et villosi pelle leonis
accipit Aenean solioque invitat acerno.
tum lecti iuvenes certatim araeque sacerdos
viscera tosta ferunt taurorum, onerantque canistris
dona laboratae Cereris, Bacchumque ministrant.
vescitur Aeneas simul et Troiana iuventus
perpetui tergo bovis et lustralibus extis.
  Postquam exempta fames et amor compressus edendi,
rex Euandrus ait: 'non haec sollemnia nobis,

164–185 *MPR*   167 intertexto *P^1R*

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with any celebration in use in his own time. But there were special services in the two chief temples of Hercules, both in the neighbourhood of the Circus Flaminius, on their respective dedication-days, the 4th and 30th of June; and as the latter of these temples was about this time being restored by L. Marcius Philippus, the step-father of Augustus, it is not unlikely that the date of Aeneas' arrival at the site of Rome was thus indicated as the last day of June. This would agree very well with the other indications of the time of year in which the action of Books VII–XII passes.

177. Editors, under a sort of grammatical obsession, follow one another in calling *toro et pelle leonis* a 'hendiadys'. But *torus* is the cushion of the maple-wood chair; and over it a lion-skin is spread.

183. The meaning of *perpetuus* is 'drawn out at full length': so *perpetua iuventa* iv. 32 and *perpetuae mensae* vii. 176: *perpetui tergo bovis*, 'in slices cut the full length of the ox-chine'.

has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum
imposuit: saevis, hospes Troiane, periclis
servati facimus, meritosque novamus honores.
iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem,
disiectae procul ut moles desertaque montis
stat domus et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.
hic spelunca fuit vasto summota recessu,
semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat,
solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti
caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis
ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.
huic monstro Volcanus erat pater: illius atros
ore vomens ignis magna se mole ferebat.
attulit et nobis aliquando optantibus aetas
auxilium adventumque dei. nam maximus ultor
tergemini nece Geryonae spoliisque superbus
Alcides aderat taurosque hac victor agebat
ingentis, vallemque boves amnemque tenebant.
at furis Caci mens effera, ne quid inausum

186–205 *MPR*   191 deiectae *R*   194 tegebat M^1PR 205 furiis *MPR*

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187. *superstitio,* in its application to belief or ritual, means something supplemental and occasional, in distinction from settled and established *religio.* In itself the word is therefore colourless; here it is defined as being both *vana,* light or idle, and *ignara veterum deorum,* 'ignorant of', i.e. separate or alien from, the old religion. It naturally came to take this unfavourable sense in general, and thus Cicero (*N.D.* I. xlii. 117) defines it as implying *timor inanis deorum,* and as not only different from, but opposed to *religio,* 'quae deorum cultu pio continetur'. See also note on xii. 817.

189. *facimus,* 'we perform the ritual', the *auto da fe*: *novamus honores,* 'we renew the sacrifices', i.e. perform them regularly every year.

196. *superbis,* 'triumphant', with the implied sense of 'insolent'.

203. The picture is of the cattle, having forded the Tiber higher up, being driven across the Prata Flaminia towards the riverside at the mouth of the valley between the Palatine and Aventine, along which they would resume their journey after the night's rest. For *tenebant* in the sense of 'were making for', see note on i. 400.

205. *furis,* which was read here by Servius, is reinstated in the text above as preferable to the *furiis* of the three primary MSS., which is retained by

aut intractatum scelerisve dolive fuisset,
quattuor a stabulis praestanti corpore tauros
avertit, totidem forma superante iuvencas.
atque hos, ne qua forent pedibus vestigia rectis,
cauda in speluncam tractos versisque viarum
indiciis raptos saxo occultabat opaco.
quaerenti nulla ad speluncam signa ferebant.
interea, cum iam stabulis saturata moveret
Amphitryoniades armenta abitumque pararet,
discessu mugire boves atque omne querellis
impleri nemus et colles clamore relinqui.
reddidit una boum vocem vastoque sub antro
mugiit et Caci spem custodita fefellit.
hic vero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro
felle dolor, rapit arma manu nodisque gravatum
robur, et aërii cursu petit ardua montis.
tum primum nostri Cacum videre timentem
turbatumque oculis; fugit ilicet ocior Euro
speluncamque petit; pedibus timor addidit alas.
ut sese inclusit ruptisque immane catenis

206–225 *MPR*   206 intemptatum M^2 212 quaerentes *R*   221 aetherii M^1

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the majority of editors. But it is a nice point. The objection taken to *furis* that *fur* is an 'undignified' word for poetry is sufficiently met by *Georg.* iii. 407. The *furiis exarserat* of l. 219 may be taken as an argument either way.

212. The dative *quaerenti*, 'for one who sought', is, if a little unusual, quite unexceptionable. The *quaerentes* of one good MS., and the *quaerentem* of inferior MSS., are probably both conjectural alterations.

216. The cattle low as they leave the wooded ground by the river and move up the valley, gradually leaving the hills behind them as they proceed.

219. For the coupling of a pluperfect and a present to mark two successive actions, compare xii. 430 *suras incluserat auro hastamque coruscat*; and for *atro felle dolor* see App. A.

223. A variant reading *oculi* is mentioned by Servius and has been adopted by many editors. But *nostri oculi* here could hardly mean anything but 'my eyes', which is not the meaning required. Whether *oculis* is to be taken with *videre*, 'saw with their eyes', 'actually saw', or with *turbatum*, 'with dismayed eyes', remains debatable. *ilicet*, 'away!', is elsewhere only used by Virgil as the opening word of a sentence. Its position here gives an added quality of excitement to the line.

deiecit saxum, ferro quod et arte paterna
pendebat, fultosque emuniit obice postis,
ecce furens animis aderat Tirynthius omnemque
accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc,
dentibus infrendens. ter totum fervidus ira
lustrat Aventini montem, ter saxea temptat
limina nequiquam, ter fessus valle resedit.
stabat acuta silex praecisis undique saxis
speluncae dorso insurgens, altissima visu,
dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum.
hanc, ut prona iugo laevum incumbebat ad amnem,
dexter in adversum nitens concussit et imis
avulsam solvit radicibus, inde repente
impulit; impulsu quo maximus intonat aether,
dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis.
at specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens
regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae,
non secus ac, si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens
infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat
pallida, dis invisa, superque immane barathrum
cernatur, trepident immisso lumine Manes.
ergo insperata deprensum luce repente

226–247 *MPR* 239 insonat *R* 244 reserat M^2PR 246 trepidantque *R* 247 in luce M^2R

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228. Here as again in l. 256 *animis* has the force of 'in his wrath'.

233 foll. The spike of rock is thought of as at the north-western angle of the Aventine, just on the top of the cliff towards the river, the door of the cave being at the foot of the cliff immediately below. To get at the rock therefore, Hercules had to approach it from the plateau behind, thus having it and the river below it on his left. The thrust he gives it from the right, outwards, loosens it, and it falls away carrying with it great part of the face of the cliff; the mass of dislodged rock plunges into the river, and a great gap is left through which Hercules leaps down into the den, in which Cacus now finds himself irretrievably trapped. It is not the least of the services rendered to Virgil by Warde Fowler that, apparently for the first time, he took the pains to follow what Virgil says in this admirable piece of narrative instead of looking in it for imitations of Homer or, more idly still, for suggestions of some mystical doc-

inclusumque cavo saxo atque insueta rudentem
desuper Alcides telis premit, omniaque arma
advocat et ramis vastisque molaribus instat.
ille autem, neque enim fuga iam super ulla pericli,
faucibus ingentem fumum, mirabile dictu,
evomit involvitque domum caligine caeca
prospectum eripiens oculis, glomeratque sub antro
fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris.
non tulit Alcides animis, seque ipse per ignem
praecipiti iecit saltu, qua plurimus undam
fumus agit nebulaque ingens specus aestuat atra.
hic Cacum in tenebris incendia vana vomentem
corripit in nodum complexus, et angit inhaerens
elisos oculos et siccum sanguine guttur.
panditur extemplo foribus domus atra revulsis
abstractaeque boves abiurataeque rapinae
caelo ostenduntur, pedibusque informe cadaver
protrahitur. nequeunt expleri corda tuendo
terribilis oculos, vultum villosaque saetis
pectora semiferi atque exstinctos faucibus ignis.
ex illo celebratus honos laetique minores
servavere diem, primusque Potitius auctor

248–269 *MPR* 251 pericli est *P* 257 iniecit *P* 262 alta P^1

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trine of the release of 'the spirits in prison'.

239. The unique rhythm of this line should not escape notice: the weight and drive of the opening *impulit impulsu*; the strong pause after the third foot; and the effect, like rolling thunder, of the ending *maximus intonat aether*. This rhythm, || – ◡ ◡ | – ◡ ◡ | – –, is comparatively infrequent in the *Aeneid*. For a full discussion of it, and also of the 'bucolic' hexameter in which it has a punctuation-pause after the fourth foot (only used in between 1 and 2 per cent of the lines in the *Aeneid*) see Hardie, *Res Metrica*, pp. 14–19.

245. *super* here means 'from above', as in v. 697 *implenturque super puppes*.

268–72. A more detailed account of the institution of this ritual at the Ara Maxima is given by Livy i. 7. The text of these lines is established by the agreement of all the good MSS., but they have a certain awkwardness which points to their being an unrevised draft. Heyne proposed to strike out ll. 271–2 as

et domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacri.
hanc aram luco statuit, quae maxima semper
dicetur nobis et erit quae maxima semper.
quare agite, o iuvenes, tantarum in munere laudum
cingite fronde comas et pocula porgite dextris,
communemque vocate deum et date vina volentes.'
dixerat, Herculea bicolor cum populus umbra
velavitque comas foliisque innexa pependit,
et sacer implevit dextram scyphus. ocius omnes
in mensam laeti libant divosque precantur.
Devexo interea propior fit Vesper Olympo,
iamque sacerdotes primusque Potitius ibant
pellibus in morem cincti, flammasque ferebant.
instaurant epulas et mensae grata secundae
dona ferunt cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras.
tum Salii ad cantus incensa altaria circum
populeis adsunt evincti tempora ramis,
hic iuvenum chorus, ille senum, qui carmine laudes
Herculeas et facta ferunt: ut prima novercae
monstra manu geminosque premens eliserit anguis,
ut bello egregias idem disiecerit urbes,

270–290 *MPR*

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an interpolation, and it may be granted that the passage would run more smoothly without them. The Potitii and Pinarii were not the 'founders' of the altar of Hercules, but only its hereditary ministers; Livy names no one as the founder, but his language implies that it was Evander himself; and accordingly Pomponius Sabinus (whether on his own account or following some lost earlier commentator) proposed to read *statui* for *statuit* in l. 271. The conjecture is attractive; and the singular verb *statuit*, if it refers to both *Potitius* and the *domus* (or *gens*) *Pinaria*, is very awkward. Others have on this account proposed to strike out l. 270 as a gloss, interpolated in order to bring Virgil's account into harmony with that of Livy. Alternatively it might be conjectured that the order of ll. 269 and 270 has somehow been inverted. But the passage must be left as it stands, and recognized as incomplete. With the majority of editors the text above points at the end of l. 270, and makes Hercules the unexpressed subject of *statuit*, in accordance with the account of Ovid *Fast.* i. 581, in which Hercules *constituit sibi quae Maxima dicitur aram.*

275. *communem vocate deum*, 'call on the god to share the feast'.

Troiamque Oechaliamque, ut duros mille labores
rege sub Eurystheo fatis Iunonis iniquae
pertulerit. 'tu nubigenas, invicte, bimembris,
Hylaeumque Pholumque, manu, tu Cresia mactas
prodigia et vastum Nemeae sub rupe leonem.
te Stygii tremuere lacus, te ianitor Orci
ossa super recubans antro semesa cruento;
nec te ullae facies, non terruit ipse Typhoeus
arduus arma tenens; non te rationis egentem
Lernaeus turba capitum circumstetit anguis.
salve, vera Iovis proles, decus addite divis,
et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo.'
talia carminibus celebrant; super omnia Caci
speluncam adiciunt spirantemque ignibus ipsum.
consonat omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant.
  Exin se cuncti divinis rebus ad urbem
perfectis referunt. ibat rex obsitus aevo,
et comitem Aenean iuxta natumque tenebat
ingrediens varioque viam sermone levabat.
miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum
Aeneas, capiturque locis et singula laetus

291–311 *MPR*   295 Nemaea *M*, Nemea P^2*R*   306 exim *MP*

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276. This is the white poplar or abele, of which the upper surface of the leaf is green and the lower silvery. *dixerat*, 'he ended', is only followed by a clause beginning with *cum* once elsewhere in Virgil, v. 84. The force of *cum* is 'and at the same moment.'

280. As the 'westering wheel' of the celestial sphere descends, the evening star draws nearer the terrestrial horizon and also becomes more brilliant and thus apparently nearer.

292. The *fata Iunonis* are little if anything more than 'the decrees of Juno', just as in vi. 376, *desine fata deum flecti sperare precando*, the *fata deum* are 'the decrees of heaven'.

295. The epithet *vastus*, a favourite one of Virgil's—it occurs between 40 and 50 times in the *Aeneid*—is applied by him to inanimate objects only, except here to the Nemean lion and in iii. 647 to the Cyclopes. In both cases 'monstrous' is the English word which most nearly expresses its force.

307. The phrase *obsitus aevo*, 'shagged with antiquity', is taken from early Latin poetry. Virgil emphasizes the great age of Evander in order to give added pathos to his love of Pallas as the child of his old age from whom he can hardly bear to be parted.

311. *capitur*, 'is attracted'.

exquiritque auditque virum monimenta priorum.
tum rex Euandrus Romanae conditor arcis:
'Haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant
gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata,
quis neque mos neque cultus erat, nec iungere tauros
aut componere opes norant aut parcere parto,
sed rami atque asper victu venatus alebat.
primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo
arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis.
is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
composuit legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari
maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.
aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere
saecula: sic placida populos in pace regebat,
deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas
et belli rabies et amor successit habendi.
tum manus Ausoniae et gentes venere Sicanae,

312–328 *MPR* 317 rapto *M*¹ 324 aureaque *P*¹, fuerunt *P* 328 Ausonia *MP*

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313. The *arx* of Rome, in historical times, was on the Capitoline; but the reference here is to the earliest walled settlement, Roma Quadrata, on the Palatine; Horace similarly speaks of the *Palatinae arces* in the Secular Hymn.

314. The *indigenae*, 'original inhabitants', include the savage men of the next line as well as the Fauns and Nymphs. In what follows, the notes of civilization are enumerated, namely, the practice of agriculture, the association of resources, and the accumulation of material wealth.

323. *maluit* merely means 'chose from among other possible names'.

328. The primary MSS. vary between *Ausonia* and *Ausoniae*. Either is unexceptionable, but *Ausoniae*, which was read by Servius, is perhaps slightly preferable.

The legendary Euandros of Arcadia was, according to the fragmentary traditions, the son of a local nymph, named variously as Themis and Nicostrata. When his worship as a demigod passed into Italy the name Carmentis, a doublet of Camena, was substituted. This is an instance of Virgil's syncretism in dealing with multiform Graeco-Italian legends, best illustrated by the catalogue in the invocation preluding the *Georgics* (i. 5–42).

337–61. For the accurate and fascinating topography of this evening walk reference should be made to Warde Fowler's *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* and chapter I of his *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero*. Starting from the Ara Maxima at the lower end of the Circus Maximus, Evander leads Aeneas round the corner

saepius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus;
tum reges asperque immani corpore Thybris,
a quo post Itali fluvium cognomine Thybrim
diximus; amisit verum vetus Albula nomen.
me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem
Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum
his posuere locis, matrisque egere tremenda
Carmentis nymphae monita et deus auctor Apollo.'
  Vix ea dicta, dehinc progressus monstrat et aram
et Carmentalem Romani nomine portam
quam memorant, nymphae priscum Carmentis honorem,
vatis fatidicae, cecinit quae prima futuros
Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum.
hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asylum
rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal
Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei.
nec non et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti

329–345 *MPR* 338 Romano *R* 341 nobine *P*, nomine *R*

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of the Palatine and up the valley of the Velabrum, with the Porta Carmentalis on their left, and on their right the wooded Sanctuary of Romulus and the cave of the Lupercal in the base of the Palatine cliff; points out, straight ahead, the Argiletum sloping up the skirt of the Quirinal; takes him up the Capitoline by a path leading to the top of the Tarpeian rock, and shows him from there the remains of two abandoned prehistoric towns, the arx Capitolii and the arx Ianiculi, Saturnia on the further of the twin tops of the Capitoline, and Ianiculum across the Tiber; and then descending by the Via Sacra into the Forum—then, like the adjoining slopes of the Esquiline, the Carinae, which in Virgil's time were the fashionable shopping quarter of Rome, only a grazing-ground for cattle—crosses it and climbs up the Palatine to his modest house, the site of the palace of Augustus.

343. *asylum rettulit*, 'brought into use again', or, 'brought into a new use, as a sanctuary'. The phrase does not necessarily convey, though it seems to imply, the reconstitution of a previous sanctuary; so v. 598 *hunc morem Ascanius rettulit* means little if anything more than 'introduced this custom', xi. 426 *rettulit in melius* is merely 'has altered for the better', and in l. 420 below *referunt gemitus*, 'return groans', merely means 'give out groans'.

344. The Parrhasian custom means the custom of Arcadia. Mount Lycaeus, the centre of the worship of Pan, was in the canton of Arcadia called Parrhasia. So Evander is called Parrhasius, xi. 31.

testaturque locum et letum docet hospitis Argi.
hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit
aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.
iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis
dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremebant.
'hoc nemus, hunc' inquit 'frondoso vertice collem,
quis deus incertum est, habitat deus; Arcades ipsum
credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem
aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.
haec duo praeterea disiectis oppida muris,
reliquias veterumque vides monimenta virorum.
hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem;
Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.'
 Talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
pauperis Euandri, passimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.
ut ventum ad sedes, 'haec' inquit 'limina victor
Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.
aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis.'
dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti
ingentem Aenean duxit stratisque locavit
effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae:
nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis.

346–369 *MPR*   357 urbem M^2R 361 latis M^1, cavernis *R*

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346. For the idiom of *testaturque locum et docet*, 'calls the place to witness as he tells the story', see note on i. 20. The Argiletum (or more accurately, Argilletum), so called because it was the potters' quarter in Rome, was by one of the fantastic derivations common in ancient as in modern times, misinterpreted as being *Argi letum*, 'the death of Argus'; and a story was invented accordingly.

348. The gilded bronze tiles with which the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was roofed when rebuilt in 69 B.C. were among the most conspicuous features of Rome.

364. Servius aptly paraphrases *te dignum finge deo* by *compone te in similitudinem numinis*.

370. 'Qui sequitur locus', Heyne observes, 'meo iudicio artis magis quam ingenii laudem habet: nimis manifesta imitationis sunt vestigia simulque ieiunae istius copiae quae fere imitationis

At Venus haud animo nequiquam exterrita mater
Laurentumque minis et duro mota tumultu
Volcanum adloquitur, thalamoque haec coniugis aureo
incipit et dictis divinum aspirat amorem:
'dum bello Argolici vastabant Pergama reges
debita casurasque inimicis ignibus arces,
non ullum auxilium miseris, non arma rogavi
artis opisque tuae, nec te, carissime coniunx,
incassumve tuos volui exercere labores,
quamvis et Priami deberem plurima natis,
et durum Aeneae flevissem saepe laborem.
nunc Iovis imperiis Rutulorum constitit oris:
ergo eadem supplex venio et sanctum mihi numen
arma rogo. genetrix nato te filia Nerei,
te potuit lacrimis Tithonia flectere coniunx.
aspice qui coeant populi, quae moenia clausis
ferrum acuant portis in me excidiumque meorum.'
dixerat et niveis hinc atque hinc diva lacertis
cunctantem amplexu molli fovet. ille repente
accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas
intravit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit,
non secus atque olim tonitru cum rupta corusco
ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos.
sensit laeta dolis et formae conscia coniunx.

370–393 *MPR*   378 incassumque *M*   391 haut secus *M*

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studium prodere solet.' To this admirable criticism it has only to be added that even from the point of view of workmanship the episode is ragged, and clearly awaits the artist's final remodelling.

371. The epithet *duro* attached to *tumultu* is odd (*dura pugna*, quoted by commentators, is not really analogous), and it would be tempting to adopt, with Heyne, the conjectural alteration of it into *diro*.

379. 'The sons of Priam' is merely a rhetorical euphemism for Paris.

383. The Servian punctuation adopted in the text is preferable, both in substance and in rhythm, to the vulgate *arma rogo genetrix nato*.

387. For *dixerat . . . fovet* see note on l. 219 above.

391–2. The interlacement of words in these two lines is, even for Virgil, unusually intricate; the logical or syntactical order would be *non secus atque olim cum ignea rima tonitru rupta percurrit nimbos micans corusco lumine*.

tum pater aeterno fatur devinctus amore:
'quid causas petis ex alto? fiducia cessit
quo tibi, diva, mei? similis si cura fuisset,
tum quoque fas nobis Teucros armare fuisset;
nec pater omnipotens Troiam nec fata vetabant
stare decemque alios Priamum superesse per annos.
et nunc, si bellare paras atque haec tibi mens est,
quidquid in arte mea possum promittere curae,
quod fieri ferro liquidove potest electro,
quantum ignes animaeque valent, absiste precando
viribus indubitare tuis.' ea verba locutus
optatos dedit amplexus placidumque petivit
coniugis infusus gremio per membra soporem.
  Inde ubi prima quies medio iam noctis abactae
curriculo expulerat somnum, cum femina primum,
cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva
impositum, cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignis
noctem addens operi, famulasque ad lumina longo
exercet penso, castum ut servare cubile

394–412 *MPR*   394 devictus P^2 406 infusum P^1R^2 412 exercens *M*

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394. *devinctus*, the reading of the best MSS., has been the vulgate text since Heinsius. In the line of Lucretius (i. 35) *aeterno devictus vulnere amoris*, of which this is a reminiscence, *devictus* is the reading of both the MSS. But this proves nothing either way, as *devinctus* would there be inappropriate. *devinctus* does not occur elsewhere in Virgil; *devictus* thrice, as a certain reading in each case.

396. For *fuisset* ending two successive lines see note on vii. 654.

403. '*Animae*, pro spiritu quo fabriles folles impleri solent', is the Servian note. So in *Georg*. ii. 134, *animas fovent*, 'nurse their breath': elsewhere in Virgil the word always means 'souls' or 'lives'. The broken syntax in this line probably indicates an unrevised draft.

404. *ea verba locutus* was criticized by the ancient grammarians as *humiliter dictum*. It seems as though Virgil had become tired of *sic deinde locutus* as a line-ending and wished to vary it even at the risk of being prosaic: but no doubt he wished also to emphasize the difference between the words of Vulcan and the action which follows: cf. *Paradise Lost* viii. 56.

407. 'So soon as repose had driven away sleep' i.e. so soon as it had dismissed sleep as no longer required. The phrase is no doubt rather forced, and gives ground for the objection raised, as quoted by Servius, 'quies expulerat somnum paene nihil est: quid enim quies nisi somnus?' A more serious

coniugis et possit parvos educere natos:
haud secus ignipotens nec tempore segnior illo
mollibus e stratis opera ad fabrilia surgit.
insula Sicanium iuxta latus Aeoliamque
erigitur Liparen fumantibus ardua saxis,
quam subter specus et Cyclopum exesa caminis
antra Aetnaea tonant, validique incudibus ictus
auditi referunt gemitus, striduntque cavernis
stricturae Chalybum et fornacibus ignis anhelat,
Volcani domus et Volcania nomine tellus.
hoc tunc ignipotens caelo descendit ab alto.
ferrum exercebant vasto Cyclopes in antro,
Brontesque Steropesque et nudus membra Pyracmon.
his informatum manibus iam parte polita
fulmen erat, toto genitor quae plurima caelo
deicit in terras, pars imperfecta manebat;
tris imbris torti radios, tris nubis aquosae
addiderant, rutuli tris ignis et alitis Austri.
fulgores nunc terrificos sonitumque metumque

413–431 *MPR* 420 gemitum *R* 423 huc *P*

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exception may be taken to *medio curriculo abactae noctis*, which seems to contradict itself: it is really a mixture of two different ways of expressing the same thing, (1) *medio curriculo noctis* and (2) *dimidio noctis abacto*.

409. *tolerare vitam*, 'to support the burden of life', i.e. to make a livelihood: compare *tolerare militiam* l. 515 below.

413. *educere* is the exact equivalent of the modern English 'bring out', though we generally use that term of girls only. It has nothing to do with the word *educare*.

414. *nec tempore segnior illo*, 'and no lazier at that same hour', when both rise and get to work before daybreak.

416. The island in question is Volcano, the southernmost of the Liparaean group, between Lipari and the Sicilian coast. It is still in permanent volcanic activity.

420. For *referunt* see note on l. 343 above.

421. *stricturae* are the moulds prepared in a bed of sand, into which the molten metal flows when the furnace is opened, and in which it solidifies, *stringitur*, in 'pigs'.

423. *hoc*, the reading of the majority of the primary MSS., is vouched for by Servius as an archaic form of *huc*, and may be so accepted, though Virgil does not use it elsewhere.

426. *informare*, as again in l. 447, is to block out or get into preliminary shape; *polire*, to put the finish on: so again in l. 436, 'they put the finish on with serpent-scales and gold'.

miscebant operi flammisque sequacibus iras.
parte alia Marti currumque rotasque volucris
instabant, quibus ille viros, quibus excitat urbes;
aegidaque horriferam, turbatae Palladis arma,
certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant
conexosque anguis ipsamque in pectore divae
Gorgona desecto vertentem lumina collo.
'tollite cuncta' inquit 'coeptosque auferte labores,
Aetnaei Cyclopes, et huc advertite mentem:
arma acri facienda viro. nunc viribus usus,
nunc manibus rapidis, omni nunc arte magistra.
praecipitate moras.' nec plura effatus, at illi
ocius incubuere omnes pariterque laborem
sortiti. fluit aes rivis aurique metallum
vulnificusque chalybs vasta fornace liquescit.
ingentem clipeum informant, unum omnia contra
tela Latinorum, septenosque orbibus orbis
impediunt. alii ventosis follibus auras
accipiunt redduntque, alii stridentia tingunt
aera lacu. gemit impositis incudibus antrum.
illi inter sese multa vi bracchia tollunt
in numerum versantque tenaci forcipe massam.

432–453 *MPR* 443 et illi P^1

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432. 'The angry bursts of pursuing flames': see note on i. 25.

434. *instabant*, 'were getting on with': a rare use, and noted by Servius as a *nova elocutio*.

435. Elsewhere in Virgil *turbatus* always means 'thrown into confusion', 'upset', or 'demoralized'. To say, as most editors do, that here it is equivalent to *iratus*, is impossible. Whether Virgil would have left it in revising the whole episode we cannot of course tell; but as it stands, the only rational explanation seems to be to follow the clue given by Servius, 'turbatae pro turbantis', and to take it as an instance of the Virgilian usage, of which instances are cited in the note on i. 59, of giving an active sense to adjectives which are ordinarily passive. The *turbida terret imago* of iv. 352 is analogous, though not so violent. La Cerda, quoting the imitation of this line by Silius, *Punica* ix. 463, where Pallas in anger *turbato superavit Gorgona vultu*, notes rightly that *turbato vultu* is there a compound epithet, the equivalent of the Greek γοργωπός.

448. The shield is built up of seven

Haec pater Aeoliis properat dum Lemnius oris,
Euandrum ex humili tecto lux suscitat alma
et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus.
consurgit senior tunicaque inducitur artus
et Tyrrhena pedum circumdat vincula plantis.
tum lateri atque umeris Tegeaeum subligat ensem
demissa ab laeva pantherae terga retorquens.
nec non et gemini custodes limine ab alto
praecedunt gressumque canes comitantur erilem.
hospitis Aeneae sedem et secreta petebat
sermonum memor et promissi muneris heros.
nec minus Aeneas se matutinus agebat.
filius huic Pallas, illi comes ibat Achates.
congressi iungunt dextras mediisque residunt
aedibus et licito tandem sermone fruuntur.
rex prior haec . . .
'Maxime Teucrorum ductor, quo sospite numquam
res equidem Troiae victas aut regna fatebor,
nobis ad belli auxilium pro nomine tanto
exiguae vires; hinc Tusco claudimur amni,
hinc Rutulus premit et murum circumsonat armis.
sed tibi ego ingentis populos opulentaque regnis

454–475 *MPR* 460 pantherea *P* 462 procedunt P^1 474 circumtonat M^2

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concentric circles, which the workmen rivet, *impediunt*, into one another.

461. In view of the emphasis laid on the modest scale of Evander's house, the epithet *alto*, here and again in l. 541, must be regarded as an epic tag, rather inappropriately used.

463. *secreta* here does not mean, as in vi. 10 and *Georg.* iv. 403, 'secret places', 'recesses', but 'private conference', the plural as usual giving a concrete sense to the abstract *secretum*, 'privacy'.

467. It is plain from what follows that this conference takes place in the open air; hence *mediis aedibus* does not mean in the middle of the house, but in the middle of the group of huts, stables, &c., surrounding the farmyard. Evander's house must be thought of throughout as a farm, not a palace. Virgil no doubt lays additional stress on this as an indirect compliment to Augustus, whose own house on this site was studiously simple and unpretending.

475. 'The amply-stored camp of whole realms', i.e. of the joint forces of the Etruscan confederacy, as detailed later in the catalogue of Book X.

iungere castra paro, quam fors inopina salutem
ostentat. fatis huc te poscentibus adfers.
haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata vetusto
urbis Agyllinae sedes, ubi Lydia quondam
gens, bello praeclara, iugis insedit Etruscis. 480
hanc multos florentem annos rex deinde superbo
imperio et saevis tenuit Mezentius armis.
quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni
effera? di capiti ipsius generique reservent!
mortua quin etiam iungebat corpora vivis 485
componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora,
tormenti genus, et sanie taboque fluentis
complexu in misero longa sic morte necabat.
at fessi tandem cives infanda furentem
armati circumsistunt ipsumque domumque, 490
obtruncant socios, ignem ad fastigia iactant.
ille inter caedem Rutulorum elapsus in agros
confugere et Turni defendier hospitis armis.
ergo omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis;
regem ad supplicium praesenti Marte reposcunt. 495
his ego te, Aenea, ductorem milibus addam.
toto namque fremunt condensae litore puppes
signaque ferre iubent; retinet longaevus haruspex
fata canens: "o Maeoniae delecta iuventus,
flos veterum virtusque virum, quos iustus in hostem 500
fert dolor et merita accendit Mezentius ira,

476–501 *MPR*   492 caedes *M²P*

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487. There appears to be no exact parallel in classical Latin for the curious phrase *tormenti genus*, 'some torture', as used here. It is probably an archaism or colloquialism, like its English equivalent, which like so many modern slang phrases is a revival of an Early and Middle English usage.

502. The meaning of this line is, there are 'religious' or constitutional objections to placing any single person of Italian blood in authority over the whole Etruscan confederacy: just as the podestà in the Italian republics of the Middle Ages had to be a foreigner, i.e. a noble from some different community.

506. The *insignia*, 'emblems of rule',

nulli fas Italo tantam subiungere gentem:
externos optate duces.” tum Etrusca resedit
hoc acies campo monitis exterrita divum.
ipse oratores ad me regnique coronam 505
cum sceptro misit mandatque insignia Tarcho,
succedam castris Tyrrhenaque regna capessam.
sed mihi tarda gelu saeclisque effeta senectus
invidet imperium seraeque ad fortia vires.
natum exhortarer, ni mixtus matre Sabella 510
hinc partem patriae traheret. tu, cuius et annis
et generi fata indulgent, quem numina poscunt,
ingredere, o Teucrum atque Italum fortissime ductor.
hunc tibi praeterea, spes et solacia nostri,
Pallanta adiungam; sub te tolerare magistro 515
militiam et grave Martis opus, tua cernere facta
adsuescat, primis et te miretur ab annis.
Arcadas huic equites bis centum, robora pubis
lecta dabo, totidemque suo tibi munere Pallas.’
  Vix ea fatus erat, defixique ora tenebant 520
Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates,
multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant,
ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto.
namque improviso vibratus ab aethere fulgor
cum sonitu venit et ruere omnia visa repente, 525
Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor.
suspiciunt, iterum atque iterum fragor increpat ingens.

502–527 *MPR* 512 fatum *P*¹*R*, indulges *P*¹, indulgeet *R* 519 nomine *M*

---

are the crown and sceptre just mentioned. Tarcho ‘conveys to me these emblems (in confirmation of the desire) that I shall repair to the camp and take up kingly power in the Tyrrhene realms’.

514. The plurals, *spes et solacia*, are used not merely for metrical reasons, but also for added emphasis, ‘my whole hope and comfort’.

525. The crash was such that the whole sky seemed to be falling. *omnia* is used in this same sense x. 359, on which see note. The trumpet-blast between the peals of thunder is of course supernatural, as is the appearance of armour encircled by a halo of cloud in an otherwise clear and cloudless sky.

arma inter nubem caeli in regione serena
per sudum rutilare vident et pulsa tonare.
obstipuere animis alii, sed Troius heros
agnovit sonitum et divae promissa parentis.
tum memorat: 'ne vero, hospes, ne quaere profecto
quem casum portenta ferant; ego poscor: Olympo
hoc signum cecinit missuram diva creatrix,
si bellum ingrueret, Volcaniaque arma per auras
laturam auxilio . . .
heu quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant!
quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa sub undas
scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volves,
Thybri pater! poscant acies et foedera rumpant.'
  Haec ubi dicta dedit, solio se tollit ab alto
et primum Herculeis sopitas ignibus aras
excitat, hesternumque larem parvosque penatis
laetus adit; mactat lectas de more bidentis
Euandrus pariter, pariter Troiana iuventus;
post hinc ad navis graditur sociosque revisit,
quorum de numero qui sese in bella sequantur
praestantis virtute legit; pars cetera prona

528–548 *MPR* 528 caeli regione M^1 529 sonare *PR* 538 sub unda *R* 543 suscitat *R*, externumque *MR* 544 mactant *M*

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531. This promise of Venus has not hitherto been mentioned: it is of interest to observe that it is from Servius' note here that Dryden may have drawn the suggestion of his famous criticism that Virgil 'says much in little, and often in silence'.

532. Most editors take *profecto* as the adverb, 'assuredly', making *ne profecto* a repetition or reinforcement of *ne vero*: 'ambae particulae ad ornatum pertinent tantum' is the note of Servius. But such a repetition weakens rather than strengthens the sentence, and Virgil nowhere else uses the adverb *profecto*: it is better taken as the participle, 'to him who has embarked on this enterprise'.

533–4. Whether the punctuation should be before or after *Olympo* has been from the earliest times a matter of doubt. The former gives the better rhythm, and perhaps also the finer meaning. For *cecinit* [se] *missuram* compare xii. 654 *minatur* [se] *deiecturum* and 762 *minitans* [se] *excisurum urbem*.

541–5. This passage is confused and obviously lacks revision. The altars of Hercules were not here, but in the grove by the Tiber bank; only Aeneas and

fertur aqua segnisque secundo defluit amni,
nuntia ventura Ascanio rerumque patrisque.
dantur equi Teucris Tyrrhena petentibus arva;
ducunt exsortem Aeneae, quem fulva leonis
pellis obit totum praefulgens unguibus aureis.
fama volat parvam subito vulgata per urbem
ocius, ire equites Tyrrheni ad limina regis.
vota metu duplicant matres, propiusque periclo
it timor et maior Martis iam apparet imago.
  Tum pater Euandrus dextram complexus euntis
haeret inexpletus lacrimans ac talia fatur:
'o mihi praeteritos referat si Iuppiter annos,
qualis eram cum primam aciem Praeneste sub ipsa
stravi scutorumque incendi victor acervos
et regem hac Erulum dextra sub Tartara misi,
nascenti cui tris animas Feronia mater,
horrendum dictu, dederat, terna arma movenda,
ter leto sternendus erat; cui tum tamen omnis
abstulit haec animas dextra et totidem exuit armis:
non ego nunc dulci amplexu divellerer usquam,
nate, tuo, neque finitimo Mezentius usquam

549–569 *MPR*   555 Tyrrhena *P*, litora *MR*   559 inexpletum P^{1}, lacrimis *M*   569 finitimos *P*, umquam *M*

Achates had spent the night with Evander; and the *Troiana iuventus* of l. 545 are the *socii* of l. 546 whom Aeneas only rejoins later. It may be suspected that either l. 545 or l. 546 was meant for omission.

555. Here, as in xii. 556, *ocius* is probably to be connected with the preceding rather than with the following words, and the text is punctuated accordingly. *Tyrrheni ad limina regis* merely means 'to the Etruscan capital', the kingship at present being vacant.

556. 'Poetice dixit timorem periculo comitem' (Servius).

559. For *inexpletus lacrimans* see note on iii. 70.

560–83. The garrulity and repetitions in this speech seem to be in part studied from the Homeric Nestor, in part a not wholly successful essay in realism.

568–9. *finitimo huic capiti* is in rhetorical balance to *dulci tuo amplexu*. The ending of two successive lines with the same word occurs also ll. 396–7 above and ix. 544–5. The vulgate *unquam* in l. 569, following the Medicean MS., is no doubt an early attempt at variation.

huic capiti insultans tot ferro saeva dedisset
funera, tam multis viduasset civibus urbem.
at vos, o superi, et divum tu maxime rector
Iuppiter, Arcadii, quaeso, miserescite regis
et patrias audite preces: si numina vestra
incolumem Pallanta mihi, si fata reservant,
si visurus eum vivo et venturus in unum,
vitam oro; patior quemvis durare laborem:
sin aliquem infandum casum, Fortuna, minaris,
nunc, nunc o liceat crudelem abrumpere vitam,
dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri,
dum te, care puer, mea sola et sera voluptas,
complexu teneo; gravior neu nuntius auris
vulneret.' haec genitor digressu dicta supremo
fundebat: famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant.
Iamque adeo exierat portis equitatus apertis,
Aeneas inter primos et fidus Achates,
inde alii Troiae proceres, ipse agmine Pallas
in medio chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis,
qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,
quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis,
extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit.
stant pavidae in muris matres oculisque sequuntur
pulveream nubem et fulgentis aere catervas.
olli per dumos, qua proxima meta viarum,

570–594 *MPR*   577 patiar *P*^{2} 579 nunc o nunc *R*^{1} 581 sera et sola *P*
582 complexus *M*^{2}*R*, ne *P*^{1} 583 maesta *M*^{1}

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577. The transitive *durare*, 'to endure', only occurs here in Virgil: elsewhere the verb has either its literal sense 'to harden', or (as in i. 207) means 'to endure' intransitively.

580. *spes*, 'anticipation', includes both hope and fear.

602. *aliquando* means 'at some unknown time', like *aliquis ultor*, 'thou unknown avenger' in iv. 625.

603. The commentators, from Servius onwards, have involved themselves in great difficulties by taking *tuta locis* together, as meaning 'protected by the nature of the ground', which, even if it were Latin, would, as they argue, be inapplicable to a site in 'broad fields' commanded by hills. *tuta castra*

armati tendunt; it clamor, et agmine facto
quadripedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.
est ingens gelidum lucus prope Caeritis amnem,
religione patrum late sacer; undique colles
inclusere cavi et nigra nemus abiete cingunt.
Silvano fama est veteres sacrasse Pelasgos,
arvorum pecorisque deo, lucumque diemque,
qui primi finis aliquando habuere Latinos.
haud procul hinc Tarcho et Tyrrheni tuta tenebant
castra locis, celsoque omnis de colle videri
iam poterat legio et latis tendebat in arvis.
huc pater Aeneas et bello lecta iuventus
succedunt, fessique et equos et corpora curant.
At Venus aetherios inter dea candida nimbos
dona ferens aderat; natumque in valle reducta
ut procul et gelido secretum flumine vidit,
talibus adfata est dictis seque obtulit ultro:
'en perfecta mei promissa coniugis arte
munera, ne mox aut Laurentis, nate, superbos
aut acrem dubites in proelia poscere Turnum.'
dixit, et amplexus nati Cytherea petivit,
arma sub adversa posuit radiantia quercu.
ille deae donis et tanto laetus honore
expleri nequit atque oculos per singula volvit,
miraturque interque manus et bracchia versat

595–619 *MPR*   610 egelido M^1

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merely means 'a guarded camp', and *haud-procul-hinc* is an adverbial phrase used adjectivally in attachment to *locis*, equivalent to *propinquis locis*, like *late loca* ii. 698. See note on i. 13.

605. *poterat videri et tendebat*, 'could be seen as it lay under canvas'; for this use of *et* see note on i. 18. The same idiom is repeated in l. 611.

607. *dimissi corpora curant* is the phrase used by Livy xxiv. 39 of the bivouac of the Roman army on the night before the capture and sack of Henna.

610. *et gelido*, the reading of the majority of the good MSS., is retained in the text as against the *egelido* which was the only reading recognized by Servius. Either is unexceptionable.

terribilem cristis galeam flammasque vomentem,
fatiferumque ensem, loricam ex aere rigentem,
sanguineam, ingentem, qualis cum caerula nubes
solis inardescit radiis longeque refulget;
tum levis ocreas electro auroque recocto,
hastamque et clipei non enarrabile textum.
  Illic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos
haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi
fecerat ignipotens, illic genus omne futurae
stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella.
fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro
procubuisse lupam, geminos huic ubera circum
ludere pendentis pueros et lambere matrem
impavidos, illam tereti cervice reflexa
mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua.
nec procul hinc Romam et raptas sine more Sabinas
consessu caveae, magnis Circensibus actis,
addiderat, subitoque novum consurgere bellum
Romulidis Tatioque seni Curibusque severis.
post idem inter se posito certamine reges
armati Iovis ante aram paterasque tenentes

620–640 *MPR*   620 minantem *P*   628 omnipotens *M*   633 reflexam M^1
640 aras *R*, pateramque *M*

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627. From comparison of v. 524 it is clear that the phrase *haud vatum ignarus* means not ignorant of the verifications which would occur long afterwards and would then be identified by students of prophecy.

632. In Livy's account (i. 4) the shepherd finds the she-wolf *lingua lambentem pueros*; Virgil, reserving that touch for the next line, inverts the phrase, to make it describe the children nuzzling into the wolf-mother.

635. For *sine more* see note on v. 694.

636. In *Circensibus actis*, as in *pugnata bella* l. 629, the participle is used with an aoristic force, the meaning being 'the wars that were fought', and 'at the games that were celebrated'.

638. The datives in this line are distinct in sense: 'war arising for the people of Romulus with Tatius and Cures'. Virgil took his Grecized *Romulidae* from Lucretius (iv. 683) on the analogy of *Aeneadae*.

648. *in ferrum ruebant*, 'flung themselves on the steel', like the Pelignian cohort which *induit se hastis* in its charge on the Macedonian phalanx at Pydna, Livy xliv. 41.

654. This line seems to have been dis-

stabant et caesa iungebant foedera porca,
Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo. 654
haud procul inde citae Mettum in diversa quadrigae 642
distulerant, at tu dictis, Albane, maneres!
raptabatque viri mendacis viscera Tullus
per silvam, et sparsi rorabant sanguine vepres. 645
nec non Tarquinium eiectum Porsenna iubebat
accipere ingentique urbem obsidione premebat:
Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.
illum indignanti similem similemque minanti
aspiceres, pontem auderet quia vellere Cocles 650
et fluvium vinclis innaret Cloelia ruptis.
in summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
stabat pro templo et Capitolia celsa tenebat, 653
atque hic auratis volitans argenteus anser 655
porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat;
Galli per dumos aderant arcemque tenebant
defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae:
aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis,
virgatis lucent sagulis, tum lactea colla 660
auro innectuntur, duo quisque Alpina coruscant

641–661 *MPR* 643 dispulerant M^2 657 olli *R* 661 coruscat *P*

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placed. Where it stands in the MSS. it is irrelevant, and also inaccurate. There was more than one building in Augustan Rome known as the *Casa Romuli*; and one of them is expressly mentioned by Vitruvius as on the Capitoline. But the house of Romulus, the *regia*, was in his own town on the Palatine, and it is almost certain that Virgil thought of it as occupying the site of the *regia* (l. 363) of Evander. Further, the word *recens* would be absurdly used of a building which, according to the received chronology, dated from a time more than three centuries anterior to the capture of Rome by the Gauls. If with Ribbeck we place this line after l. 641, no difficulty is left, and the picture of the scene of the conclusion of peace between the Romulidae and the Sabines is completed by the representation of the thatched house of Romulus, then newly built, behind the figures at the altar: and we shall not be forced to regard the line, with Heyne, as an interpolation, 'alienum et mala manu illatum versum'.

657. For *tenebant* see note on i. 400. Its use here in a different sense from the *tenebat* of l. 653, even if it seems awkward, is quite Virgilian.

gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis.
hic exsultantis Salios nudosque Lupercos
lanigerosque apices et lapsa ancilia caelo
extuderat; castae ducebant sacra per urbem 665
pilentis matres in mollibus. hinc procul addit
Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis,
et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci
pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem,
secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem. 670
haec inter tumidi late maris ibat imago
aurea, sed fluctu spumabat caerula cano,
et circum argento clari delphines in orbem
aequora verrebant caudis aestumque secabant.
in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella, 675
cernere erat, totumque instructo Marte videres
fervere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus.
hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis,

662–679 *MPR*

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671. *haec inter late* seems to indicate that the scenes which follow occupy the wide central portion of the shield, those already mentioned being in smaller panels round the rim; the shield itself being circular. But such detail cannot be pressed.

672. The *spumabat* of all the primary MSS. has been reinstated in the text. *spumabant*, the vulgate since Heinsius, must, however, have been a reading known by Servius, who, after saying 'et caerulam et auream et argenteam maris esse dicit imaginem', has a further note, '*caerula*, id est maria'. *caerula* occurs in this sense in iii. 208, a line verbally repeated iv. 583; elsewhere in Virgil it is an adjective, and this gives a better sense here.

681. The *patrium sidus* which 'discloses itself overhead' is the famous comet, *Dionaei Caesaris astrum*, which appeared after the death of Julius Caesar and was interpreted as a sign of his reception into the ranks of heaven. *vertice* here has the same meaning as *a vertice* i. 114, x. 270, 'atop', or 'overhead'.

684. The unique honour of the *corona rostrata* had been conferred on Agrippa for his decisive naval victory over Sextus Pompeius five years before the battle of Actium.

686. As Servius well remarks, this line, with its emphatic *victor*, is inserted 'ut maiorem hostem Augustus vicisse videatur'. As a matter of fact, Antonius' Eastern campaigns were unsuccessful and inglorious.

688. *nefas* is generally explained, with Servius, as an 'exclamatio quasi, pro

stat celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammas
laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus.
parte alia ventis et dis Agrippa secundis
arduus agmen agens: cui, belli insigne superbum,
tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona.
hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis,
victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,
Aegyptum virisque Orientis et ultima secum
Bactra vehit, sequiturque nefas, Aegyptia coniunx.
una omnes ruere ac totum spumare reductis
convulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.
alta petunt; pelago credas innare revulsas
Cycladas aut montis concurrere montibus altos,
tanta mole viri turritis puppibus instant.
stuppea flamma manu telisque volatile ferrum
spargitur; arva nova Neptunia caede rubescunt.
regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro,
necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis.

680–697 *MPR*   680 stans *MP*   694 telique *R*

---

nefas! aut per parenthesim dictum'; and it is so used vii. 73 and x. 673. But here it is rather to be taken as a noun in apposition to *Aegyptia coniunx*, 'the accursed one, his Egyptian wife'.

691. *alta petunt*: the engagement took place in the open sea, the two fleets having sailed out from their anchorages, that of Antony inside the mouth of the Ambraciot gulf, and that of Augustus in the bay of Mitika a little to the north.

693. *tanta mole turritis* is a compound epithet attached to *puppibus*, 'so hugely turreted': so in xii. 161 *ingenti mole quadriiugo curru*, 'in a massive four-horse chariot'.

694. These incendiary missiles, either discharged from a bow or, as here, hurled by hand, are the *malleoli*, 'teli genus', of which a detailed professional description is given by Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII. v. 14, 15.

695. The force of *nova* here is 'strange'. The serpents of course symbolize Cleopatra's death; but why there are a pair of them, and why they are said to be behind her (unless *a tergo* merely means awaiting her in the near future) is not clear. Possibly in portraits of Cleopatra in the dress of the goddess Isis, with which Virgil must have been familiar, some confusion may have arisen with the twin horns which rise, on the head-dress, with the disk of the moon between them. In the celebrated Dendera portrait of Cleopatra these horns are shaped not unlike serpents, and she is looking away from them.

omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis
contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam
tela tenent. saevit medio in certamine Mavors 700
caelatus ferro; tristesque ex aethere Dirae,
et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla,
quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello.
Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
desuper: omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi, 705
omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei.
ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis
vela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funis.
illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura
fecerat ignipotens undis et Iapyge ferri, 710
contra autem magno maerentem corpore Nilum
pandentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem
caeruleum in gremium latebrosaque flumina victos.
at Caesar, triplici invectus Romana triumpho
moenia, dis Italis votum immortale sacrabat, 715
maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem.
laetitia ludisque viae plausuque fremebant;
omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae;
ante aras terram caesi stravere iuvenci.
ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi 720
dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis
postibus; incedunt victae longo ordine gentes,
quam variae linguis, habitu tam vestis et armis.

698–723 *MPR*   701 divae *M²R*   704 tendebat *P*

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705. For *eo terrore* see note on ii. 171.

707. *videbatur*, 'was seen' (not 'seemed'), like *cernere erat* in l. 676 above.

710. The N.W. or N.N.W. wind, *Iapyx*, would be a following wind for the flight from Actium to Alexandria.

716. 'Three hundred' here as in iv. 510 is a generalized phrase for a large number. In his *Res Gestae*, Augustus records that he restored eighty-two temples in Rome in his sixth consulship, 28 B.C., and names twelve other new temples which he built. The most splendid of these last was the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, in front of which he is here (l. 720) represented as seated to receive the homage of the nations.

hic Nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros,
hic Lelegas Carasque sagittiferosque Gelonos 725
finxerat; Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis,
extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque bicornis,
indomitique Dahae, et pontem indignatus Araxes.
Talia per clipeum Volcani dona parentis
miratur, rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet 730
attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.

724–731 *MPR* 724 hinc *P* 725 hinc *P*

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726. 'More gently', with its pride abated.

728. The bridging of the Araxes is reserved for the final touch in this description, as the Augustan bridge replaced one which had been built by Alexander the Great and swept away by a flood.

BOOK IX

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Book IX is, apart from the famous episode of Nisus and Euryalus which is its central portion and occupies not much short of half the book, uneven in poetical quality and not completely successful in artistry of construction. Virgil seems to have had difficulty, after the splendid preludes of Books VII and VIII, in getting the narrative of the actual warfare under way. The two invocations of the Muses (ll. 77–9 and 525–8) are a sort of symbol of this: and the results of the second invocation are only moderate until the final scene (ll. 690–818) of the *aristeia* of Turnus, which makes a noble ending. The episode of the change of the Trojan ships into sea-nymphs fails to carry conviction: Virgil himself half apologizes for it, and many of his readers are inclined to wish that he had discarded the incident and its sequel in x. 219–55, and left it to be treated by the hand of Ovid as a fairy tale.

A marked feature in this book is the effort to bring Ascanius into the foreground. Here, as elsewhere in the later part of the *Aeneid*, it is difficult to make him interesting. He has no longer the charm of childhood, but is not yet old enough to take any real part in council or in battle; and the attitude of a bystander is one which requires great tact to keep from being grotesque. The incidents in which he takes part in Book VII present no difficulty. But as in Book VIII he is eclipsed by Pallas, and in Book X by Lausus, so he is here by Euryalus: their beautiful and tragic figures leave little scope for the boy who is sedulously kept out of all chance of danger. At the consultation of the captains in Aeneas's absence he is present, but has no defined position and no authority. When he is the first (l. 232) to receive Nisus and Euryalus, and when he makes them his lavish boy-like promises, it is not quite easy to take him seriously; and as he accompanies the captains to bid them farewell at the gate, the line *ante annos animumque gerens curamque virilem* has almost an apologetic air. His own single essay in arms, the lucky arrow-shot with which he strikes down Numanus, is told perhaps at rather undue length (it occupies between 70 and 80 lines); and after it, he is hastily withdrawn.

The book is given its value and quality by the noble and admirably told episode of Nisus and Euryalus. If, as is possible, it was originally composed as a substantive epyllion, it is interwoven into the texture of the main epic with admirable skill. The formal introduction of the pair (ll. 176–83) as completely new characters, when they have already furnished a considerable though minor episode in the games of Book V, does not enable any inference to be drawn as to the relative date of composition of the two passages. It is one of the inconsistencies which Virgil would no doubt have removed in revision.

There are further traces of incompleteness (apart from the six unfinished lines) in ll. 85–7, which seem to be an editorial conflation of two alternative descriptions, and in ll. 717–21, where the first three lines would be more relevantly placed after l. 755 and the last two are a fragmentary insertion, perhaps written down as the opening for an additional paragraph at this point. They would come suitably before the paragraph (569–89) enumerating warriors killed on both sides in the Latin attempt to storm the camp, which at present is left a little in the air. The list of rewards offered by Ascanius to Nisus, ll. 263–74, would probably have been compressed on revision; we may be inclined to think that in any case ll. 266 and 272–4 would have been struck out entirely, to no little advantage. There is a like superfluity in the long and partly unintelligible parenthesis, ll. 360–3, giving the history of the accoutrements of Rhamnes.

To follow the action in this book, which related with Virgil's habitual allusiveness the topography of the district in which the action passes, and more particularly for the episode of Nisus and Euryalus that of the neighbourhood of Ostia, must be clearly grasped. The sketch-map on p. 530 will enable the reader to follow the narrative with more appreciation.

AENEIDOS

LIBER NONUS

Atque ea diversa penitus dum parte geruntur,
Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno
audacem ad Turnum. luco tum forte parentis
Pilumni Turnus sacrata valle sedebat.
ad quem sic roseo Thaumantias ore locuta est:
'Turne, quod optanti divum promittere nemo
auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro.
Aeneas urbe et sociis et classe relicta
sceptra Palatini sedemque petit Euandri.
nec satis: extremas Corythi penetravit ad urbes
Lydorumque manum; collectos armat agrestis.
quid dubitas? nunc tempus equos, nunc poscere currus;
rumpe moras omnis et turbata arripe castra.'
dixit, et in caelum paribus se sustulit alis
ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum.
agnovit iuvenis duplicisque ad sidera palmas
sustulit ac tali fugientem est voce secutus:
'Iri, decus caeli, quis te mihi nubibus actam

1–18 *MPR*   11 manus *P*   17 et tali *MR*

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1. The exact force of *penitus* towards further definition of *diversa parte* which like *parte ex alia* (x. 362) merely means 'elsewhere', is doubtful. Generally in Virgil it means 'deep within', 'in, or into, its recesses'; but in phrases like *penitus alias avexerat oras* i. 512, or *penitus in nubila fugit* xii. 256, it only means 'clean away', and again in *penitus sub iuga mittant* viii. 148 or *penitus referuntur* xi. 623, it does not imply anything beyond 'completely'. Perhaps here it is meant to re-emphasize the secrecy with which (viii. 609–10) the divine armour has been brought to Aeneas; but it need not imply more than the *penetravit* of l. 10 below.

7. For *volvenda dies* see note on i. 269.

9. *petit* is the contracted perfect, only used here by Virgil; he has the uncontracted *petiit* twice (x. 67, 343) but more ordinarily uses the longer form *petivit*.

13. *turbata*, 'disorganized'; hence the importance of immediate attack by a force hurried up on horseback and in cars. Cf. note on l. 369 below.

detulit in terras? unde haec tam clara repente
tempestas? medium video discedere caelum
palantisque polo stellas. sequor omina tanta,
quisquis in arma vocas.' et sic effatus ad undam
processit summoque hausit de gurgite lymphas
multa deos orans, oneravitque aethera votis.
  Iamque omnis campis exercitus ibat apertis
dives equum, dives pictai vestis et auri:
Messapus primas acies, postrema coercent
Tyrrhidae iuvenes, medio dux agmine Turnus:
vertitur arma tenens et toto vertice supra est.
ceu septem surgens sedatis amnibus altus
per tacitum Ganges aut pingui flumine Nilus
cum refluit campis et iam se condidit alveo.
hic subitam nigro glomerari pulvere nubem
prospiciunt Teucri ac tenebras insurgere campis.
primus ab adversa conclamat mole Caicus:
'quis globus, o cives, caligine volvitur atra?
ferte citi ferrum, date tela, ascendite muros,
hostis adest, heia!' ingenti clamore per omnis
condunt se Teucri portas et moenia complent.

19–31 *MPR* 32–39 *FMPR* 21 sequar *M* 25 iamque adeo M^2
29 *om. MPR* 33 magno *P* 37 scandite M^2, et scandite *FR*

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20. The sudden brilliance in which Iris disappears leaves Turnus dazed, and in the colloquial phrase, he 'sees stars'. *tempestas* here has its primary meaning of a space or period of time; and neither the 'rift in the sky' nor the 'reeling stars' seen through it are to be taken literally.

29. This line is not in any of the primary MSS., and has obviously been brought from vii. 784 and stupidly foisted in here. But it may be suspected that ll. 27 and 28 are also misplaced, and were meant by Virgil to come elsewhere; they are an awkward parenthesis, and rather detract from than add to the picture.

35. This *moles* is the earthen mound of the camp facing inland: so the word is used of the embankments of a river ii. 497.

36. For the special force of *cives* here, as also of *urbi* in l. 48 below, see note on v. 196. *urbs*, *cives*, and *patria* are used later in this book with the like force, ll. 639, 783, 786.

40. *optimus armis*, 'the excellent soldier'; these orders being an instance of his good generalship.

41. *si qua fortuna fuisset*, 'even should a favourable chance offer itself'.

47. The vulgate *Turnus ut ante*, though

namque ita discedens praeceperat optimus armis
Aeneas, si qua interea fortuna fuisset,
neu struere auderent aciem neu credere campo;
castra modo et tutos servarent aggere muros.
ergo etsi conferre manum pudor iraque monstrat,
obiciunt portas tamen et praecepta facessunt,
armatique cavis exspectant turribus hostem.
  Turnus at ante volans tardum praecesserat agmen
viginti lectis equitum comitatus, et urbi
improvisus adest; maculis quem Thracius albis
portat equus cristaque tegit galea aurea rubra.
'ecquis erit mecum, iuvenes, qui primus in hostem?
en!' ait et iaculum attorquens emittit in auras,
principium pugnae, et campo sese arduus infert;
clamorem excipiunt socii fremituque sequuntur
horrisono, Teucrum mirantur inertia corda,
non aequo dare se campo, non obvia ferre
arma viros, sed castra fovere. huc turbidus atque huc
lustrat equo muros aditumque per avia quaerit.
ac veluti pleno lupus insidiatus ovili
cum fremit ad caulas ventos perpessus et imbris

40–60 *FMPR* 44 monstrant *F* 47 ut *FMPR* 52 intorquens *M*
54 clamore *FR*

---

it is found in all the MSS., makes the syntax of the sentence exceedingly awkward; to get over this by interpreting *ut ante volans* as = *ut qui ante volat* (Ribbeck) is impossible Latin. The text above accepts Schenkl's emendation of *at* for *ut*, which with the consequent re-punctuation makes the whole sentence clear and straightforward. Normally *at* in Virgil is the first word in the clause, but transposition to the second place occurs v. 264 *indutus at olim*, vii. 500 *saucius at quadripes*, xi. 753 *saucius at serpens*. Conversely, *ut* has been corrupted in good MSS. into *aut* in vi. 750 and into *et* in x. 898: and Heinsius rather plausibly proposed to read *utque* for *atque* in iv. 285.

52. *attorquens*, a unique variant of the normal Virgilian *intorquens* and not materially differing from it in meaning, is the reading of all the good MSS. except the Medicean.

57. The contemptuous *castra fovere*, 'keep the camp warm', is a metaphor from mother-birds sitting on their eggs.

60. *caulae*, a Lucretian word, hardly ever found elsewhere, is used by Lucretius of the pores of the body or some part of the body, coupled occa-

nocte super media: tuti sub matribus agni
balatum exercent, ille asper et improbus ira
saevit in absentis, collecta fatigat edendi
ex longo rabies et siccae sanguine fauces:
haud aliter Rutulo muros et castra tuenti
ignescunt irae; duris dolor ossibus ardet.
qua temptet ratione aditus, et qua via clausos
excutiat Teucros vallo atque effundat in aequor?
classem, quae lateri castrorum adiuncta latebat,
aggeribus saeptam circum et fluvialibus undis,
invadit sociosque incendia poscit ovantis
atque manum pinu flagranti fervidus implet.
tum vero incumbunt, urget praesentia Turni,
atque omnis facibus pubes accingitur atris.
diripuere focos: piceum fert fumida lumen
taeda et commixtam Volcanus ad astra favillam.
  Quis deus, o Musae, tam saeva incendia Teucris
avertit? tantos ratibus quis depulit ignis?
dicite. prisca fides facto, sed fama perennis.
tempore quo primum Phrygia formabat in Ida

61–68 *FMPR* 69–80 *MPR* 66 durus *P* 67 quae via P^1R
68 aequum F^1MP^2R

---

sionally with *foramina* and *spiracula*; here it evidently means the chinks in the fence of the sheepfold at which the wolf growls and whines (*fremit*).

61. There seems to be no other instance of *super* just in this sense; those cited by the commentators are not analogous. It is a striking coincidence, if it be a coincidence, that Keats has the same phrase 'upon the midnight' in the *Ode to a Nightingale*. But Keats, who knew his Virgil well, may have taken the phrase from this very passage.

64. *siccae sanguine*, not 'unslaked with blood', but 'in which the blood is dry' with hunger: the opposite of the *udae vocis iter* of vii. 533.

67. The authority for *quae via* and *qua via* is evenly balanced; both readings are mentioned by Servius; the meaning is in substance the same, 'what approach' or 'in what quarter an approach' may force the Trojans out of their fortified camp into open ground.

68. The good MSS vary between *aequor* and *aequum*: in either case the sense is the same, 'on to level ground'.

69. *latebat* applies to the ships as being, in the technical sense of the term, 'covered' by the stockade and the river.

71–6. These lines, with their awkward verbosity, are evidently an unrevised

Aeneas classem et pelagi petere alta parabat,
ipsa deum fertur genetrix Berecyntia magnum
vocibus his adfata Iovem: ‘da, nate, petenti,
quod tua cara parens domito te poscit Olympo.
pinea silva mihi multos dilecta per annos,
lucus in arce fuit summa, quo sacra ferebant,
nigranti picea trabibusque obscurus acernis:
has ego Dardanio iuveni, cum classis egeret,
laeta dedi; nunc sollicitam timor anxius angit.
solve metus atque hoc precibus sine posse parentem
ne cursu quassatae ullo neu turbine venti
vincantur: prosit nostris in montibus ortas.’
  Filius huic contra, torquet qui sidera mundi:
‘o genetrix, quo fata vocas? aut quid petis istis?
mortaline manu factae immortale carinae
fas habeant? certusque incerta pericula lustret
Aeneas? cui tanta deo permissa potestas?
immo, ubi defunctae finem portusque tenebunt
Ausonios olim, quaecumque evaserit undis
Dardaniumque ducem Laurentia vexerit arva,

81–100 *MPR*   90 parentum M^1 91 neu cursu *MR*

---

draft. The second half of l. 73 is a mere stop-gap; and *diripuere focos* is, in the context, absurd. It is taken (as the whole passage in substance is repeated) from the description of the similar incident in v. 660–3. Only later in the day does the attacking force bivouac and light its fires.

79. As Warde Fowler with his quick insight points out (*Roman Essays and Interpretations*, p. 192), this line is Virgil's defence for the introduction into a national epic of what is only a fairy-tale: ‘belief in the thing is old-fashioned, but the charm of the story abides; then, let the Muses (the spirit of poetry) tell it.’

84. ‘Praesta ei cuius beneficio servatus ad Olympi regna venisti’ is the excellent Servian paraphrase.

85. This and the two following lines seem to represent an editorial conflation of two alternative openings of the sentence in Virgil's autograph, in which the timber for the fleet was to be described as taken (1) from a pine-forest in the hills which was a favourite haunt of the goddess, (2) from her sacred grove of pitch-pine and maple in the citadel of Troy. The *has* of l. 88 must, as the text stands, refer either to the *trabes* of the previous line, or more generally to the trees implied in what precedes.

mortalem eripiam formam magnique iubebo
aequoris esse deas, qualis Nereia Doto
et Galatea secant spumantem pectore pontum.'
dixerat idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,
per pice torrentis atraque voragine ripas 105
adnuit, et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.
Ergo aderat promissa dies et tempora Parcae
debita complerant, cum Turni iniuria Matrem
admonuit ratibus sacris depellere taedas.
hic primum nova lux oculis offulsit et ingens 110
visus ab Aurora caelum transcurrere nimbus
Idaeique chori; tum vox horrenda per auras
excidit et Troum Rutulorumque agmina complet:
'ne trepidate meas, Teucri, defendere navis
neve armate manus; maria ante exurere Turno 115
quam sacras dabitur pinus. vos ite solutae,
ite deae pelagi: genetrix iubet.' et sua quaeque
continuo puppes abrumpunt vincula ripis
delphinumque modo demersis aequora rostris
ima petunt. hinc virgineae, mirabile monstrum, 120
quot prius aeratae steterant ad litora prorae
reddunt se totidem facies pontoque feruntur.
obstipuere animis Rutuli, conterritus ipse
turbatis Messapus equis, cunctatur et amnis
rauca sonans revocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto. 125
At non audaci Turno fiducia cessit;

101–117 *MPR* 118–126 *FMPR* 121 *om. FMPR* 123 animi Rutulis *MP*
124 turbatus P^1R

---

121. This line is not in any good MS. and is an insertion from x. 223.

127. The punctuation in the text is that of Heinsius. Most editors point after *dictis*, which gives a weaker sense. The same alternative pointing is admissible in vi. 387 *sic prior adgreditur dictis atque increpat ultro*.

132. The MSS. are divided equally between *gentis Italae* (genitive) and *gentes Italae* (nominative in apposition to *tot milia*). As Virgil speaks indifferently of the *gens Itala* (vi. 757) and the *gentes Italae* (vii. 85), the choice between the two readings is arbitrary.

141. *modo non perosos*, 'in all but utter

ultro animos tollit, dictis atque increpat ultro:
'Troianos haec monstra petunt, his Iuppiter ipse
auxilium solitum eripuit: non tela neque ignis
exspectant Rutulos. ergo maria invia Teucris,
nec spes ulla fugae: rerum pars altera adempta est,
terra autem in nostris manibus, tot milia gentes
arma ferunt Italae. nil me fatalia terrent,
si qua Phryges prae se iactant, responsa deorum:
sat fatis Venerique datum est, tetigere quod arva
fertilis Ausoniae Troes. sunt et mea contra
fata mihi, ferro sceleratam exscindere gentem
coniuge praerepta; nec solos tangit Atridas
iste dolor, solisque licet capere arma Mycenis.
"sed periisse semel satis est": peccare fuisset
ante satis, penitus modo non genus omne perosos
femineum. quibus haec medii fiducia valli
fossarumque morae, leti discrimina parva,
dant animos, at non viderunt moenia Troiae
Neptuni fabricata manu considere in ignis?
sed vos, o lecti, ferro qui scindere vallum
apparat et mecum invadit trepidantia castra,
non armis mihi Volcani, non mille carinis
est opus in Teucros. addant se protinus omnes
Etrusci socios. tenebras et inertia furta
Palladii caesis summae custodibus arcis
ne timeant, nec equi caeca condemur in alvo:

127–152 *FMPR* 130 exspectans M^1 132 gentis *MR* 135 datum est *FPR*
143 discrimine F^1M, parvo F^2MP^2R, parvas P^1 151 late custodibus arcis F^1R

---

hatred'. The editors unaccountably find difficulty in the line.

146. The change from plural to singular is an artifice of style for which see Quintilian IX. iii. 8. The arbitrary emendation, in most modern texts, of substituting *quis* for *qui* and placing a question-mark at the end of l. 147 is quite needless.

151. This line is in all the primary MSS., but is generally condemned as an interpolation from ii. 166, *Palladium caesis summae custodibus arcis*. But the uncontracted genitive *Palladii* does not of itself indicate a spurious text; see note on iii. 702. Virgil generally takes pains

luce palam certum est igni circumdare muros.
haud sibi cum Danais rem faxo et pube Pelasga
esse ferant, decimum quos distulit Hector in annum. 155
nunc adeo, melior quoniam pars acta diei,
quod superest, laeti bene gestis corpora rebus
procurate, viri, et pugnam sperate parari.'
  Interea vigilum excubiis obsidere portas
cura datur Messapo et moenia cingere flammis. 160
bis septem Rutuli muros qui milite servent
delecti, ast illos centeni quemque sequuntur
purpurei cristis iuvenes auroque corusci.
discurrunt variantque vices, fusique per herbam
indulgent vino et vertunt crateras aënos. 165
conlucent ignes, noctem custodia ducit
insomnem ludo . . .
haec super e vallo prospectant Troes et armis
alta tenent, nec non trepidi formidine portas
explorant pontisque et propugnacula iungunt, 170
tela gerunt. instat Mnestheus acerque Serestus,
quos pater Aeneas, si quando adversa vocarent,
rectores iuvenum et rerum dedit esse magistros.
omnis per muros legio sortita periclum
excubat exercetque vices, quod cuique tuendum est. 175
  Nisus erat portae custos, acerrimus armis,

153–164 *FMPR*   165–176 *MPR*   155 putent *MR*   156 diei est M^2R
160 flamma *FR*   161 Rutulo M^1 162 secuti *R*   171 instant *MR*

---

to avoid using either the contracted or the uncontracted form, but has *Mezenti* xi. 7.

154. The old Latin future *faxo* here and in xii. 316 is an archaism, like *iusso* in xi. 467. Elsewhere Virgil uses the normal *faciam* and *iubebo*.

170. '*explorant*, confirmant' is the Servian note. It means 'see to and test'. They also 'link up' the unfinished gangways and bastions, so as to have a continuous line of defence all along the ramparts, and 'bring up' a supply of missile weapons.

177. Ida is his native mountain (not an otherwise unknown nymph supposed to be his mother): so *quos frigida misit Nursia, montosae misere in proelia Nersae, quem mater Aricia misit*, in the Catalogue of Book VII (715, 744, 762). For *venatrix* compare *domitrix Epidaurus equorum Georg.* iii. 44.

Hyrtacides, comitem Aeneae quem miserat Ida
venatrix iaculo celerem levibusque sagittis;
et iuxta comes Euryalus, quo pulchrior alter
non fuit Aeneadum Troiana neque induit arma, 180
ora puer prima signans intonsa iuventa.
his amor unus erat pariterque in bella ruebant:
tum quoque communi portam statione tenebant.
Nisus ait: 'dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido? 185
aut pugnam aut aliquid iamdudum invadere magnum
mens agitat mihi, nec placida contenta quiete est.
cernis quae Rutulos habeat fiducia rerum:
lumina rara micant, somno vinoque soluti
procubuere, silent late loca. percipe porro 190
quid dubitem et quae nunc animo sententia surgat.
Aenean acciri omnes, populusque patresque,
exposcunt, mittique viros qui certa reportent.
si tibi quae posco promittunt, nam mihi facti
fama sat est, tumulo videor reperire sub illo 195
posse viam ad muros et moenia Pallantea.'
  Obstipuit magno laudum percussus amore
Euryalus, simul his ardentem adfatur amicum:
'mene igitur socium summis adiungere rebus,
Nise, fugis? solum te in tanta pericula mittam? 200

177–200 *MPR*

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184. The introduction of a speech thus by *Nisus ait* is abrupt, though a speech similarly is followed by *Aeneas ait*, i. 438; and one may suspect that *ut* has dropped out of the previous line between *communi* and *portam*.

185. Here as often elsewhere, *dirus* means 'overpowering'. *Dira cupido* is best so rendered in vi. 373, 721, and *Georg.* i. 37; so *dira religio loci* viii. 350; and with *dira cupido . . . mens agitat* of this passage may be compared the *mens tam dira* of ii. 519.

193. *reportent* here, as in vii. 167, does not mean 'bring back', but is the exact equivalent of the English 'report', sc. to Aeneas.

197. For *laudes*, 'deeds of praise' see note on i. 25. So *pro laudibus istis* in l. 252 below.

non ita me genitor, bellis adsuetus Opheltes,
Argolicum terrorem inter Troiaeque labores
sublatum erudiit, nec tecum talia gessi
magnanimum Aenean et fata extrema secutus:
est hic, est animus lucis contemptor et istum
qui vita bene credat emi, quo tendis, honorem.'
  Nisus ad haec: 'equidem de te nil tale verebar,
nec fas, non: ita me referat tibi magnus ovantem
Iuppiter aut quicumque oculis haec aspicit aequis.
sed si quis, quae multa vides discrimine tali,
si quis in adversum rapiat casusve deusve,
te superesse velim, tua vita dignior aetas.
sit qui me raptum pugna pretiove redemptum
mandet humo, solita aut si qua id fortuna vetabit,
absenti ferat inferias decoretque sepulcro.
neu matri miserae tanti sim causa doloris,
quae te sola, puer, multis e matribus ausa
persequitur, magni nec moenia curat Acestae.'
ille autem: 'causas nequiquam nectis inanis
nec mea iam mutata loco sententia cedit.

201–206 *MPR*   207–220 *FMPR*   207 Nisus ait P^2 209 aspicis P^1

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214. 'solita Fortuna, quae piis invidere consuevit' is the Servian note; 'fortune' however is not here expressly personified, and the phrase only means 'such fortune as is common'.

219. *causae* has here its technical sense of 'pleas', or arguments.

223. From what follows it is clear that *regem* means Ascanius: in Aeneas' absence he is discharging the titular royal functions, though the actual control of affairs is vested in Mnestheus and Serestus (l. 173 above) and other captains associated with them (l. 225 below), the *primi* of l. 309.

230. In a Roman camp of the Republican and early Imperial times, a square space of 100 feet each way was left clear in the centre, with nothing in it except the commander-in-chief's tent: this is the *campus* mentioned here. It is only necessary to note this because of an absurd idea of some editors that *castrorum et campi medio* means 'midway between the camp and the plain'. The whole scene of course passes within, and at the central point of, the camp.

233. *trepidos*, 'as they came hurrying up'.

238. *locus insidiis* would normally mean 'a place for an ambush', but as there is no question of that here, the meaning must be 'a place for a stealthy raid', as in *lupus insidiatus ovili* l. 59 above. Nisus goes on to explain his plan, which

acceleremus' ait; vigiles simul excitat. illi
succedunt servantque vices: statione relicta
ipse comes Niso graditur regemque requirunt.
 Cetera per terras omnis animalia somno
laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum: 225
ductores Teucrum primi, delecta iuventus,
consilium summis regni de rebus habebant,
quid facerent quisve Aeneae iam nuntius esset.
stant longis adnixi hastis et scuta tenentes
castrorum et campi medio. tum Nisus et una 230
Euryalus confestim alacres admittier orant,
rem magnam pretiumque morae fore. primus Iulus
accepit trepidos ac Nisum dicere iussit.
 Tum sic Hyrtacides: 'audite o mentibus aequis,
Aeneadae, neve haec nostris spectentur ab annis 235
quae ferimus. Rutuli somno vinoque soluti
conticuere: locum insidiis conspeximus ipsi,
qui patet in bivio portae quae proxima ponto;
interrupti ignes aterque ad sidera fumus
erigitur: si fortuna permittitis uti, 240
mox hic cum spoliis ingenti caede peracta 242
adfore cernetis. nec nos via fallit euntis 243

221–234 *FMPR* 235–240, 242, 243 *MPR* 237 procubuere *P* 243 fallet *M*

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is, to slip out of the camp by the gate 'next the sea', i.e. near the river bank at the lower end of the camp; avoiding the two roads which forked a little way outside it, both of which would be heavily guarded, to make his way through the scattered bivouac between them, where the fires were dying down and the men mostly asleep; and so getting clear through the besiegers' lines, to swing to the left and make his way through the wooded country behind until he reached the river again higher up and followed it up-stream to Pallanteum. This plan would in fact have been carried out but for Nisus and Euryalus being intercepted, when they had got well beyond the Rutulian camp and were heading for Pallanteum, by a body of mounted men coming from the south by a night-march to join the besieging forces.

241–3. The transposition of l. 241 as in the text, noted by Servius as being an alternative reading, makes a passage clear and straightforward which otherwise is confused and barely grammatical. The alternative adopted by

quaesitum Aenean et moenia Pallantea: 241
vidimus obscuris primam sub vallibus urbem 244
venatu adsiduo et totum cognovimus amnem.' 245
  Hic annis gravis atque animi maturus Aletes:
'di patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troia est,
non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis,
cum talis animos iuvenum et tam certa tulistis
pectora'; sic memorans umeros dextrasque tenebat 250
amborum et vultum lacrimis atque ora rigabat;
'quae vobis, quae digna, viri, pro laudibus istis
praemia posse rear solvi? pulcherrima primum
di moresque dabunt vestri: tum cetera reddet
actutum pius Aeneas atque integer aevi 255
Ascanius meriti tanti non immemor umquam.'
  'Immo ego vos, cui sola salus genitore reducto,'
excipit Ascanius 'per magnos, Nise, penatis
Assaracique larem et canae penetralia Vestae
obtestor, quaecumque mihi fortuna fidesque est, 260
in vestris pono gremiis: revocate parentem,

241, 244–261 *MPR*   244 moenibus P^2

Heyne and other editors, leaving the order of the lines unchanged, to read (with MSS. which are with one exception of little value) *ad moenia*, 'soon you will see arriving the Aeneas sought for at Pallanteum', is less satisfactory.

249. The *iuvenum* here and still more strongly the *viri* of l. 252 associate the boy Euryalus with his older companion; nothing could please both better.

250. There should be no need for comment on this line, but in view of Conington's curious misapprehension of it, it may be as well to point out that the gesture of Aletes is to clasp Nisus' right hand in his own and at the same time lay his own left hand on Nisus' right shoulder: and so also with Euryalus. Virgil indicates this natural and beautiful gesture with his usual economy of words.

270. With the vivid *aureus* may be compared Shakespeare's 'I tell you, he does sit in gold', of Coriolanus. The extravagance of the gifts promised has been often, and not unreasonably, commented on; but there is no reason to suspect interpolation, though we might be inclined to think that Virgil on reconsideration might have omitted ll. 266 and 272–3, as well as l. 274 which has much of the air of an afterthought.

274. For *insuper his* see note on ii. 348. But the whole line is awkwardly tagged on to what precedes, and in view of this as well as of the curious variation of the text in the three primary MSS., may be

reddite conspectum; nihil illo triste recepto.
bina dabo argento perfecta atque aspera signis
pocula, devicta genitor quae cepit Arisba,
et tripodas geminos, auri duo magna talenta,
cratera antiquum quem dat Sidonia Dido.
si vero capere Italiam sceptrisque potiri
contigerit victori et praedae dicere sortem,
vidisti, quo Turnus equo, quibus ibat in armis
aureus; ipsum illum, clipeum cristasque rubentis
excipiam sorti, iam nunc tua praemia, Nise.
praeterea bis sex genitor lectissima matrum
corpora captivosque dabit suaque omnibus arma,
insuper his campi quod rex habet ipse Latinus.
te vero, mea quem spatiis propioribus aetas
insequitur, venerande puer, iam pectore toto
accipio et comitem casus complector in omnis.
nulla meis sine te quaeretur gloria rebus:
seu pacem seu bella geram, tibi maxima rerum
verborumque fides.' contra quem talia fatur
Euryalus: 'me nulla dies tam fortibus ausis
dissimilem arguerit; tantum, fortuna secunda

262–282 *MPR* 268 ducere *R* 274 is campi *M*, his campis *R*, quos M^1P^2

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suspected to be a tentative marginal insertion, if not an actual interpolation.

276. *venerande puer*, the phrase applied by the author of the *Culex* to the Octavius to whom he dedicates the poem, simply means 'you adorable boy', and must not be pressed further in either passage.

282. The text, and consequently the punctuation and the meaning of this sentence have been from the first much debated. The primary MSS. all read *haut adversa*; but *aut adversa* was preferred by Servius, and certainly *secunda haud adversa* may be criticized as feeble: 'ieiunum est illud', observes Heyne. Further, *tantum* may be connected to the words which precede, or to those which follow; or, like the *hoc tantum* of ii. 690 according to one interpretation of that line (on which see the note), as a separate clause, 'so much for that', or as Heyne paraphrases it, 'tantum de me polliceri audeo'. *tam fortibus ausis dissimilem tantum* (practically equivalent to *tam fortibus ausis tam dissimilem*) would be rather unusual wording; but *dissimilem arguerit tantum* is parallel to phrases like *tantum insano indulgere dolori* ii. 776, *tantum dexter abis*, v. 162, *tantum animis certatis iniquis* x. 7, and perhaps also *tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum* in l. 430 below, where see note.

aut adversa cadat. sed te super omnia dona
unum oro: genetrix Priami de gente vetusta
est mihi, quam miseram tenuit non Ilia tellus
mecum excedentem, non moenia regis Acestae.
hanc ego nunc ignaram huius quodcumque pericli est
inque salutatam linquo, nox et tua testis
dextera, quod nequeam lacrimas perferre parentis.
at tu, oro, solare inopem et succurre relictae.
hanc sine me spem ferre tui, audentior ibo
in casus omnis.' percussa mente dedere
Dardanidae lacrimas, ante omnis pulcher Iulus,
atque animum patriae strinxit pietatis imago.
tum sic effatur . . .
'sponde digna tuis ingentibus omnia coeptis.
namque erit ista mihi genetrix nomenque Creusae
solum defuerit, nec partum gratia talem
parva manet. casus factum quicumque sequentur,
per caput hoc iuro, per quod pater ante solebat:
quae tibi polliceor reduci rebusque secundis,
haec eadem matrique tuae generique manebunt.'
  Sic ait inlacrimans; umero simul exuit ensem
auratum, mira quem fecerat arte Lycaon
Gnosius atque habilem vagina aptarat eburna.
dat Niso Mnestheus pellem horrentisque leonis
exuvias, galeam fidus permutat Aletes.

283–307 *MPR* 283 haut *MPR* 287 est *om.* M^1*PR* 292 dederunt *PR*
299 sequetur *P*

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288. The 'tmesis', for metrical reasons, of *insalutatam*, common in earlier Latin poetry—there are some 30 instances in Lucretius—is only twice used by Virgil, here and in x. 794 *inque ligatus*. The similar division of *benefacti* iv. 539 is on a rather different footing, as there is no metrical necessity for it.

294. *imago* means 'picture': and *patria pietas* is a concise expression for 'the ties between parent and child', including by implication the mother as well as the father. Where the line is in substance repeated x. 824, *patria pietas* is the devotion of the son to the father.

296. *sponde*, 'promise yourself', 'be assured of'.

300. Aeneas swears by the head of

protinus armati incedunt; quos omnis euntis
primorum manus ad portas, iuvenumque senumque,
prosequitur votis. nec non et pulcher Iulus,
ante annos animumque gerens curamque virilem,
multa patri mandata dabat portanda; sed aurae
omnia discerpunt et nubibus inrita donant.
  Egressi superant fossas noctisque per umbram
castra inimica petunt, multis tamen ante futuri
exitio. passim somno vinoque per herbam
corpora fusa vident, arrectos litore currus,
inter lora rotasque viros, simul arma iacere,
vina simul. prior Hyrtacides sic ore locutus:
'Euryale, audendum dextra: nunc ipsa vocat res.
hac iter est. tu ne qua manus se attollere nobis
a tergo possit custodi et consule longe;
haec ego vasta dabo et lato te limite ducam.'
sic memorat vocemque premit, simul ense superbum
Rhamnetem adgreditur, qui forte tapetibus altis
exstructus toto proflabat pectore somnum,
rex idem et regi Turno gratissimus augur,
sed non augurio potuit depellere pestem.
tris iuxta famulos temere inter tela iacentis
armigerumque Remi premit aurigamque sub ipsis
nactus equis ferroque secat pendentia colla;
tum caput ipsi aufert domino truncumque relinquit

308–332 *MPR*

Ascanius iv. 357, where see note.

302. As Euryalus is an only child, *generi* must be taken largely as meaning your next of kin.

309. *primorum* might be the genitive either of *primores* or of *primi*: but Virgil does not use the word *primores* elsewhere.

314. After leaving the camp, they 'cross the ditches', i.e. the drainage canals in the marshy ground.

323. For *vasta dabo*, equivalent to *vastabo*, see note on i. 63.

324. For the idiom in *memorat vocemque premit*, 'lowers his voice as he speaks', see note on i. 20.

330. The force of *premit* here is 'overwhelms', like *premit arva* of the flooding river in i. 246.

sanguine singultantem: atro tepefacta cruore
terra torique madent: nec non Lamyrumque Lamumque
et iuvenem Serranum, illa qui plurima nocte
luserat, insignis facie, multoque iacebat
membra deo victus, felix, si protinus illum
aequasset nocti ludum in lucemque tulisset:
impastus ceu plena leo per ovilia turbans,
suadet enim vesana fames, manditque trahitque
molle pecus mutumque metu, fremit ore cruento.
  Nec minor Euryali caedes; incensus et ipse
perfurit ac multam in medio sine nomine plebem,
Fadumque Herbesumque subit Rhoetumque Abarimque
ignaros; Rhoetum vigilantem et cuncta videntem,
sed magnum metuens se post cratera tegebat.
pectore in adverso totum cui comminus ensem
condidit adsurgenti et multa morte recepit:
purpuream vomit ille animam et cum sanguine mixta
vina refert moriens. hic furto fervidus instat,
iamque ad Messapi socios tendebat; ibi ignem

333–351 *MPR*   341 multumque M^1P^1R

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336. *multo deo* is merely a way of saying 'much wine'.

339. The intransitive *turbare* also occurs vi. 800, and probably in the phrase *turbante tumultu* vi. 857 and ix. 397: elsewhere in Virgil it is transitive.

343. *perfurit*, a very rare word, and only used by Virgil here, was probably taken by him from Lucretius i. 275.

344. This use of *subit* is rather peculiar: it may mean either (1) comes successively on, or (2) comes up on, or as the English idiom prefers to say, comes down on. The intransitive verb is used in this latter sense in *subit hasta* x. 588.

349. *purpuream* is the reading of practically all the MSS. An alternative *purpureum* agreeing with *ensem* is, however, mentioned by Servius as widely accepted, and has been adopted by a number of modern editors.

354. *caede atque cupidine* is generally explained (if it be an explanation) by calling it a 'hendiadys' and saying that it is equivalent to *caedis cupidine*. But the two things are quite distinct. Euryalus is 'carried away' by the excitement of the slaughter which he has already dealt, and also by thirst for plunder. Nisus has to recall him to the object of their enterprise, which he is forgetting.

357–65. This passage has obviously been left in a very incomplete state.

(1) *solido argento perfecta* would not naturally be a description of armour,

deficere extremum et religatos rite videbat
carpere gramen equos: breviter cum talia Nisus,
sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri,
'absistamus' ait, 'nam lux inimica propinquat.
poenarum exhaustum satis est, via facta per hostis.'
multa virum solido argento perfecta relinquunt
armaque craterasque simul pulchrosque tapetas.
Euryalus phaleras Rhamnetis et aurea bullis
cingula; Tiburti Remulo ditissimus olim
quae mittit dona, hospitio cum iungeret absens,
Caedicus; ille suo moriens dat habere nepoti;
post mortem bello Rutuli pugnaque potiti;
haec rapit atque umeris nequiquam fortibus aptat.
tum galeam Messapi habilem cristisque decoram
induit. excedunt castris et tuta capessunt.
  Interea praemissi equites ex urbe Latina,
cetera dum legio campis instructa moratur,
ibant et Turno regis responsa ferebant,
ter centum, scutati omnes, Volcente magistro.

352, 353 *MPR* 354–370 *MPRV* 369 regi *MPRV*

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but of objects like the *crater* mentioned in l. 346 (so *argento perfecta cymbia* v. 267 and *argento perfecta pocula* l. 263 above).

(2) The long parenthesis giving the history of these trappings, with the rather awkward resumption of the sentence by *haec rapit*, is difficult and far from lucid. This Remulus may have been the grandfather of one or other of the two captains of the same name mentioned later, one, a brother-in-law of Turnus, killed later in this book, and the other unhorsed and left in Book XI. *hospitio cum iungeret* for *hospitium* [*cum eo*] *cum iungeret* carries Virgil's elliptical phrasing to an excessive degree: and l. 363 is unintelligible (apart from its crude imitation of the Homeric *πολέμῳ τε μάχῃ τε*), and was from the first regarded as one of the *insolubilia* of the *Aeneid*: 'sive emendanda', as Servius adds, 'sive sic relicta ut a nobis non intellegantur.'

(3) It is not clear how Euryalus managed to possess himself of the helmet of Messapus. We must, however, recollect that Messapus himself has been described (vii. 692) as bearing a charmed life, and Virgil may have meant to imply that Euryalus knew this, and so merely took away his helmet as he lay asleep. If so, it would be a very curious parallel with the story of David and Saul in 1 Samuel xxvi. 7–12.

369. All the good MSS here read *regi*, not *regis*, though curiously there is a

iamque propinquabant castris murosque subibant
cum procul hos laevo flectentis limite cernunt,
et galea Euryalum sublustri noctis in umbra
prodidit immemorem radiisque adversa refulsit.
haud temere est visum. conclamat ab agmine Volcens: 375
'state, viri. quae causa viae, quive estis in armis,
quove tenetis iter?' nihil illi tendere contra,
sed celerare fugam in silvas et fidere nocti.
obiciunt equites sese ad divortia nota
hinc atque hinc, omnemque aditum custode coronant. 380
silva fuit late dumis atque ilice nigra
horrida, quam densi complerant undique sentes;
rara per occultos lucebat semita callis.
Euryalum tenebrae ramorum onerosaque praeda
impediunt, fallitque timor regione viarum, 385
Nisus abit; iamque imprudens evaserat hostis
atque locos qui post Albae de nomine dicti
Albani, tum rex stabula alta Latinus habebat,

371–388 *MPRV*   371 muroque *MR*   375 aggere *P*   378 silvis *P*
380 abitum *M*^{1} 382 complebant *M*   383 ducebat *P*^{2} 387 adque *R*

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note in Servius to exactly the contrary effect. The *responsa* in question are presumably the reply to a message from Turnus for reinforcements, to say that a large force is on its way. *scutati omnes* in the next line implies that this advance body of horse does not consist of regular cavalry, but of mounted infantry. The *scutum* could not be used in fighting on horseback. So Livy xxxiii. 14 has *scutati omnes*, 'all heavy infantry'.

371. The primary MSS. are equally divided between *muros* and *muro*. Either is equally good Latin, and both mean the same thing.

372. For *laevo flectentis limite* see note on l. 238 above.

374. The rays are those of the moon, which has by this time risen: see l. 403 below.

377. *tendere* means 'to put forward', i.e. to offer a reply.

385. *regione viarum*, 'in the direction of the various pathways': differing thus from *regione viae*, 'in the direction of our path' in vii. 215.

388. The *loci Albani* are conjecturally identified with the zoological gardens laid out in this neighbourhood by Augustus; this would give special point to the mention of the *stabula alta* of King Latinus. There were sheds for elephants in the Augustan gardens: but *stabula alta* in x. 723 probably only means folds surrounded by a high fence. *loci* means 'site', as in *desertos locos* ii. 28.

ut stetit et frustra absentem respexit amicum:
'Euryale infelix, qua te regione reliqui?
quave sequar rursus perplexum iter omne revolvens
fallacis silvae?' simul et vestigia retro
observata legit dumisque silentibus errat.
audit equos, audit strepitus et signa sequentum.
nec longum in medio tempus, cum clamor ad auris
pervenit ac videt Euryalum, quem iam manus omnis
fraude loci et noctis, subito turbante tumultu,
oppressum rapit et conantem plurima frustra.
quid faciat? qua vi iuvenem, quibus audeat armis
eripere? an sese medios moriturus in hostis
inferat et pulchram properet per vulnera mortem?
ocius adducto torquet hastile lacerto
suspiciens altam lunam et sic voce precatur:
'tu, dea, tu praesens nostro succurre labori,
astrorum decus et nemorum Latonia custos.
si qua tuis umquam pro me pater Hyrtacus aris

389–405 *MPRV*   406 *MPR*   400 ensis *P*   402 torquens *MPRV*
403 altam ad lunam *R*

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391. From the earliest times it has been debated whether the speech of Nisus ends at *sequar* or goes on to *silvae*. The latter is rhythmically preferable.

397. For *turbante* see note on l. 339 above.

400. *hostis* is more in Virgil's manner than the variant *ensis*, and is the reading (whatever that may be worth) in three of the four primary MSS.

402–3. All the primary MSS. (except that R has *altam ad lunam* in l. 403) give a uniform text, which is ungrammatical. Various emendations have been suggested; *suspiciens altam et lunam* makes grammar, but at the expense of intolerably clumsy wording: Deuticke's *suspicit en! altam lunam* is ingenious but unsatisfactory: Housman's brilliant conjecture *suspicit altam amens lunam* is palaeographically very plausible, but in view of l. 424 below, *amens* would be premature here. The simplest correction seems to be that suggested by Ribbeck, following Wagner; to leave l. 403 as it is, and to alter *torquens* into *torquet* in l. 402. Copyists finding *torquet hastile* would almost inevitably change it into *torquens hastile*. For the lengthening of the final syllable compare i. 308 *qui teneant, nam inculta videt, hominesne feraene*, x. 394 *nam tibi Thymbre caput Evandrius abstulit ensis*, and x. 433 *tela manusque sinit, hinc Pallas instat et urget*; and for its position in the fourth foot, iv. 222 and viii. 98.

dona tulit, si qua ipse meis venatibus auxi
suspendive tholo aut sacra ad fastigia fixi,
hunc sine me turbare globum et rege tela per auras.'
  Dixerat et toto conixus corpore ferrum
conicit. hasta volans noctis diverberat umbras
et venit adversi in tergum Sulmonis ibique
frangitur, ac fisso transit praecordia ligno.
volvitur ille vomens calidum de pectore flumen
frigidus et longis singultibus ilia pulsant.
diversi circumspiciunt. hoc acrior idem
ecce aliud summa telum librabat ab aure.
dum trepidant, it hasta Tago per tempus utrumque
stridens traiectoque haesit tepefacta cerebro.
saevit atrox Volcens nec teli conspicit usquam
auctorem nec quo se ardens immittere possit.
'tu tamen interea calido mihi sanguine poenas
persolves amborum' inquit; simul ense recluso
ibat in Euryalum. tum vero exterritus, amens,
conclamat Nisus nec se celare tenebris
amplius aut tantum potuit perferre dolorem:
'me, me, adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum,
o Rutuli! mea fraus omnis, nihil iste nec ausus

407–428 *MPR*   415 pulsat *MP*   416 acrius M^2P^2 417 telum summa *P*
418 iit *P*   420 umquam M^1

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412. There is no need to alter the *adversi* of the MSS., as most editors do, into *aversi*. *adversus* merely means 'opposite', not necessarily 'facing'; in l. 588 below, the bullet slung by Mezentius hits the son of Arcens fair on the side of the head while he is *adversus*, i.e. where he 'comes in its way', not where he faces it. *fisso ligno* undoubtedly means that the spear-shaft splits in the impact, and a splinter of the wood pierces Sulmo to the heart: so in l. 544 below when the turret collapses, some of the Trojans in it come down *pectora duro transfossi ligno*, pierced by splinters of the beams. Servius, who takes *tergum* to mean Sulmo's shield, explains *fisso ligno* as 'splitting the wood of the shield', his difficulty being to see why the spear shaft should have broken if Sulmo was struck on the back. But the heroic thorêx and the Roman lorica had a back-plate as well as a breast-plate.

415. *ilia pulsant*, the reading of R, seems preferable to the vulgate *ilia pulsat* which is a decidedly harsh expression. *pulsare* is generally transitive in Virgil

nec potuit; caelum hoc et conscia sidera testor;
tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum.'
talia dicta dabat, sed viribus ensis adactus
transabiit costas et candida pectora rumpit.
volvitur Euryalus leto, pulchrosque per artus
it cruor inque umeros cervix conlapsa recumbit:
purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro
languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo
demisere caput pluvia cum forte gravantur.
at Nisus ruit in medios solumque per omnis
Volcentem petit, in solo Volcente moratur;
quem circum glomerati hostes hinc comminus atque hinc
proturbant. instat non setius ac rotat ensem
fulmineum, donec Rutuli clamantis in ore
condidit adverso et moriens animam abstulit hosti.
tum super exanimum sese proiecit amicum
confossus, placidaque ibi demum morte quievit.
  Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,
nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo,
dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.
  Victores praeda Rutuli spoliisque potiti

429–450 *MPR*   432 transadibit M^1, transadigit M^2P, rupit *R*   443 hostis P^2

---

but is intransitive in the *pavor pulsans* of *Georg*. iii. 106, repeated v. 138.

418. The contracted perfect *it* has rather more MS. authority here than the uncontracted *iit* elsewhere used by Virgil.

430. It is simplest to take *tantum* here as the adverb 'only', but it may also be taken as qualifying the words that follow: see note on l. 282 above. Those who prefer to make the line not part of the agonized cry of Nisus, but a reflection by Virgil on the situation, may do so.

439. No single English word can give the force of *moratur*, which means both 'concerns himself' and 'checks his course'.

448. While *domus Aeneae* is no doubt meant to suggest the house of Augustus on the Palatine, and *pater Romanus* Augustus himself as *pater patriae* (though he did not formally receive this title until long after Virgil's death), both phrases primarily apply to the personified Roman People who 'dwelt by the Capitol' and by whom the *imperium* was delegated to all who held it.

Volcentem exanimum flentes in castra ferebant.
nec minor in castris luctus Rhamnete reperto
exsangui et primis una tot caede peremptis,
Serranoque Numaque. ingens concursus ad ipsa
corpora seminecisque viros, tepidaque recentem
caede locum et plenos spumanti sanguine rivos.
agnoscunt spolia inter se galeamque nitentem
Messapi et multo phaleras sudore receptas.
  Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile:
iam sole infuso, iam rebus luce retectis
Turnus in arma viros armis circumdatus ipse
suscitat, aeratasque acies in proelia cogit
quisque suos, variisque acuunt rumoribus iras.
quin ipsa arrectis, visu miserabile, in hastis
praefigunt capita et multo clamore sequuntur
Euryali et Nisi . . .
Aeneadae duri murorum in parte sinistra
opposuere aciem, nam dextera cingitur amni,
ingentisque tenent fossas et turribus altis
stant maesti; simul ora virum praefixa movebant
nota nimis miseris atroque fluentia tabo.

451–472 *MPR*   455 tepidamque M^1, tepidumque M^2PR, recenti *P*   456 pleno *MP*, spumantis *MPR*   464 suas *M*   465 *om. P*, mirabile M^1 469 dextra M^1R 471 videbant *P*

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454. Numa has not been mentioned before. Comparing the earlier passage ll. 330–4, we may suppose either that his introduction here is an instance of Virgil's characteristic allusiveness, or that he would in revision have altered *Numaque* into *Remoque* or *Lamoque* here.

464. The vulgate *suas* (only found in one of the primary MSS.) seems to be an emendation of *suos* (which was also read by Servius) to make the syntax easier. But one may suspect that a line is missing between 463 and 464, and that the subject of *cogit* is Turnus.

485. *date praeda*, the reading preferred by Bentley, is a tempting alteration, in view of *ille requies* just above, and of the slight awkwardness of *data* being repeated in two successive lines. But the case for it is not strong enough to justify departure from the text of all the good MSS.

486. The difficult phrase *nec te tua funera mater produxi* can only be ex-

Interea pavidam volitans pennata per urbem
nuntia Fama ruit matrisque adlabitur auris
Euryali. at subitus miserae calor ossa reliquit,
excussi manibus radii revolutaque pensa.
evolat infelix et femineo ululatu
scissa comam muros amens atque agmina cursu
prima petit, non illa virum, non illa pericli
telorumque memor, caelum dehinc questibus implet:
'hunc ego te, Euryale, aspicio? tune ille senectae
sera meae requies potuisti linquere solam,
crudelis? nec te sub tanta pericula missum
adfari extremum miserae data copia matri?
heu, terra ignota canibus data praeda Latinis
alitibusque iaces! nec te tua funera mater
produxi pressive oculos aut vulnera lavi,
veste tegens tibi quam noctes festina diesque
urgebam, et tela curas solabar anilis.
quo sequar? aut quae nunc artus avulsaque membra
et funus lacerum tellus habet? hoc mihi de te,
nate, refers? hoc sum terraque marique secuta?
figite me, si qua est pietas, in me omnia tela
conicite, o Rutuli, me primam absumite ferro;

473–494 *MPR*   484 extremis *MP*^{1}

---

plained in one of two ways: (1) by accepting the statement of Servius that *funera* is an archaic Latin word meaning a (female) mourner at a funeral; the word is not known to occur elsewhere, but Servius quotes as analogous the Plautine *scelera* = *scelerata* (*Pseudolus* 819): or (2) with the majority of editors, by taking *tua funera* as a phrase in apposition to *te* and meaning 'your corpse'; which is all but impossibly harsh, particularly as the singular *funus* in this sense follows almost immediately in l. 491. The Ovidian *videoque tuum, mea vulnera, vulnus* (Hecuba over the body of Polyxena) is not relevant, except in so far as it supplies an analogy for the plural *funera* used of a single person; but this is superfluous, as Virgil himself uses *funera* thus repeatedly, e.g. iv. 500, vi. 874. The former explanation satisfies both sense and rhythm completely. The numerous alterations of the text which have been conjecturally advanced may all be dismissed as negligible.

491. *funus lacerum* 'mangled corpse':

aut tu, magne pater divum, miserere, tuoque
invisum hoc detrude caput sub Tartara telo,
quando aliter nequeo crudelem abrumpere vitam.'
hoc fletu concussi animi, maestusque per omnis
it gemitus, torpent infractae ad proelia vires.
illam incendentem luctus Idaeus et Actor
Ilionei monitu et multum lacrimantis Iuli
corripiunt interque manus sub tecta reponunt.
At tuba terribilem sonitum procul aere canoro
increpuit; sequitur clamor caelumque remugit.
accelerant acta pariter testudine Volsci
et fossas implere parant ac vellere vallum.
quaerunt pars aditum et scalis ascendere muros,
qua rara est acies interlucetque corona
non tam spissa viris. telorum effundere contra
omne genus Teucri ac duris detrudere contis,
adsueti longo muros defendere bello.
saxa quoque infesto volvebant pondere, si qua
possent tectam aciem perrumpere; cum tamen omnis
ferre iuvat subter densa testudine casus,
nec iam sufficiunt. nam qua globus imminet ingens,
immanem Teucri molem volvuntque ruuntque,
quae stravit Rutulos late armorumque resolvit
tegmina. nec curant caeco contendere Marte

495–508 *MPR* 509–518 *FMPR* 506 pellere M^2R, vallo M^2 514 libet M^2R, iubet P^1, lubat M^1, iubat P^2

---

funus is used in this sense elsewhere, e.g. ii. 539 *foedasti funere vultus*, and vi. 150, *incestat funere classem*; in neither of which passages is there any question of a burial.

500. The *luctus*, 'wailings', which she kindles are of course those of all who are within hearing, not, as Conington strangely misinterprets, her own.

505. *acta pariter*, 'pushed forward in even line'; so *pariter* of a line of oarsmen iii. 560.

515. *nec iam* here is not distinguishable in meaning from *non iam*; so *necdum* and *nondum* can be used indifferently. The passage should be pointed accordingly.

528. *oras evolvite belli*, 'unroll the borders of the war', is a phrase taken by Virgil from Ennius, as also is *summa*

amplius audaces Rutuli, sed pellere vallo
missilibus certant . . . 520
parte alia horrendus visu quassabat Etruscam
pinum et fumiferos infert Mezentius ignis;
at Messapus equum domitor, Neptunia proles,
rescindit vallum et scalas in moenia poscit.
Vos, o Calliope, precor, aspirate canenti 525
quas ibi tum ferro strages, quae funera Turnus
ediderit, quem quisque virum demiserit Orco,
et mecum ingentis oras evolvite belli.
et meministis enim, divae, et memorare potestis.
Turris erat vasto suspectu et pontibus altis, 530
opportuna loco, summis quam viribus omnes
expugnare Itali summaque evertere opum vi
certabant, Troes contra defendere saxis
perque cavas densi tela intorquere fenestras.
princeps ardentem coniecit lampada Turnus 535
et flammam adfixit lateri, quae plurima vento
corripuit tabulas et postibus haesit adesis.
turbati trepidare intus frustraque malorum
velle fugam. dum se glomerant retroque residunt
in partem quae peste caret, tum pondere turris 540
procubuit subito et caelum tonat omne fragore.
semineces ad terram immani mole secuta

519–535 *FMPR* 536–542 *MPR* 524 ad moenia *P* 529 *om. FMP*

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opum vi l. 532 (*Ann.* vi, fr. 1 and iv, fr. 1).

529. This line, repeated from vii. 645, is probably an interpolation here. It is omitted in all but one of the primary MSS.

535. *princeps* means 'foremost', like *princeps ante omnis* of Palinurus heading the fleet, v. 833.

536. The Servian interpretation of *plurima vento* is 'gliscens et magna facta per ventum', 'swollen by the wind'. In *plurima vento cogitur*, *Georg.* iv. 419, and *plurima fuso sanguine terra madet* xii. 690, the ablatives have a verb to depend upon; and here it is possible, but probably needless, to take *vento* as attached to *corripuit*.

540. *dum* and *tum* are not correlatives; *tum* here means 'next'.

confixique suis telis et pectora duro
transfossi ligno veniunt. vix unus Helenor
et Lycus elapsi; quorum primaevus Helenor, 545
Maeonio regi quem serva Licymnia furtim
sustulerat vetitisque ad Troiam miserat armis,
ense levis nudo parmaque inglorius alba.
isque ubi se Turni media inter milia vidit,
hinc acies atque hinc acies astare Latinas, 550
ut fera, quae densa venantum saepta corona
contra tela furit seseque haud nescia morti
inicit et saltu supra venabula fertur,
haud aliter iuvenis medios moriturus in hostis
inruit et qua tela videt densissima tendit. 555
at pedibus longe melior Lycus inter et hostis
inter et arma fuga muros tenet, altaque certat
prendere tecta manu sociumque attingere dextras.
quem Turnus pariter cursu teloque secutus
increpat his victor: 'nostrasne evadere, demens, 560
sperasti te posse manus?' simul arripit ipsum
pendentem et magna muri cum parte revellit:
qualis ubi aut leporem aut candenti corpore cycnum
sustulit alta petens pedibus Iovis armiger uncis,

543–564 *MPR* 552 ruit *P*

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545. *primaevus* here (as always in Virgil) means 'in the flower of his age'; so *primaevo flore iuventus* vii. 162.

548. Why a sheathless sword should be coupled with the unemblazoned shield, here and in the similar line xi. 711, no reason can apparently be assigned.

558. *tecta* here must mean the copings. Servius read *saxa*.

579. The text above is Housman's convincing emendation of the vulgate *et laevo adfixa est lateri manus*. At some early period, *alte* had been dropped out before the *late-* of *lateri*: then *manus* was inserted to fill up the incomplete line; next, as *infixa est lateri manus* was obvious nonsense, *infixa* was in some MSS. altered into *adfixa* on the analogy of l. 536 *coniecit lampada et flammam adfixit lateri*. From the fact that Servius merely notes on the line, '*laevo adfixa est lateri* ostendit vulneris locum', it would seem that he found no difficulty in the text before him. The line and that which follows it have a close parallel in ll. 698–701

quaesitum aut matri multis balatibus agnum 565
Martius a stabulis rapuit lupus. undique clamor
tollitur: invadunt et fossas aggere complent,
ardentis taedas alii ad fastigia iactant.
Ilioneus saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis
Lucetium portae subeuntem ignisque ferentem, 570
Emathiona Liger, Corynaeum sternit Asilas,
hic iaculo bonus, hic longe fallente sagitta,
Ortygium Caeneus, victorem Caenea Turnus,
Turnus Ityn Cloniumque, Dioxippum Promolumque
et Sagarim et summis stantem pro turribus Idan; 575
Privernum Capys: hunc primo levis hasta Themillae
strinxerat, ille manum proiecto tegmine demens
ad vulnus tulit; ergo alis adlapsa sagitta
et laevo infixa est alte lateri, abditaque intus
spiramenta animae letali vulnere rupit. 580
stabat in egregiis Arcentis filius armis
pictus acu chlamydem et ferrugine clarus Hibera,
insignis facie, genitor quem miserat Arcens
eductum Martis luco Symaethia circum
flumina, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Palici: 585
stridentem fundam positis Mezentius hastis

565–586 *MPR* 565 matris *R* 579 adfixa *P*, est lateri manus *MPR* 586 armis *R*

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below *volat Itala cornus stomachoque infixa sub altum pectus abit ... et fixo ferrum in pulmone tepescit*. The *spiramenta animae* are the lungs. Gemoll's conjecture, may, however, be mentioned, that for *manus* should be read *eminus*. The separation of *eminus* from *adlapsa sagitta* by the intervening words *et laevo infixa est lateri* would be quite in Virgil's manner: and it would have relevance here as indicating that the arrow was shot from a distance, and not like the javelin of Themilla from near at hand.

584. Our MSS. read *Martis luco*; but a variant, *matris luco*, is cited by Macrobius, and has been generally adopted by editors. As the river Symaethus and the worship of the Palici are Sicilian, we must suppose the son of Arcens to have joined the Trojans there. *matris* might be either 'the Mother', i.e. Demeter, or the young warrior's own mother, a nymph of that region; but Virgil's allusiveness leaves us to pure conjecture. For the crux of *placabilis* see note on vii. 764.

ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena
et media adversi liquefacto tempora plumbo
diffidit ac multa porrectum extendit harena.
  Tum primum bello celerem intendisse sagittam 590
dicitur, ante feras solitus terrere fugacis,
Ascanius fortemque manu fudisse Numanum,
cui Remulo cognomen erat, Turnique minorem
germanam nuper thalamo sociatus habebat.
is primam ante aciem digna atque indigna relatu 595
vociferans tumidusque novo praecordia regno
ibat et ingentem sese clamore ferebat:
  'Non pudet obsidione iterum valloque teneri,
bis capti Phryges, et morti praetendere muros?
en qui nostra sibi bello conubia poscunt! 600
quis deus Italiam, quae vos dementia adegit?
non hic Atridae nec fandi fictor Ulixes.
durum a stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum
deferimus saevoque gelu duramus et undis;
venatu invigilant pueri silvasque fatigant, 605
flectere ludus equos et spicula tendere cornu.
at patiens operum parvoque adsueta iuventus
aut rastris terram domat aut quatit oppida bello.
omne aevum ferro teritur, versaque iuvencum
terga fatigamus hasta, nec tarda senectus 610
debilitat viris animi mutatque vigorem:
canitiem galea premimus, semperque recentis

587–612 *MPR* 604 duroque *P*

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588. *media tempora*, 'the middle of the temple'. When both temples are meant, *tempus utrumque* (l. 418) above or *gemina tempora* (l. 750 below) is the phrase used. The singular *tempus*, in this sense, is in fact very rarely found.

594. From the *regno* of l. 596 it appears that *thalamo sociatus habebat* is a syncopated way of expressing two things, 'had in marriage' and 'associated in kingship (with Turnus)'.

603. *durum . . . duramus*, 'we, a hard race, harden our children'.

comportare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto.
vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis,
desidiae cordi, iuvat indulgere choreis,
et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae.
o vere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges, ite per alta
Dindyma, ubi adsuetis biforem dat tibia cantum.
tympana vos buxusque vocat Berecyntia Matris
Idaeae, sinite arma viris et cedite ferro.'
 Talia iactantem dictis ac dira canentem
non tulit Ascanius, nervoque obversus equino
intendit telum diversaque bracchia ducens
constitit, ante Iovem supplex per vota precatus:
'Iuppiter omnipotens, audacibus adnue coeptis.
ipse tibi ad tua templa feram sollemnia dona,
et statuam ante aras aurata fronte iuvencum
candentem pariterque caput cum matre ferentem,
iam cornu petat et pedibus qui spargat harenam.'
audiit et caeli genitor de parte serena
intonuit laevum; sonat una fatifer arcus,
et fugit horrendum stridens adducta sagitta
perque caput Remuli venit et cava tempora ferro
traicit. 'i, verbis virtutem inlude superbis!
bis capti Phryges haec Rutulis responsa remittunt.'
hoc tantum Ascanius. Teucri clamore sequuntur
laetitiaque fremunt animosque ad sidera tollunt.
 Aetheria tum forte plaga crinitus Apollo

613–638 *MPR* 623 contendit *MR* 631 letifer *P* 632 effugit *M*, adlapsa *P* 634 transigit P^{1}, transiit P^{2}, transadigit *R*, i *om.* $M^{1}R$

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605. *fatigant silvas* exactly corresponds to the English 'scour the woods': in l. 610 below, *fatigamus* means 'prick' as in i. 316.

610. *tarda* means 'dulling', not 'slow in coming on': for other instances see note on i. 59.

618. Whether the *biforis cantus* is that of a double pipe or of a single pipe with two stops is a point which has been much debated and which is of no importance.

620. For *cedite ferro* see note on iii. 484.

desuper Ausonias acies urbemque videbat
nube sedens, atque his victorem adfatur Iulum: 640
'macte nova virtute, puer, sic itur ad astra,
dis genite et geniture deos. iure omnia bella
gente sub Assaraci fato ventura resident,
nec te Troia capit.' simul haec effatus ab alto
aethere se mittit; spirantis dimovet auras 645
Ascaniumque petit; formam tum vertitur oris
antiquum in Buten. hic Dardanio Anchisae
armiger ante fuit fidusque ad limina custos;
tum comitem Ascanio pater addidit. ibat Apollo
omnia longaevo similis vocemque coloremque 650
et crinis flavos et saeva sonoribus arma,
atque his ardentem dictis adfatur Iulum:
'sit satis, Aenide, telis impune Numanum
oppetiisse tuis; primam hanc tibi magnus Apollo
concedit laudem et paribus non invidet armis; 655
cetera parce puer bello.' sic orsus Apollo
mortalis medio aspectus sermone reliquit
et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.
agnovere deum proceres divinaque tela
Dardanidae pharetramque fuga sensere sonantem. 660
ergo avidum pugnae dictis ac numine Phoebi
Ascanium prohibent; ipsi in certamina rursus

639–662 *MPR* 645 misit *P* 646 forma *PR* 651 albos *MP*
661 et *M*

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639. For the force of *urbs* here see note on v. 196. It is the same as the *Troia* of l. 644.

651. This line is apparently an interpolation from iv. 559, with the epithet *flavos* (preserved in R) altered into *albos* to give it superficial coherency. It may possibly, however, have been an alternative version of l. 660 in Virgil's autograph.

663. With the exalted wording of *animas in aperta pericula mittunt* it is interesting to compare the opening words of the song of Deborah (Judges v. 2), *qui sponte obtulistis animas vestras ad periculum.*

665. For *acris* see note on vii. 164.

673. *eduxit* is abnormally used here as equivalent to *educavit*, which could not be used in hexameter verse: so, for the same reason, *educet* (vi. 765, 779) and *eductum* (vii. 763, ix. 584) for *educabit* and *educatum*. In x. 518 the difficulty is got over by using the present *educat*

succedunt animasque in aperta pericula mittunt.
it clamor totis per propugnacula muris,
intendunt acris arcus amentaque torquent.
sternitur omne solum telis, tum scuta cavaeque
dant sonitum flictu galeae; pugna aspera surgit:
quantus ab occasu veniens pluvialibus Haedis
verberat imber humum, quam multa grandine nimbi
in vada praecipitant, cum Iuppiter horridus austris
torquet aquosam hiemem et caelo cava nubila rumpit.
  Pandarus et Bitias, Idaeo Alcanore creti,
quos Iovis eduxit luco silvestris Iaera
abietibus iuvenes patriis et montibus aequos,
portam, quae ducis imperio commissa, recludunt
freti armis, ultroque invitant moenibus hostem.
ipsi intus dextra ac laeva pro turribus astant
armati ferro et cristis capita alta corusci:
quales aëriae Liquentia flumina circum
sive Padi ripis Athesim seu propter amoenum
consurgunt geminae quercus intonsaque caelo
attollunt capita et sublimi vertice nutant.
inrumpunt aditus Rutuli ut videre patentis
continuo, Quercens et pulcher Aquiculus armis
et praeceps animi Tmarus et Mavortius Haemon,
agminibus totis; aut versi terga dedere

663–686 *MPR* 667 atflictu *M*, adflictu *R* 678 coruscant *M* 686 totis aversi P^1

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instead of a preterite.

674. The exaggeration of *et montibus aequos* is unpleasant, and the more so that Virgil returns from it to the comparison of the warriors with trees. The suggestion made by Jacob Bryant to Heyne that it should be altered to *in montibus* is very attractive, and we may all agree in Heyne's comment, 'ita utique malim Virgilium scripsisse'. There is, however, a similar exaggeration in *haud partem exiguam montis* of the stone used as a missile by Acmon x. 128.

676. Bentley's alteration, *freti animis*, is very attractive, but we must not rewrite Virgil.

679. The Liquentia (the modern Livenza) is a river in Venetia between the Piave and the Tagliamento. The vulgate, *liquentia*, would mean trickling, or melting (cf. i. 432, v. 238, 776), and be quite inappropriate here.

aut ipso portae posuere in limine vitam.
tum magis increscunt animis discordibus irae,
et iam collecti Troes glomerantur eodem
et conferre manum et procurrere longius audent. 690
  Ductori Turno diversa in parte furenti
turbantique viros perfertur nuntius, hostem
fervere caede nova et portas praebere patentis.
deserit inceptum atque immani concitus ira
Dardaniam ruit ad portam fratresque superbos. 695
et primum Antiphaten, is enim se primus agebat,
Thebana de matre nothum Sarpedonis alti,
coniecto sternit iaculo: volat Itala cornus
aëra per tenerum stomachoque infixa sub altum
pectus abit; reddit specus atri vulneris undam 700
spumantem, et fixo ferrum in pulmone tepescit.
tum Meropem atque Erymanta manu, tum sternit Aphidnum,
tum Bitian ardentem oculis animisque frementem,
non iaculo, neque enim iaculo vitam ille dedisset,
sed magnum stridens contorta phalarica venit 705
fulminis acta modo, quam nec duo taurea terga
nec duplici squama lorica fidelis et auro
sustinuit: conlapsa ruunt immania membra;
dat tellus gemitum et clipeum super intonat ingens.
talis in Euboico Baiarum litore quondam 710

687–710 *MPR* 689 in unum *R* 710 qualis *P*

---

695. The Dardanian gate of Troy is mentioned once in the *Iliad* (v. 789); it was one of the six gates of the later epic tradition. The gate here is so named in order to reinforce the name of 'Troy' already given to the camp, just as there was a Scaean gate in the 'little Troy' founded by Helenus, iii. 351.

709. The note in Servius is, 'aut ipse ingens super clipeum intonat, aut ingens clipeum supra ipsum: nam lectum est etiam *hòc clipeum*'. The word occurs 50 times in the *Aeneid*, in 15 of which it is masculine, in the remainder indeterminate. But Livy uses both forms; and most editors agree with Servius in preferring the latter of his two interpretations. Either gives a good sense.

710. The reference is to the moles constructed by Agrippa for the naval harbour created by him at Baiae in 37 B.C.

saxea pila cadit, magnis quam molibus ante
constructam ponto iaciunt, sic illa ruinam
prona trahit penitusque vadis inlisa recumbit:
miscent se maria et nigrae attolluntur harenae,
tum sonitu Prochyta alta tremit durumque cubile
Inarime Iovis imperiis imposta Typhoeo.
  Hic Mars armipotens animum virisque Latinis
addidit et stimulos acris sub pectore vertit,
immisitque Fugam Teucris atrumque Timorem.
undique conveniunt, quoniam data copia pugnae,
bellatorque animo deus incidit . . .
Pandarus, ut fuso germanum corpore cernit
et quo sit fortuna loco, quis casus agat res,
portam vi multa converso cardine torquet
obnixus latis umeris, multosque suorum
moenibus exclusos duro in certamine linquit;
ast alios secum includit recipitque ruentis,
demens, qui Rutulum in medio non agmine regem
viderit inrumpentem ultroque incluserit urbi,
immanem veluti pecora inter inertia tigrim.
continuo nova lux oculis effulsit et arma
horrendum sonuere, tremunt in vertice cristae
sanguineae clipeoque micantia fulmina mittit.
agnoscunt faciem invisam atque immania membra

711–734 *MPR* 719 Furorem P^1 721 animos M^1 722 vidit *P*
723 qui casus *M* 733 clipeique *P*, mittunt *PR*

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711. *ante* is to be taken with *iaciunt*, 'throw forward'; practically the two words are a compound verb analogous to *anteferre*, to carry in front, *antemittere*, to send in advance.

714. The *nigrae harenae* are the dark volcanic sands of this coast.

723. The MSS. vary between *quis casus* and *qui casus*. In x. 9 they all agree in reading *quis metus*.

733. The change of subject, *clipeo mittit* (Turnus) instead of *clipeus mittit*, is quite in Virgil's manner: see note on vii. 211. The variant reading of good MSS., *clipei mittunt*, is hardly possible. One might expect *fulgura* 'lightning-flashes', rather than *fulmina* here: but Virgil seems to avoid using the word *fulgur*; he only does so once (*Georg*. i. 488). On the other hand *fulmen*, which he uses more than 20 times, always except here means thunderbolt.

turbati subito Aeneadae. tum Pandarus ingens
emicat et mortis fraternae fervidus ira
effatur: 'non haec dotalis regia Amatae,
nec muris cohibet patriis media Ardea Turnum.
castra inimica vides, nulla hinc exire potestas.'
olli subridens sedato pectore Turnus:
'incipe, si qua animo virtus, et consere dextram,
hic etiam inventum Priamo narrabis Achillem.'
dixerat. ille rudem nodis et cortice crudo
intorquet summis adnixus viribus hastam;
excepere aurae, vulnus Saturnia Iuno
detorsit veniens, portaeque infigitur hasta.
'at non hoc telum, mea quod vi dextera versat,
effugies, neque enim is teli nec vulneris auctor.'
sic ait, et sublatum alte consurgit in ensem
et mediam ferro gemina inter tempora frontem
dividit impubisque immani vulnere malas.
fit sonus, ingenti concussa est pondere tellus:
conlapsos artus atque arma cruenta cerebro
sternit humi moriens, atque illi partibus aequis
huc caput atque illuc umero ex utroque pependit.
   Diffugiunt versi trepida formidine Troes.
et si continuo victorem ea cura subisset,
rumpere claustra manu sociosque immittere portis,
ultimus ille dies bello gentique fuisset.
sed furor ardentem caedisque insana cupido
egit in adversos . . .
principio Phalerim et succiso poplite Gygen
excipit, hinc raptas fugientibus ingerit hastas

735–763 *MPR*   741 animi *R*   747 librat *P*   748 es *P*

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747. This use of *versat* (= *torquet*) is, according to D Servius, taken from Ennius: in v. 408, viii. 619 it has its ordinary sense of 'turns round'.

753. *cruenta cerebro*, spattered with blood from the cloven brain.

769. *dexter*, 'on his right hand', as in viii. 237.

in tergus: Iuno viris animumque ministrat;
addit Halyn comitem et confixa Phegea parma,
ignaros deinde in muris Martemque cientis
Alcandrumque Haliumque Noëmonaque Prytanimque,
Lyncea tendentem contra sociosque vocantem;
vibranti gladio conixus ab aggere dexter
occupat, huic uno deiectum comminus ictu
cum galea longe iacuit caput; inde ferarum
vastatorem Amycum, quo non felicior alter
ungere tela manu ferrumque armare veneno,
et Clytium Aeoliden et amicum Crethea Musis,
Crethea Musarum comitem, cui carmina semper
et citharae cordi numerosque intendere nervis,
semper equos atque arma virum pugnasque canebat.
  Tandem ductores audita caede suorum
conveniunt Teucri, Mnestheus acerque Serestus,
palantisque vident socios hostemque receptum.
et Mnestheus: 'quo deinde fugam, quo tenditis?' inquit.
'quos alios muros, quaeve ultra moenia habetis?
unus homo et vestris, o cives, undique saeptus
aggeribus tantas strages impune per urbem
ediderit? iuvenum primos tot miserit Orco?
non infelicis patriae veterumque deorum
et magni Aeneae, segnes, miseretque pudetque?'
  Talibus accensi firmantur et agmine denso
consistunt. Turnus paulatim excedere pugna
et fluvium petere ac partem quae cingitur unda.
acrius hoc Teucri clamore incumbere magno
et glomerare manum, ceu saevum turba leonem

764–792 *MPR* 764 tergum MP^2 765 confixum M^2P^2 769 dextra M^1
781 fuga P^1 782 quae iam ultra *MR* 786 nonne M^2 789 pugnae *PR*

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776. *numeros intendere nervis*, as Page points out, is the precise equivalent of the Platonic *ποιήματα μελοποιῶν εἰς τὰ κιθαρίσματα ἐντείνοντες* (*Protag.* 326 A).

786. To the *cives* and *urbs* already stressed in ll. 36 and 639 above, *patria* is now added for further emphasis.

cum telis premit infensis: at territus ille,
asper, acerba tuens, retro redit et neque terga
ira dare aut virtus patitur, nec tendere contra 795
ille quidem hoc cupiens potis est per tela virosque.
haud aliter retro dubius vestigia Turnus
improperata refert et mens exaestuat ira.
quin etiam bis tum medios invaserat hostis,
bis confusa fuga per muros agmina vertit; 800
sed manus e castris propere coit omnis in unum
nec contra viris audet Saturnia Iuno
sufficere; aëriam caelo nam Iuppiter Irim
demisit germanae haud mollia iussa ferentem,
ni Turnus cedat Teucrorum moenibus altis. 805
ergo nec clipeo iuvenis subsistere tantum
nec dextra valet, iniectis sic undique telis
obruitur. strepit adsiduo cava tempora circum
tinnitu galea et saxis solida aera fatiscunt
discussaeque iubae capiti nec sufficit umbo 810
ictibus; ingeminant hastis et Troes et ipse
fulmineus Mnestheus. tum toto corpore sudor
liquitur et piceum, nec respirare potestas,
flumen agit, fessos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.
tum demum praeceps saltu sese omnibus armis 815
in fluvium dedit. ille suo cum gurgite flavo
accepit venientem ac mollibus extulit undis
et laetum sociis abluta caede remisit.

793–818 *MPR* 793 ac *MR* 816 vasto *P*

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793. One might at first sight expect *interritus* rather than *territus* here; but the force of *territus* is 'scared off' rather than 'frightened'. The distinction is delicate, but real.

799–801. *invaserat*, *vertit*, *coit*, represent successive stages of the action: *vertit* therefore should be taken as the perfect tense.

806. For *subsistere tantum* see note on v. 21.

813. The 'scarcely pleasing' epithet *piceus* (as it is called by Conington) gives in a single word the combination of stickiness and filth to which Turnus is reduced.

BOOK X

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Book X brings the war to a climax and is crowded with incident. It is not relieved by any of those spacious episodes in which Virgil elsewhere enriches the texture and relieves the tension of the epic. How far the confused effect it gives is due to its unfinished state, how far to deliberate artifice, is not easy to determine. The scenes are perplexedly arranged, with some inconsistencies and duplications, and are strung together no less than eight times, with an effect which becomes mechanical, by the repetition of the connective *interea*, 'as a further event', with which the book itself opens. Except for the intermezzo (ll. 146 foll.) of the night-voyage of the Etruscan fleet, they are all comprised in a single day.

The range and scope of the book are as follows:

(1) The Council of the Olympians, ll. 1–117.
(2) The situation at the Trojan camp, ll. 118–45.
(3) The voyage of Aeneas from Caere to Ostia; in which is inserted, with a separate invocation of the Muses, the catalogue of the accompanying Etruscan forces, ll. 146–259.
(4) The landing, and the first indecisive phase of the battle, ll. 260–361.
(5) The exploits and death of Pallas, ll. 362–509.
(6) The intervention of Aeneas and the relief of the blockaded camp, ll. 510–605.
(7) The supplication of Juno for Turnus, and his withdrawal from the battle-field in pursuit of the phantom of Aeneas, ll. 606–88.
(8) The exploits of Mezentius, ll. 689–768.
(9) The single combat between Mezentius and Aeneas; the heroism and death of Lausus, ll. 769–832.
(10) The last desperate effort of Mezentius, and his death, ll. 833–908.

Some paragraphs dealing with the fighting are disconnected, and may have been placed where they stand by the editors: ll. 258–9 seem a detached couplet borrowed from some earlier Latin poem and noted down by Virgil for use; ll. 143–5 and 413–16 are inserted additions; and ll. 747–54 (a mere catalogue) are an unplaced fragment interrupting the narrative. In ll. 661–5, the order of the lines, which different attempts have been made to rectify, has certainly gone wrong; ll. 717–18 have become displaced; and ll. 726–9 are an awkward insertion. Two stop-gap half-lines are noticeable: *visu mirabile monstrum* (687), and *Dardanides contra furit* (545) which is singular as filling a gap not at the end but at the beginning of a line.

The beautiful night-scene of the voyage seems to have been separately conceived, and is imperfectly adjusted to the narrative of the battle on the following day. It presents Pallas as on board Aeneas' flagship. But Cymodoce announces (l. 238) that the Arcadian cavalry which were under his command are already in the field and preparing to break through the lines of the besiegers; and Pallas in fact next appears fighting there at the head of his men, at a distance from where Aeneas has landed, and apparently with the main Latin army between them (ll. 285–6, 308–9, 439–40). Here, as also in the mention of Halaesus as fighting in both engagements (ll. 352, 411–25), two inconsistent narratives have been left unadjusted. It is also noticeable that none of the Etruscan captains of the Catalogue reappear in the battle. If, as would appear, the incident of the meeting with the metamorphosed ships (ll. 215–59) is like the metamorphosis itself an inserted episode not in the original scheme of the poem, this would explain some repetition at its opening from what has already been said in ll. 146 foll., and the awkwardness of its initial words *iamque dies caelo concesserat* being echoed in the *iamque in conspectu* of the next paragraph. Another mark of unfinished structure is the abrupt and unmotived introduction (l. 439) of Juturna, of whom no mention has been previously made, and whose name is not here given. When she reappears in Book XII she is formally introduced as though (like Nisus and Euryalus in Book IX) for the first time.

Yet in this book, in spite of its imperfections, Virgil's genius remains conspicuous, and kindles it here and there, especially at the beginning and end, with some of his noblest poetry.

AENEIDOS

LIBER DECIMUS

Panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi
conciliumque vocat divum pater atque hominum rex
sideream in sedem, terras unde arduus omnis
castraque Dardanidum aspectat populosque Latinos.
considunt tectis bipatentibus, incipit ipse:
'Caelicolae magni, quianam sententia vobis
versa retro tantumque animis certatis iniquis?
abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris.
quae contra vetitum discordia? quis metus aut hos
aut hos arma sequi ferrumque lacessere suasit?
adveniet iustum pugnae, ne arcessite, tempus,
cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim
exitium magnum atque Alpis immittet apertas:
tum certare odiis, tum res rapuisse licebit.
nunc sinite et placitum laeti componite foedus.'
Iuppiter haec paucis; at non Venus aurea contra
pauca refert . . .
'o pater, o hominum rerumque aeterna potestas,

1–18 *MPRV*   4 spectat *P^2*   15 laeti placidum *M*

---

1. The epithet *omnipotens* attached to Olympus, here and again xii. 791, is so unusual as to have induced several conjectural alterations; but we might say 'Heaven is all-powerful' without any sense of an undue straining of language. For *interea* see note on vi. 703.

5. *bipatentibus*, with gates opening to East and West, like the palace of Hyperion in Keats ('the threshold of the west' and 'the eastern gates').

9. *contra vetitum*, 'against the prohibition'. *iussa ac vetita* are coupled in legal language as positive and negative ordinances, but both alike ordinances.

13. *apertas* here has its full participial sense; by a bold figure of speech, the forced barrier of the Alps is said to be driven down upon Italy.

14. *res rapere*, literally 'to raid property', was the technical phrase in Roman constitutional law for the commission of any act of overt hostility, which created a 'state of war', and was cited in the formal declaration of war that ensued.

15. *sinite* is the exact equivalent of the colloquial English 'drop it': so also with the verb in its transitive use, 'leave alone', ll. 427 and 598 below, and xii. 316. For *placitum*, 'agreed', see note on iv. 38.

namque aliud quid sit quod iam implorare queamus?
cernis ut insultent Rutuli, Turnusque *feratur*
per medios insignis equis tumidusque secundo
Marte ruat? non clausa tegunt iam moenia Teucros:
quin intra portas atque ipsis proelia miscent
aggeribus murorum et inundant sanguine fossae.
Aeneas ignarus abest. numquamne levari
obsidione sines? muris iterum imminet hostis
nascentis Troiae, nec non exercitus alter
atque iterum in Teucros Aetolis surgit ab Arpis
Tydides. equidem credo, mea vulnera restant
et tua progenies mortalia demoror arma.
si sine pace tua atque invito numine Troes
Italiam petiere, luant peccata neque illos
iuveris auxilio; sin tot responsa secuti
quae superi manesque dabant, cur nunc tua quisquam
vertere iussa potest aut cur nova condere fata?
quid repetam exustas Erycino in litore classis,
quid tempestatum regem ventosque furentis
Aeolia excitos aut actam nubibus Irim?
nunc etiam manis, haec intemptata manebat
sors rerum, movet, et superis immissa repente
Allecto medias Italum bacchata per urbes.

19–26 *MPRV* 27–41 *MPR* 20–21 feratur . . . tumidusque *om.* M^1
22 claustra M^1 24 fossas *PV* 28 surget *M* 35 vertere iura *R*

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20. The omission (with subsequent interlineation) in the Medicean MS. of the words *feratur . . . tumidusque* may be accidental, but is a decided improvement. It is quite possible that in the Virgilian autograph they were written in the margin, or marked for omission in the text. The point is of special interest as being the only case in which there is any evidence for the insertion or loss of an integral line consisting of the end of one line and the beginning of the next, though other cases may be plausibly suspected. See Introduction, pp. lvi, lvii.

24. The MS. authority is evenly divided between *fossas*, which was read by Servius, and *fossae*, which is the certain text where the phrase is repeated xi. 382. The verb *inundare* is used only once elsewhere in Virgil (xii. 280), where it is intransitive and means 'to flood in'.

nil super imperio moveor; speravimus ista,
dum fortuna fuit; vincant, quos vincere mavis.
si nulla est regio Teucris quam det tua coniunx
dura, per eversae, genitor, fumantia Troiae
excidia obtestor: liceat dimittere ab armis
incolumem Ascanium, liceat superesse nepotem.
Aeneas sane ignotis iactetur in undis
et quamcumque viam dederit Fortuna sequatur:
hunc tegere et dirae valeam subducere pugnae.
est Amathus, est celsa mihi Paphus atque Cythera
Idaliaeque domus: positis inglorius armis
exigat hic aevum. magna dicione iubeto
Karthago premat Ausoniam: nihil urbibus inde
obstabit Tyriis. quid pestem evadere belli
iuvit et Argolicos medium fugisse per ignis
totque maris vastaeque exhausta pericula terrae,
dum Latium Teucri recidivaque Pergama quaerunt?
non satius cineres patriae insedisse supremos
atque solum quo Troia fuit? Xanthum et Simoenta
redde, oro, miseris iterumque revolvere casus
da, pater, Iliacos Teucris.'
Tum regia Iuno
acta furore gravi: 'quid me alta silentia cogis

42–52 *MPR*   53–63 *MPRV*   48 Aeneas procul *R*, oris P^2 49 quacumque *P*   50 durae *R*   51 atque alta Cythera P^2R 53 exiget *V*   59 patriae cineres *P*, cineres patrios *R*

Probability is slightly in favour of *fossae* here, the change of subject being in Virgil's characteristic manner.

31. *sine pace tua*, 'without your leave' or 'without your goodwill', as in *exorat pacem divum* iii. 370.

35. For the force of *nova condere fata* compare the *sunt et mea contra fata mihi* of ix. 136.

40. *superis immissa*, 'let loose into the upper world'.

48. The variant, *Aeneas procul*, found in R, points to early uncertainty as to the true text. It is generally explained as an arbitrary mending of the metre when *sane* had dropped out of the line by haplography (. . *neas sane*). But Virgil does not use the word *sane* elsewhere.

63. The somewhat violent collocation in *furore gravi* is an extension of the normal *gravis ira* (also used of Juno) in v. 781.

rumpere et obductum verbis vulgare dolorem?
Aenean hominum quisquam divumque subegit 65
bella sequi aut hostem regi se inferre Latino?
Italiam petiit fatis auctoribus, esto,
Cassandrae impulsus furiis! num linquere castra
hortati sumus aut vitam committere ventis?
num puero summam belli, num credere muros? 70
Tyrrhenamque fidem aut gentis agitare quietas?
quis deus in fraudem, quae dura potentia nostra
egit? ubī hic Iuno demissave nubibus Iris?
indignum est Italos Troiam circumdare flammis
nascentem et patria Turnum consistere terra, 75
cui Pilumnus avus, cui diva Venilia mater:
quid face Troianos atra vim ferre Latinis,
arva aliena iugo premere atque avertere praedas?
quid soceros legere et gremiis abducere pactas,
pacem orare manu, praefigere puppibus arma? 80
tu potes Aenean manibus subducere Graium
proque viro nebulam et ventos obtendere inanis,
et potes in totidem classem convertere nymphas:
nos aliquid Rutulos contra iuvisse nefandum est?
"Aeneas ignarus abest": ignarus et absit. 85
est Paphus Idaliumque tibi, sunt alta Cythera:
quid gravidam bellis urbem et corda aspera temptas?

64–78 *MPRV* 79–87 *MPR* 67 petit M^1PRV 71 Tyrrhenamve *RV*
72 nostri M^1 83 classes *M*

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64. *obductum* is rightly explained by Servius as 'celatum et iam cicatrice coopertum'.

67. The primary MSS. all have *petit fatis*; unaccountably, unless it points to an original reading *petit at fatis*.

80. *manu*, 'by gesture': the particular reference is to viii. 116.

88. '*fluxas*, labefactatas' (Servius): so *fluere spes Danaum* ii. 169, to crumble or dissolve.

98. It is not certain whether the subject of *volutant* is *flamina* or *murmura*. Either gives an equally good sense; the verb is normally transitive in Virgil, but is intransitive iii. 607 and iv. 533.

102. *solo*, 'on its site', is added to *tremefacta* so as to make it clear that

nosne tibi fluxas Phrygiae res vertere fundo
conamur? nos? an miseros qui Troas Achivis
obiecit, quae causa fuit consurgere in arma
Europamque Asiamque et foedera solvere furto?
me duce Dardanius Spartam expugnavit adulter,
aut ego tela dedi fovive Cupidine bella?
tum decuit metuisse tuis: nunc sera querellis
haud iustis adsurgis et inrita iurgia iactas.'
  Talibus orabat Iuno, cunctique fremebant
caelicolae adsensu vario, ceu flamina prima
cum deprensa fremunt silvis et caeca volutant
murmura venturos nautis prodentia ventos.
tum pater omnipotens, rerum cui prima potestas,
infit; eo dicente deum domus alta silescit
et tremefacta solo tellus, silet arduus aether,
tum Zephyri posuere, premit placida aequora pontus:
'accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta.
quandoquidem Ausonios coniungi foedere Teucris
haud licitum, nec vestra capit discordia finem,
quae cuique est fortuna hodie, quam quisque secat spem,
Tros Rutulusne fuat, nullo discrimine habebo.
seu fatis Italum castra obsidione tenentur
sive errore malo Troiae monitisque sinistris,
nec Rutulos solvo, sua cuique exorsa laborem

88–111 *MPR* 96 orabat dictis *P* 100 summa M^2P 105 Ausoniis P^2, Teucros *P* 106 licitum est *R* 110 monitisve *P* 111 quisque M^1

---

the meaning is not 'shaking in terror' but 'awed into stillness': there is also an implied antithesis between *solo* and *arduus*, the flat earth and the upreared sky. For *posuere* see note on vii. 27. *premit-placida* is a single phrase: 'the ocean smoothes its waters into stillness'.

106. By the words *haud licitum*, 'consent is not given', the doctrine is implied which is most clearly stated in Juno's speech vii. 313–15 and in Jupiter's xii. 803–6, that the decrees of fate, though they cannot be cancelled, can be delayed in their execution. We may compare the postponement for fifteen years of the sentence of death on Hezekiah (Isaiah xxxviii. 1–5).

fortunamque ferent. rex Iuppiter omnibus idem.
fata viam invenient.' Stygii per flumina fratris,
per pice torrentis atraque voragine ripas
adnuit et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.
hic finis fandi. solio tum Iuppiter aureo
surgit, caelicolae medium quem ad limina ducunt.
  Interea Rutuli portis circum omnibus instant
sternere caede viros et moenia cingere flammis.
at legio Aeneadum vallis obsessa tenetur
nec spes ulla fugae. miseri stant turribus altis
nequiquam et rara muros cinxere corona.
  Asius Imbrasides Hicetaoniusque Thymoetes
Assaracique duo et senior cum Castore Thymbris,
prima acies; hos, germani Sarpedonis ambo,
et Clarus et Thaemon Lycia comitantur ab alta.
fert ingens toto conixus corpore saxum,
haud partem exiguam montis, Lyrnesius Acmon,
nec Clytio genitore minor nec fratre Menestheo.
hi iaculis, illi certant defendere saxis
molirique ignem nervoque aptare sagittas.
  Ipse inter medios, Veneris iustissima cura,
Dardanius caput, ecce, puer detectus honestum,
qualis gemma micat fulvum quae dividit aurum,
aut collo decus aut capiti, vel quale per artem

112–135 *MPR*   126 ab Ida *P*

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120. *legio*, here as elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, is 'embattled force': it is used of the whole Italian and the whole Trojan army xii. 121 and 563. But it is used here to give a distinctively Roman touch: cf. note on l. 36 above.

136. The comparison to ivory inlaid in the light-coloured wood of box or terebinth (*pistacia terebinthus*) shows that Virgil pictured Ascanius as white-skinned and fair-haired. The Servian note, *terebinthus nigrum lignum habens*, is a mere mistake of fact.

138. From comparison of the similar description (also of Ascanius) *it pectore summo flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri* v. 559, and the *circlos cervici subnecte* of *Georg.* iii. 166, it is clear that this circlet is worn on the neck and is not, as the commentators mostly say, a diadem confining the hair. The description of Apollo cited in support of

inclusum buxo aut Oricia terebintho
lucet ebur; fusos cervix cui lactea crinis
accipit et molli subnectit circulus auro.
  Te quoque magnanimae viderunt, Ismare, gentes
vulnera derigere et calamos armare veneno,
Maeonia generose domo, ubi pinguia culta
exercentque viri Pactolusque inrigat auro.
  Adfuit et Mnestheus, quem pulsi pristina Turni
aggere murorum sublimem gloria tollit,
et Capys: hinc nomen Campanae ducitur urbi.
  Illi inter sese duri certamina belli
contulerant: media Aeneas freta nocte secabat.
namque ut ab Euandro castris ingressus Etruscis
regem adit et regi memorat nomenque genusque
quidve petat quidve ipse ferat, Mezentius arma
quae sibi conciliet, violentaque pectora Turni
edocet, humanis quae sit fiducia rebus
admonet immiscetque preces: haud fit mora, Tarchon
iungit opes foedusque ferit; tum libera fati
classem conscendit iussis gens Lydia divum
externo commissa duci. Aeneia puppis
prima tenet rostro Phrygios subiuncta leones,
imminet Ida super, profugis gratissima Teucris.
hic magnus sedet Aeneas secumque volutat

136–159 *MPR* 137 cervix fusos *P* 138 mollis *M*, subnectens *PR*
140 dirigere *M*

---

the latter explanation, *crinem implicat auro* (iv. 148), is not relevant.

139–42. These four lines look like an unplaced fragment inserted here by Virgil's editors. The explanation of *magnanimae gentes* as merely meaning Ismarus' own followers is very unsatisfactory: it must mean (if the lines are in place here), as La Cerda saw, the Italian nations against whom he was fighting.

156. The flagship, *Aeneia puppis*, which sails ahead of the Etruscan fleet, seems to be thought of as one of Aeneas' own ships. It would be natural enough (supposing Virgil ever thought of the matter) that he should have passed orders down by the two ships that he had sent back from Pallanteum (viii. 548) for his own flagship to be sent up the coast to await him where the Etruscan fleet lay ashore near their camp (viii. 497).

eventus belli varios, Pallasque sinistro 160
adfixus lateri iam quaerit sidera, opacae
noctis iter, iam quae passus terraque marique.

Pandite nunc Helicona, deae, cantusque movete,
quae manus interea Tuscis comitetur ab oris
Aenean armetque rates pelagoque vehatur. 165
Massicus aerata princeps secat aequora Tigri,
sub quo mille manus iuvenum, qui moenia Clusi
quique urbem liquere Cosas, quis tela sagittae
gorytique leves umeris et letifer arcus.
una torvus Abas: huic totum insignibus armis 170
agmen et aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis.
sescentos illi dederat Populonia mater

160–172 *MPR*   163 monete *P*   168 Cosam P^1

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163. The fresh invocation of the Muses is verbally repeated from that in vii. 641 prefacing the muster-roll of the Italian armies. The catalogue which follows is drawn up with an art that only reveals itself to careful reading. Without any forcing, the fleet can be reconstituted from it in detail. Its thirty ships are arranged in five squadrons of six ships apiece, as follows:

1. Massicus on the Tiger with six ships and 1,000 men.

2. Abas on the Apollo with six ships and 900 men.

3. Asilas (no flagship named) with six ships and 1,000 men.

4. A mixed squadron under three captains: Astyr's 300 men imply two ships; the irremediably damaged text of l. 186 makes it impossible to be certain about the other two, and the Centaur (l. 195) is not necessarily the flagship of the whole squadron.

5. Ocnus on the Mincio and Aulestes on the Triton, in command of the Mantuan contingent. Ocnus' 500 men imply three ships, and we may suppose a similar force in ships and men under Aulestes.

It is also to be noticed that as in the catalogue of Book vii (see note on vii. 641), this list, after opening with Massicus as *princeps* or senior captain, follows for the rest the alphabetical order of the names of the squadron-leaders.

Were it not for the numerical considerations, which are, of course, hypothetical, there would be a strong case for the view that ll. 207–12 have been misplaced (as one certainly, and probably two, of the paragraphs in the catalogue of Book vii have been: see note on vii. 664–9) and should be placed between ll. 184 and 185, thus giving Aulestes a separate command and preserving the alphabetical order throughout. In support of this it may be urged that the *Ille etiam* of l. 198 suggests the opening of a concluding paragraph, and that Virgil might be

expertos belli iuvenes, ast Ilva trecentos
insula inexhaustis Chalybum generosa metallis.
tertius ille hominum divumque interpres Asilas,
cui pecudum fibrae, caeli cui sidera parent
et linguae volucrum et praesagi fulminis ignes;
mille rapit densos acie atque horrentibus hastis.
hos parere iubent Alpheae ab origine Pisae,
urbs Etrusca solo. sequitur pulcherrimus Astyr,
Astyr equo fidens et versicoloribus armis.
ter centum adiciunt, mens omnibus una sequendi,
qui Caerete domo, qui sunt Minionis in arvis,
et Pyrgi veteres intempestaeque Graviscae.
  Non ego te, Ligurum ductor fortissime bello,
transierim, Cinyre, et paucis comitate Cupavo,–

173–182 *MPR*   183–186 *MPRV*   178 armis *P*   179 Alphea *M*
186 Cinyrae *M*, Cinera *P*, Cumarre *R*, Cinire *V*

---

expected to end his catalogue with his own native city of Mantua.

The absence from the list of Tarchon (who, under Aeneas as commander-in-chief of the allied forces, retains his command of the Etruscan contingent) is curious; the more so, that he appears a little later (ll. 290 foll.) as captain, not only of his own ship, but apparently of a whole squadron.

Of the other Etruscan captains in the catalogue, only Abas (killed by Lausus x. 427), Asilas (xi. 620, xii. 127, 550), and Aulestes (killed by Messapus xii. 290) are mentioned again.

174. There was a curious belief, mention by Diodorus and Strabo, that the iron ore in Elba grew afresh where it had been dug, and was accordingly inexhaustible. This is probably alluded to by the epithet here. But in any case the mining and export of iron was, as it still is, the principal industry of the island.

176. The note of Servius, '*parent* est, peritissime agnoscuntur', is certainly right; it means 'lie open to him'. The ordinary interpretation 'obey', as Servius goes on to say, 'non procedit; nam quomodo sidera vel fibrae vel aves vel fulgura possunt obtemperare?' The sense is the same as that of iii. 360, *qui sidera sentis et volucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennae*. In l. 179 *parere* means 'to appear', 'to come forward'.

178. For *rapit* see note on vii. 725.

180. 'Etruscan in site' is in antithesis to 'Alphean (i.e. Arcadian) in origin'.

186. The text of this line is desperate. The vulgate *Cinyre* is a compromise of the readings of two of the four primary MSS., which are all different. There is no trace elsewhere of a name corresponding to any of these, and the few Ligurian words of which there is any record give no clue. But the identity of rhythm and phrasing in this and the preceding line with those of *Georg.* ii. 101–2 *non ego te, dis et mensis accepta secundis transierim, Rhodia, et tumidis*

cuius olorinae surgunt de vertice pennae,
crimen, Amor, vestrum, formaeque insigne paternae.
namque ferunt luctu Cycnum Phaethontis amati,
populeas inter frondes umbramque sororum
dum canit et maestum musa solatur amorem,
canentem molli pluma duxisse senectam
linquentem terras et sidera voce sequentem.
filius aequalis comitatus classe catervas
ingentem remis Centaurum promovet: ille
instat aquae saxumque undis immane minatur
arduus, et longa sulcat maria alta carina.
  Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris,
fatidicae Mantus et Tusci filius amnis,
qui muros matrisque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen,
Mantua, dives avis, sed non genus omnibus unum:
gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaterni,
ipsa caput populis, Tusco de sanguine vires.
hinc quoque quingentos in se Mezentius armat,

187–204 *MPRV*   194 aequali *M*^{1} 202 illis *V*

Bumaste racemis, makes it practically certain that a proper name is in question, and rules out all the ingenious conjectures by which the line has been altered so as to refer to Cupavo alone. The apparent discrepancy between the *paucis comitate* of this line and the *catervae* who man a ship of great size in l. 194 can, however, hardly be either explained or explained away.

188. For *crimen Amor vestrum* (= *crimen, Amor, tuum et matris tuae*) see note on i. 140.

194. The word *aequalis* means either a contemporary or a comrade or both: so *chorus aequalis Dryadum Georg.* iv. 460, and *Accam ex aequalibus unam* xi. 820. The *fidi aequales* of Dares, v. 468, are little if anything more than 'comrades', while on the other hand in the *aequalem comitemque* of x. 703, *aequalis* is supplemented to make it clear that it does not merely mean contemporary.

196. For the change of subject from *ille* to *saxum* see note on vii. 211.

201–3. A complete and illuminating parallel to this piece of Virgilian archaeology is given by Parkman in his account of the Iroquois (*The Jesuits in North America*, ed. 1899, pp. 45 foll.). The whole passage deserves careful study, but the following are the points most immediately relevant.

'The Iroquois formed originally one individual people. Sundered . . . by dissension, caprice, or the necessities of the hunter life, they separated into five distinct nations cantoned from East to

quos patre Benaco velatus harundine glauca
Mincius infesta ducebat in aequora pinu.
It gravis Aulestes centenaque arbore fluctum
verberat adsurgens, spumant vada marmore verso.
hunc vehit immanis Triton et caerula concha
exterrens freta, cui laterum tenus hispida nanti
frons hominem praefert, in pristim desinit alvus,
spumea semifero sub pectore murmurat unda.
Tot lecti proceres ter denis navibus ibant
subsidio Troiae et campos salis aere secabant.

Iamque dies caelo concesserat almaque curru
noctivago Phoebe medium pulsabat Olympum:
Aeneas, neque enim membris dat cura quietem,
ipse sedens clavumque regit velisque ministrat.
atque illi medio in spatio chorus, ecce, suarum
occurrit comitum, nymphae, quas alma Cybebe
numen habere maris nymphasque e navibus esse

205–208 *MPRV* 209–221 *MPR* 207 fluctus *R* 221 nomen *P*

West in the following order. . . . There was discord among them; wars followed, and they lived in mutual fear, each ensconced in its palisaded villages. At length, says tradition, a celestial being . . . counselled them to compose their strife and unite in a league of defence and aggression.

'The Iroquois people was divided into eight clans. When the original stock was sundered, each of these clans was also sundered into five parts, and . . . each one of the five nations had its portion of each of the eight clans.

'The clans were by no means equal in numbers, influence, or honour. . . . To some belonged the right of giving a chief to the nation and to the league. Others had the right of giving three, or in one case four, chiefs; while others could give none. . . . A chief was chosen at a council of the clan.

'The Sachems of the Five Nations, fifty in all, assembled in council, formed the government of the Confederacy. All met as equals, but a peculiar dignity was ever attached to the Atotarho of the Onondagas.'

207. Aulestes, introduced somewhat abruptly here, was the brother of Ocnus; he is wearing royal insignia when killed later by Messapus, xii. 289. The two brothers (Ocnus is not mentioned again) must be supposed to have held a sort of joint kingship in the Confederacy.

216. *pulsabat Olympum*, sc. with the hoofs of her chariot-horses. The phrase is taken from Ennius, *Ann.* i, fr. 1.

iusserat; innabant pariter fluctusque secabant,
quot prius aeratae steterant ad litora prorae.
agnoscunt longe regem lustrantque choreis.
quarum quae fandi doctissima Cymodocea
pone sequens dextra puppim tenet ipsaque dorso
eminet ac laeva tacitis subremigat undis.
tum sic ignarum adloquitur: ‘vigilasne, deum gens
Aenea? vigila et velis immitte rudentis.
nos sumus, Idaeae sacro de vertice pinus,
nunc pelagi nymphae, classis tua. perfidus ut nos
praecipitis ferro Rutulus flammaque premebat,
rupimus invitae tua vincula teque per aequor
quaerimus. hanc genetrix faciem miserata refecit
et dedit esse deas aevumque agitare sub undis.
at puer Ascanius muro fossisque tenetur
tela inter media atque ardentis Marte Latinos.
iam loca iussa tenet forti permixtus Etrusco
Arcas eques; medias illis opponere turmas,
ne castris iungant, certa est sententia Turno.
surge age et Aurora socios veniente vocari
primus in arma iube, et clipeum cape quem dedit ipse
invictum ignipotens atque oras ambiit auro.
crastina lux, mea si non inrita dicta putaris,
ingentis Rutulae spectabit caedis acervos.’
   Dixerat et dextra discedens impulit altam

222–235 *MPR* 236–246 *MPRV* 223 quae prius P^2 puppis M^1
237 horrentis *MR* 238 tenent *MV* 242 dedit igni *V* 245 spectabis *MP*

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225. *quae fandi doctissima* has been criticized as childish; but see note on ix. 79. It would be fair to say that it is more in Ovid’s than in Virgil’s manner.

238. We must understand that the Etruscan cavalry had come by land, on the reverse route to that taken by Aeneas in viii. 585–607.

243. ‘Went round the rims with gold’: an unusual but quite natural expression; we speak of ‘passing’ a string round a package.

249. For *stupet inscius* see note on ii. 307.

254. *propinques* exactly corresponds to the English ‘bring home’.

256. For *ruebat*, ‘sped’, see note on ii. 250.

haud ignara modi puppim: fugit illa per undas
ocior et iaculo et ventos aequante sagitta.
inde aliae celerant cursus. stupet inscius ipse
Tros Anchisiades, animos tamen omine tollit. 250
tum breviter supera aspectans convexa precatur:
'alma parens Idaea deum, cui Dindyma cordi
turrigeraeque urbes biiugique ad frena leones,
tu mihi nunc pugnae princeps, tu rite propinques
augurium Phrygibusque adsis pede, diva, secundo.' 255
  Tantum effatus. et interea revoluta ruebat
matura iam luce dies noctemque fugarat:
principio sociis edicit signa sequantur
atque animos aptent armis pugnaeque parent se.
iamque in conspectu Teucros habet et sua castra, 260
stans celsa in puppi clipeum cum deinde sinistra
extulit ardentem. clamorem ad sidera tollunt
Dardanidae e muris, spes addita suscitat iras,
tela manu iaciunt, quales sub nubibus atris
Strymoniae dant signa grues atque aethera tranant 265
cum sonitu, fugiuntque Notos clamore secundo.
at Rutulo regi ducibusque ea mira videri
Ausoniis, donec versas ad litora puppis
respiciunt totumque adlabi classibus aequor. . .
ardet apex capiti cristisque a vertice flamma 270

247–261 *MPRV* 262–270 *MPR* 251 super *M*¹*PV* 256 rubebat *P*²
270 ac vertice *PR*

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261. The punctuation in the text gives a better rhythm and a more vivid picture than the ordinary pointing after *puppi*: for the place of *cum deinde* in the clause, see note on i. 195.

263. The clause *spes addita . . . iaciunt* is not only weak in itself but interferes with the continuity of the sentence, in which it is really a parenthetic insertion. It may be plausibly conjectured that the editors of the *Aeneid* found a line, *tela manu iaciunt, spes addita suscitat iras*, written here in the margin, and inserted it in the text by inverting its two parts.

266. For *clamore secundo* see note on viii. 90; here its meaning is 'with a trailing cry', a very apt and vivid description.

270. The picture of Aeneas in his blazing armour is here, a little abruptly,

funditur et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignis:
non secus ac liquida si quando nocte cometae
sanguinei lugubre rubent, aut Sirius ardor
ille sitim morbosque ferens mortalibus aegris
nascitur et laevo contristat lumine caelum.
  Haud tamen audaci Turno fiducia cessit
litora praecipere et venientis pellere terra.
ultro animos tollit dictis atque increpat ultro:
'quod votis optastis adest, perfringere dextra.
in manibus Mars ipse viris. nunc coniugis esto
quisque suae tectique memor, nunc magna referte
facta, patrum laudes. ultro occurramus ad undam
dum trepidi egressisque labant vestigia prima.
audentis Fortuna iuvat . . .'
haec ait, et secum versat quos ducere contra
vel quibus obsessos possit concredere muros.
  Interea Aeneas socios de puppibus altis
pontibus exponit. multi servare recursus
languentis pelagi et brevibus se credere saltu,
per remos alii. speculatus litora Tarchon,
qua vada non spirant nec fracta remurmurat unda,
sed mare inoffensum crescenti adlabitur aestu,
advertit subito prora sociosque precatur:
'nunc, o lecta manus, validis incumbite remis;

271–294 *MPR* 271 aereus *M* 278 *om.* *MP* 280 viri *MR* 281 referto *MR*
283 egressique *R* 291 sperat *PR* 293 proras M^1*P*, proram M^2, prora *R*

---

resumed from where it was broken off in l. 262. *capiti*, 'on his head', is a locative; its use is a slight archaism.

273. *Sirius* is generally taken as an adjective; the phrase would then be parallel to the *pineus ardor* of xi. 786, and this is consonant with Virgil's usage elsewhere, e.g., *Danais classibus* ii. 602. But it gives a finer rhythm to take *ardor ille* as in apposition to *Sirius*.

278. This line, repeated from ix. 127, is not in the majority of the primary MSS. and is probably an interpolation here.

280. *viris*, the reading for which there is preponderant authority, is also much preferable to the *viri* (vocative) of one good MS. which has been accepted by many editors.

281. *referte*, like the corresponding English 'recall', may mean either 'call to your memory' or 'renew'.

287. '*altis*, puppibus, non pontibus', is

tollite, ferte rates, inimicam findite rostris
hanc terram, sulcumque sibi premat ipsa carina.
frangere nec tali puppim statione recuso
arrepta tellure semel.' quae talia postquam
effatus Tarchon, socii consurgere tonsis
spumantisque rates arvis inferre Latinis,
donec rostra tenent siccum et sedere carinae
omnes innocuae. sed non puppis tua, Tarchon:
namque inflicta vadi dorso dum pendet iniquo
anceps sustentata diu, fluctusque fatigat,
solvitur atque viros mediis exponit in undis,
fragmina remorum quos et fluitantia transtra
impediunt retrahitque pedes simul unda relabens.
  Nec Turnum segnis retinet mora, sed rapit acer
totam aciem in Teucros et contra in litore sistit.
signa canunt. primus turmas invasit agrestis
Aeneas, omen pugnae, stravitque Latinos
occiso Therone, virum qui maximus ultro
Aenean petit. huic gladio perque aerea suta,
per tunicam squalentem auro latus haurit apertum.
inde Lichan ferit exsectum iam matre perempta
et tibi, Phoebe, sacrum, casus evadere ferri
quod licuit parvo; nec longe Cissea durum

295–317 *MPR* 297 puppes *PR* 303 vadis MP^2R 307 pedem M^2
317 quo P^2, cui *R*

Servius' note. But the reader must judge for himself.

291. *spirant* means 'gurgle' or 'sob'; it is similarly used in the *fretis spirantibus* of *Georg.* i. 327 and the *spirantia exta* of iv. 64. The note of Servius on the alternative reading *sperat* (which is that of two out of the three primary MSS.) 'legitur et *sperat*, quod et melius est, nam dum vada esse non sperat, incidit in ea', may be left without further comment. There is a shoal a little off shore, not showing any broken water on the surface; the rest of the ships clear it, but Tarchon's own (presumably of deeper draught) grounds on it amidships and pitches there until she breaks her back.

313. For *perque . . . per*, instead of the normal coupling, *perque . . . perque*, see note on vii. 75.

317. Servius rightly explains *nec longe* as 'little later': it is equivalent to the *nec longum tempus* of *Georg.* ii. 80.

immanemque Gyan sternentis agmina clava
deiecit leto; nihil illos Herculis arma
nec validae iuvere manus genitorque Melampus,
Alcidae comes usque gravis dum terra labores
praebuit. ecce Pharo, voces dum iactat inertis,
intorquens iaculum clamanti sistit in ore.
tu quoque, flaventem prima lanugine malas
dum sequeris Clytium infelix, nova gaudia, Cydon,
Dardania stratus dextra, securus amorum
qui iuvenum tibi semper erant, miserande iaceres,
ni fratrum stipata cohors foret obvia, Phorci
progenies; septem numero, septenaque tela
coniciunt; partim galea clipeoque resultant
inrita, deflexit partim stringentia corpus
alma Venus. fidum Aeneas adfatur Achaten:
'suggere tela mihi: non ullum dextera frustra
torserit in Rutulos, steteruntque in corpore Graium
Iliacis campis.' tum magnam corripit hastam
et iacit: illa volans clipei transverberat aera
Maeonis et thoraca simul cum pectore rumpit.
huic frater subit Alcanor fratremque ruentem
sustentat dextra: traiecto missa lacerto

318–339 *MPR*   321 cum M^1 323 clamantis *MP*   334 steterint M^1 quae M^1P

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322. It was debated by the early commentators whether *Pharo* were a nominative or a dative; the name does not occur elsewhere. If the latter, *clamanti* is the probable reading in the next line; otherwise the *clamantis* of two out of the three primary MSS. is equally likely.

326. For *securus amorum* see note on i. 350.

329. The Servian note is '*septena tela*, more suo pro septem, ut *bina* pro duobus' (viii. 168).

334. *steteruntque* is more vivid than the vulgate *steterunt quae*: the MSS. are equally divided.

336. *aera*, the bronze plates of his armour: so *solida aera* of the metal plates of Turnus' helmet ix. 809.

338. Apparently it did not cause any concern to Virgil to end this line with *ruentem* in the sense of 'collapsing' and another a little further down (385) with *ruentem* in the sense of 'rushing forward'.

347. The *eminus* of the previous line shows that the spear was thrown, not

protinus hasta fugit servatque cruenta tenorem,
dexteraque ex umero nervis moribunda pependit.
tum Numitor iacula fratris de corpore rapto
Aenean petiit: sed non et figere contra
est licitum, magnique femur perstrinxit Achatae.
  Hic Curibus fidens primaevo corpore Clausus
advenit et rigida Dryopem ferit eminus hasta
sub mentum graviter pressa, pariterque loquentis
vocem animamque rapit traiecto gutture; at ille
fronte ferit terram et crassum vomit ore cruorem.
tris quoque Threicios Boreae de gente suprema
et tris quos Idas pater et patria Ismara mittit,
per varios sternit casus. accurrit Halaesus
Auruncaeque manus, subit et Neptunia proles,
insignis Messapus equis. expellere tendunt
nunc hi, nunc illi: certatur limine in ipso
Ausoniae. magno discordes aethere venti
proelia ceu tollunt animis et viribus aequis;
non ipsi inter se, non nubila, non mare cedit;
anceps pugna diu, stant obnixa omnia contra:
haud aliter Troianae acies aciesque Latinae
concurrunt, haeret pede pes densusque viro vir.
  At parte ex alia, qua saxa rotantia late

340–362 *MPR*   349 fronte premit *P*   358 cedunt *M*^{1}

---

thrust; hence *graviter pressa* must mean, as Sabbadini rightly explains it, 'affondata', 'driven hard home'.

354. The use of *expellere* without any object is justified by the fact that *nunc hi nunc illi* is equivalent to *nunc hi illos, nunc illi hos*.

359. The picture presented appears to be that of dead calm on the ground while a storm is gathering and strata of cloud at different altitudes are racing in opposite directions overhead. See also note on viii. 525.

362–8. The syntax of this long and complicated sentence is unintelligible. It could only be regularized by some conjectural alteration; either by removing the *ut* of l. 365 and making l. 366 begin a new sentence, or by substituting something for *quis* or for *quando* in l. 366: for example by reading *iam vidit* in the former line, or *aspera eis* (but Virgil does not use *eis* anywhere else) in the latter. Madvig's clever conjecture of

impulerat torrens arbustaque diruta ripis,
Arcadas insuetos acies inferre pedestris
ut vidit Pallas Latio dare terga sequaci . . .
aspera quis natura loci dimittere quando
suasit equos, unum quod rebus restat egenis,
nunc prece, nunc dictis virtutem accendit amaris:
'quo fugitis, socii? per vos et fortia facta,
per ducis Euandri nomen devictaque bella
spemque meam, patriae quae nunc subit aemula laudi,
fidite ne pedibus. ferro rumpenda per hostis
est via. qua globus ille virum densissimus urget,
hac vos et Pallanta ducem patria alta reposcit.
numina nulla premunt, mortali urgemur ab hoste
mortales; totidem nobis animaeque manusque.
ecce maris magna claudit nos obice pontus,
deest iam terra fugae: pelagus Troiamne petemus?'
  Haec ait, et medius densos prorumpit in hostis.
obvius huic primum fatis adductus iniquis
fit Lagus. hunc, magno vellit dum pondere saxum,
intorto figit telo, discrimina costis
per medium qua spina dabat, hastamque receptat

363–383 *MPR*   363 intulerat *R*   366 quos *P*   demittere *R*   378 petamus *M*^{2}*R*   381 vellit magno *PR*   383 dedit *R*

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aspera aquis has met with little favour. It is also possible that ll. 366–7 belong to an alternative draft, and were mistakenly retained by his original editors. In any case the passage throws a very interesting light on Virgil's methods of composition.

369. *per vos et fortia facta et ducis nomen* (*oro*) would be quite regular Latin; for the repetition of *per* instead of the second *et* see note on l. 313 above. *devicta bella* is an extension of the idiom in *pugnata bella* viii. 629: compare the *hoc vincite* of v. 196.

378. The topography of this episode is not very clear. But its upshot is that the Arcadian force is so nearly surrounded that any further retreat is only possible in the direction where it will be cut off by the sea; hence its only chance of salvation is to force a passage through the enemy into 'Troy', i.e., the Trojan camp. *medius in hostes* is a variation of *in medios hostes* made to avoid the double epithet: see note on iii. 70.

386. *incautum* is attracted into the accusative of *ruentem* in the previous line, just as conversely, *pastus* in l. 710 below

ossibus haerentem. quem non superoccupat Hisbo,
ille quidem hoc sperans; nam Pallas ante ruentem
dum furit incautum crudeli morte sodalis
excipit atque ensem tumido in pulmone recondit.
hinc Sthenium petit et Rhoeti de gente vetusta
Anchemolum thalamos ausum incestare novercae.
vos etiam, gemini, Rutulis cecidistis in arvis,
Daucia, Laride Thymberque, simillima proles
indiscreta suis gratusque parentibus error;
at nunc dura dedit vobis discrimina Pallas.
nam tibi, Thymbre, caput Euandrius abstulit ensis;
te decisa suum, Laride, dextera quaerit
semianimesque micant digiti ferrumque retractant.
    Arcadas accensos monitu et praeclara tuentis
facta viri mixtus dolor et pudor armat in hostis.
tum Pallas biiugis fugientem Rhoetea praeter
traicit. hoc spatium tantumque morae fuit Ilo;
Ilo namque procul validam derexerat hastam,
quam medius Rhoeteus intercipit, optime Teuthra,
te fugiens fratremque Tyren, curruque volutus
caedit semianimis Rutulorum calcibus arva.
ac velut optato ventis aestate coortis

384–405 *MPR*   390 agris *P*   398 dolor et furor *R*   401 direxerat M^2P

---

is attracted into the nominative of the main subject of the sentence. It is therefore needless to adopt Bentley's emendation of *incautus* which has been accepted by some later editors.

390–2. The way in which the words are, so to speak, poured down in a heap in these lines, with disregard of regular syntax, illustrates Virgil's method of composition, though it is of course a deliberate rhetorical artifice. The shifting from second to third person in *suis* (the second person being resumed in l. 393) is unique; elsewhere, *suus* is frequently used without any definite antecedent, in the sense of 'one's own', but very seldom, if ever, where there is a definite antecedent of the first or second person. The *quisque suos patimur manis* of vi. 743 is hardly a parallel, as *quisque suos* is an appositional phrase, equivalent to *quisque suos patitur*.

399. For the 'tmesis' in *fugientem praeter* (for *praeter fugientem*) see note on iii. 634.

405. For *optato*, 'at his chosen time', see note on i. 737.

dispersa immittit silvis incendia pastor,
correptis subito mediis extenditur una
horrida per latos acies Volcania campos,
ille sedens victor flammas despectat ovantis:
non aliter socium virtus coit omnis in unum 410
teque iuvat, Palla. sed bellis acer Halaesus
tendit in adversos seque in sua colligit arma. . .
hic mactat Ladona Pheretaque Demodocumque,
Strymonio dextram fulgenti deripit ense
elatam in iugulum, saxo ferit ora Thoantis 415
ossaque dispersit cerebro permixta cruento. . .
fata canens silvis genitor celarat Halaesum;
ut senior leto canentia lumina solvit,
iniecere manum Parcae telisque sacrarunt
Euandri. quem sic Pallas petit ante precatus: 420
'da nunc, Thybri pater, ferro, quod missile libro,
fortunam atque viam duri per pectus Halaesi.
haec arma exuviasque viri tua quercus habebit.'
audiit illa deus; dum texit Imaona Halaesus,
Arcadio infelix telo dat pectus inermum. 425
At non caede viri tanta perterrita Lausus,
pars ingens belli, sinit agmina: primus Abantem

406–427 *MPR*

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407. *acies Volcania*, 'an edge, or battle-line, of fire': the metaphor is continued in the *ovantes*, 'triumphant', of the next line.

411–25. The fourfold repetition of the name Halaesus at the end of a line in this passage suggests an unrevised draft; and ll. 413–16 look like an unplaced fragment.

418. The Servian note on *canentia lumina* is, 'aut hypallage est pro "ipse canens", aut physicam rem dixit, dicuntur enim pupillae mortis tempore albescere'. It is merely an ordinary Virgilian variation of *canentis lumina*. The jingle of *canentia* and the *canens* of the previous line is likewise not un-Virgilian, but exception taken to it led to a variant, *fata cavens*, in early copies of the *Aeneid*. *fata canens* is repeated here from viii. 499.

427. *sinit*, 'leaves alone': see note on l. 15 above.

439. The abrupt introduction of Juturna here, without naming her, is one of the marks of incompletion in this book. She does not appear again, nor is there any reference to her, until

oppositum interimit, pugnae nodumque moramque.
sternitur Arcadiae proles, sternuntur Etrusci
et vos, o Grais imperdita corpora, Teucri.
agmina concurrunt ducibusque et viribus aequis.
extremi addensent acies nec turba moveri
tela manusque sinit. hinc Pallas instat et urget,
hinc contra Lausus, nec multum discrepat aetas,
egregii forma, sed quis Fortuna negarat
in patriam reditus. ipsos concurrere passus
haud tamen inter se magni regnator Olympi;
mox illos sua fata manent maiore sub hoste.
  Interea soror alma monet succedere Lauso
Turnum, qui volucri curru medium secat agmen.
ut vidit socios: 'tempus desistere pugnae;
solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas
debetur; cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset.'
haec ait, et socii cesserunt aequore iusso.
at Rutulum abscessu iuvenis tum iussa superba
miratus stupet in Turno corpusque per ingens
lumina volvit obitque truci procul omnia visu,
talibus et dictis it contra dicta tyranni:
'aut spoliis ego iam raptis laudabor opimis

428–449 *MPR*   432 addensant *MP*^{2}*R*   441 pugna *R*   446 miratur *R*

Book XII, where she is introduced (l. 138) as though for the first time.

441. The dative *pugnae* after *desistere* (on the analogy of such phrases as *detrahere pugnae*) is unusual, but Virgil uses both dative and ablative indiscriminately after the similar word *decedere*; and only one of the good MSS. reads *pugna* here. *desistere incepto* in i. 37 may be either.

444. *aequor iussum* is no very great extension of the more ordinary *loca iussa* in l. 238 above; but it was criticized by Probus and others as 'satis licenter dictum'.

448. This sounds like a line taken from Ennius, though it is not mentioned as such by any of the ancient commentators. For *tyranni*, 'monarch', see note on i. 361.

449. For the *spolia opima* see note on vi. 859. Minute critics have raised an objection to the use of the term here on the ground that Pallas was not commander-in-chief. But Sir D. Haig did not cease to be the British commander-in-chief when the supreme control of the Allied forces in France was conferred on Marshal Foch.

aut leto insigni: sorti pater aequus utrique est.
tolle minas.' fatus medium procedit in aequor;
frigidus Arcadibus coit in praecordia sanguis.
desiluit Turnus biiugis, pedes apparat ire
comminus; utque leo, specula cum vidit ab alta
stare procul campis meditantem in proelia taurum,
advolat, haud alia est Turni venientis imago.
Hunc ubi contiguum missae fore credidit hastae,
ire prior Pallas, si qua fors adiuvet ausum
viribus imparibus, magnumque ita ad aethera fatur:
'per patris hospitium et mensas, quas advena adisti,
te precor, Alcide, coeptis ingentibus adsis.
cernat semineci sibi me rapere arma cruenta
victoremque ferant morientia lumina Turni.'
Audiit Alcides iuvenem magnumque sub imo
corde premit gemitum lacrimasque effundit inanis.
tum genitor natum dictis adfatur amicis:
'stat sua cuique dies, breve et inreparabile tempus
omnibus est vitae; sed famam extendere factis,
hoc virtutis opus. Troiae sub moenibus altis
tot nati cecidere deum, quin occidit una
Sarpedon, mea progenies: etiam sua Turnum
fata vocant metasque dati pervenit ad aevi.'
sic ait, atque oculos Rutulorum reicit arvis.
At Pallas magnis emittit viribus hastam

450–460 *MPR*   461–474 *MR*   455 in *om. P*

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450. '*aequus est*, aequo animo feret', the note in D Servius, is no doubt correct.

457. *contiguus*, 'within reach', is a word not elsewhere used by Virgil.

463. '*ferant*, sustineant' (Servius): 'may endure the sight of his conqueror'.

465. *premit gemitum* may mean either 'stifles a groan', as in i. 209 *premit altum corde dolorem* and ix. 324 *vocem premit*, or 'forces a groan' as in *sulcum premat* l. 296 above.

478. 'Grazed off his body' is a compressed but perfectly intelligible way of saying that the grazing stroke only stripped a piece of skin from his body. Madvig's proposal to read *tinxit se corpore* only shows what the aberrations of a fine scholar may be.

vaginaque cava fulgentem deripit ensem. 475
illa volans umeri surgunt qua tegmina summa
incidit, atque viam clipei molita per oras
tandem etiam magno strinxit de corpore Turni.
hic Turnus ferro praefixum robur acuto
in Pallanta diu librans iacit atque ita fatur: 480
'aspice num mage sit nostrum penetrabile telum.'
dixerat; at clipeum, tot ferri terga, tot aeris,
quem pellis totiens obeat circumdata tauri,
vibranti cuspis medium transverberat ictu
loricaeque moras, et pectus perforat ingens. 485
ille rapit calidum frustra de vulnere telum:
una eademque via sanguis animusque sequuntur.
corruit in vulnus, sonitum super arma dedere,
et terram hostilem moriens petit ore cruento.
  Quem Turnus super adsistens . . . 490
'Arcades, haec' inquit 'memores mea dicta referte
Euandro: qualem meruit, Pallanta remitto.
quisquis honos tumuli, quidquid solamen humandi est,
largior. haud illi stabunt Aeneia parvo
hospitia.' et laevo pressit pede talia fatus 495
exanimem rapiens immania pondera baltei
impressumque nefas. una sub nocte iugali
caesa manus iuvenum foede thalamique cruenti,
quae Clonus Eurytides multo caelaverat auro;

475–499 *MR* 475 diripit *MP* 476 prima *R* 477 clipei est *M*
481 magi *R* 483 cum *R* 484 medium cuspis *R* 486 corpore *R*
490 sic ore profatur *add. R*

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490. The *sic ore profatur* with which this incomplete line is filled up in one of the primary MSS. is obviously the work of an unskilled botcher, and shows how fallible these MSS. are in the last resort.

498. Here, as in vii. 787 (where see note), a strict syntax would require *caesam manum thalamosque cruentos*, these being the *impressum nefas* of the previous line: but the *constructio ad sensum* is much more vivid, and it is here further justified by regarding the words *una sub nocte . . . cruenti* as being so to speak the title of the subject, and so, like a quotation, being outside of the con-

quo nunc Turnus ovat spolio gaudetque potitus.
nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae
et servare modum rebus sublata secundis!
Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque
oderit. at socii multo gemitu lacrimisque
impositum scuto referunt Pallanta frequentes.
'o dolor atque decus magnum rediture parenti,
haec te prima dies bello dedit, haec eadem aufert,
cum tamen ingentis Rutulorum linquis acervos!'
  Nec iam fama mali tanti, sed certior auctor
advolat Aeneae tenui discrimine leti
esse suos, versis tempus succurrere Teucris.
proxima quaeque metit gladio latumque per agmen
ardens limitem agit ferro, te, Turne, superbum
caede nova quaerens. Pallas, Euander, in ipsis
omnia sunt oculis, mensae quas advena primas
tunc adiit, dextraeque datae. Sulmone creatos
quattuor hic iuvenes, totidem quos educat Ufens,
viventis rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris
captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammas.
  Inde Mago procul infensam contenderat hastam.

500–508 *MR* 509–521 *MP*^{2}*R* 512 tempus versis *MR* 521 infestam *P*^{2}*R* contorserat *R*

---

struction, as is the line iii. 288, which embodies an actual inscription verbally. The construction here is resumed in l. 500, l. 499 being attached as an amplification of the description to l. 498.

514. For *limitem agit*, 'drives a track', see note on ii. 697.

515. The form *Euander* is only used by Virgil here. Elsewhere (five times, all in Book VIII) the name is given in the form *Euandrus*; and in xi. 55 the vocative as *Euandre*.

517. Sulmo here is the town of that name (in Latium, and identified with the modern Sermoneta), not the warrior of ix. 412, and similarly Ufens is the river of vii. 802, not the warrior Ufens of Nersae, one of the leading Italian captains, killed in battle later (vii. 745, viii. 6, xii. 460). *educat* means 'feeds', 'gives nurture to': for this aoristic use of the present tense, see note on ii. 275.

539. The earliest commentators on Virgil were divided in opinion whether to read here *veste atque insignibus armis*,

ille astu subit, at tremibunda supervolat hasta,
et genua amplectens effatur talia supplex:
'per patrios manis et spes surgentis Iuli
te precor, hanc animam serves natoque patrique.
est domus alta, iacent penitus defossa talenta
caelati argenti, sunt auri pondera facti
infectique mihi. non hic victoria Teucrum
vertitur aut anima una dabit discrimina tanta.'
dixerat. Aeneas contra cui talia reddit:
'argenti atque auri memoras quae multa talenta
natis parce tuis. belli commercia Turnus
sustulit ista prior iam tum Pallante perempto.
hoc patris Anchisae manes, hoc sentit Iulus.'
sic fatus galeam laeva tenet atque reflexa
cervice orantis capulo tenus applicat ensem.
  Nec procul Haemonides, Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos,
infula cui sacra redimibat tempora vitta,
totus conlucens veste atque insignibus armis:
quem congressus agit campo, lapsumque superstans
immolat ingentique umbra tegit, arma Serestus
lecta refert umeris tibi, rex Gradive, tropaeum.
  Instaurant acies Volcani stirpe creatus

522–531 *MP*^{2}*R* 532–543 *MPR* 522 en *M*^{1}, ac *M*^{2} 524 heredis *P*^{2}
533 illa *M* 536 oranti *P*^{1} 539 armis *MP*^{2}*R* (a . . . s *P*^{1}) 543 instaurat *M*^{1}

'in attire and splendid armour', or *veste atque insignibus albis*, 'in white attire and caparisons'. The former was the generally received text, and is that of the best MSS. It seems best to retain it, though it leaves *veste* rather in the air, and may be due to a recollection of the *insignibus armis* of l. 170 above. Virgil's usage elsewhere leaves the point quite uncertain. The white dress which Statius makes Amphiaraus the prophet wear (*Theb*. vi. 330), cited by Servius in support of *albis*, was for a chariot-race, not for battle.

541. *ingenti umbra tegit* must be taken literally, not as meaning the darkness of death. Compare the *ex hostibus umbrae* of l. 593, 'shadows cast by the advancing enemy'.

543–4. This description of Caeculus and Umbro has already been more fully given in the catalogue of Book VII, ll. 678 foll. and 750 foll. Its partial repetition here is, as the poem stands, uncalled for: and either these two lines are an unplaced fragment inserted here, or, as

Caeculus et veniens Marsorum montibus Umbro.
Dardanides contra furit.
                    Anxuris ense sinistram
et totum clipei ferro deiecerat orbem;
dixerat ille aliquid magnum vimque adfore verbo
crediderat, caeloque animum fortasse ferebat
canitiemque sibi et longos promiserat annos.
Tarquitus exsultans contra fulgentibus armis,
silvicolae Fauno Dryope quem nympha crearat,
obvius ardenti sese obtulit. ille reducta
loricam clipeique ingens onus impedit hasta,
tum caput orantis nequiquam et multa parantis
dicere deturbat terrae, truncumque tepentem
provolvens super haec inimico pectore fatur:
'istic nunc, metuende, iace. non te optima mater
condet humi patrioque onerabit membra sepulcro:
alitibus linquere feris, aut gurgite mersum
unda feret piscesque impasti vulnera lambent.'
protinus Antaeum et Lucam, prima agmina Turni,
persequitur, fortemque Numam fulvumque Camertem,
magnanimo Volcente satum, ditissimus agri
qui fuit Ausonidum et tacitis regnavit Amyclis.

544–548 *MPR*   549–564 *MPRV*   558 humo M^2 patriove *PR*

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is more likely, this whole passage was composed before the catalogue. As was observed by Servius, Umbro is said in the catalogue to have been killed in battle by Aeneas; but neither he nor Caeculus is mentioned again. It is probable that a gap should be marked in any case at this point; for what follows is far from clear. The beginning of a new sentence in the middle of an equally divided line is most unusual; the nearest approach to it elsewhere in the *Aeneid* is vii. 625 (in an unrevised passage) *pulverulentus equis furit; omnes arma requirunt*. And *deiecerat ense sinistram et ferro orbem clipei* is awkward in itself and without any parallel; for phrases like *proxima quaeque metit gladio, limitem agit ferro* (above, l. 513) are quite normal duplications. *Anxuris ense sinistram* looks like the end of a line the beginning of which, containing a verb, is wanting. It is possible, however, that *ferro* is an early (and very natural) alteration of Virgil's own *ferri* which would make *clipei ferri orbem*, 'the

Aegaeon qualis, centum cui bracchia dicunt
centenasque manus, quinquaginta oribus ignem
pectoribusque arsisse, Iovis cum fulmina contra
tot paribus streperet clipeis, tot stringeret ensis:
sic toto Aeneas desaevit in aequore victor
ut semel intepuit mucro. quin ecce Niphaei
quadriiugis in equos adversaque pectora tendit.
atque illi longe gradientem et dira frementem
ut videre, metu versi retroque ruentes
effunduntque ducem rapiuntque ad litora currus.
  Interea biiugis infert se Lucagus albis
in medios fraterque Liger; sed frater habenis
flectit equos, strictum rotat acer Lucagus ensem.
haud tulit Aeneas tanto fervore furentis:
inruit adversaque ingens apparuit hasta.
cui Liger . . .
'non Diomedis equos nec currum cernis Achilli
aut Phrygiae campos: nunc belli finis et aevi
his dabitur terris.' vesano talia late
dicta volant Ligeri. sed non et Troius heros
dicta parat contra, iaculum nam torquet in hostem
Lucagus ut pronus pendens in verbera telo

565–574 *MPRV*   575–586 *MPR*   572 ac dira M^1 574 currum *R*
575 bigis *P*   585 hostis *PR*

---

circle of the iron of the shield', an exact parallel to *clipei mora aeris* (the text of all the MSS.), 'the obstacle of the bronze of the shield', in xii. 541: see note on that line.

553. Drawing back his arm, he hurls his spear so as to pin his opponent's shield to his corslet and prevent him from lifting the shield to protect his head; then 'sweeps his head to the ground' with a sword-stroke.

556. For *super haec* see note on ii. 348.

558. *humi* is a locative, as in *humi nitens* ii. 380.

569. For *desaevit* see note on iv. 52.

584. The dative after *volant* (as again xi. 381 *verbis quae tibi volant*) is quite regular if we notice that *volant* means 'take flight from'.

586. The *telum* must be the sword of l. 577. *telum,* while it normally means a spear or arrow, is also used of a weapon generally iii. 635, vii. 508, ix. 559, x. 486, xi. 484, and of a sword ix. 747 and 748. But *pendens . . . biiugos* is inconsistent

admonuit biiugos; proiecto dum pede laevo
aptat se pugnae, subit oras hasta per imas
fulgentis clipei, tum laevum perforat inguen:
excussus curru moribundus volvitur arvis. 590
quem pius Aeneas dictis adfatur amaris:
'Lucage, nulla tuos currus fuga segnis equorum
prodidit aut vanae vertere ex hostibus umbrae:
ipse rotis saliens iuga deseris.' haec ita fatus
arripuit biiugos; frater tendebat inertis 595
infelix palmas curru delapsus eodem:
'per te, per qui te talem genuere parentes,
vir Troiane, sine hanc animam et miserere precantis.'
pluribus oranti Aeneas: 'haud talia dudum
dicta dabas. morere et fratrem ne desere frater.' 600
tum latebras animae pectus mucrone recludit.
Talia per campos edebat funera ductor
Dardanius torrentis aquae vel turbinis atri
more furens. tandem erumpunt et castra relinquunt
Ascanius puer et nequiquam obsessa iuventus. 605
Iunonem interea compellat Iuppiter ultro:
'o germana mihi atque eadem gratissima coniunx,
ut rebare, Venus, nec te sententia fallit,
Troianas sustentat opes, non vivida bello
dextra viris animusque ferox patiensque pericli.' 610
cui Iuno summissa: 'quid, o pulcherrime coniunx,
sollicitas aegram et tua tristia dicta timentem?

587–612 *MPR* 587 traiecto *M* 588 aptet *P* 595 inermis P^1
604 fremens *R* 612 iussa *M*

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with the whole context, and must be either an insertion, or a first draft meant to be struck out.

591. The epithet *pius* here, which may seem out of place, marks the contrast with the 'impious' boast of Liger, as in l. 783 below with the scorn of Mezentius for the gods. The conjectural alteration into *prius*, though plausible, is needless.

610. For the sense of *ferox* see note on i. 263.

614. *namque* here has the same force as *enim* in *tibi enim* viii. 84, *sed enim* vi. 28, or *miratus enim* vi. 317, where see note.

si mihi, quae quondam fuerat quamque esse decebat,
vis in amore foret, non hoc mihi namque negares,
omnipotens, quin et pugnae subducere Turnum 615
et Dauno possem incolumem servare parenti.
nunc pereat Teucrisque pio det sanguine poenas.
ille tamen nostra deducit origine nomen
Pilumnusque illi quartus pater, et tua larga
saepe manu multisque oneravit limina donis.' 620
Cui rex aetherii breviter sic fatur Olympi:
'si mora praesentis leti tempusque caduco
oratur iuveni meque hoc ita ponere sentis,
tolle fuga Turnum atque instantibus eripe fatis:
hactenus indulsisse vacat. sin altior istis 625
sub precibus venia ulla latet totumque moveri
mutarive putas bellum, spes pascis inanis.'
et Iuno adlacrimans: 'quid si, quae voce gravaris,
mente dares atque haec Turno rata vita maneret?
nunc manet insontem gravis exitus, aut ego veri 630
vana feror. quod ut o potius formidine falsa
ludar, et in melius tua, qui potes, orsa reflectas!'
Haec ubi dicta dedit, caelo se protinus alto
misit agens hiemem nimbo succincta per auras,
Iliacamque aciem et Laurentia castra petivit. 635
tum dea nube cava tenuem sine viribus umbram
in faciem Aeneae, visu mirabile monstrum,
Dardaniis ornat telis, clipeumque iubasque

613–638 *MPR* 621 fatus *M*²*R*

It is not thus used by Virgil elsewhere. But he twice has *quianam* (v. 13, x. 6) as a strengthened form of *quia*.

623. *ita ponere*, 'so to ordain'. See note on xi. 309.

628. This is the only known instance in Latin of the verb *adlacrimare* except that it is once used by Apuleius; it may be either a coinage of Virgil's or, more probably, a word found by him in early Latin poetry.

630. With *veri vana*, 'empty of truth', may be compared *veri effeta*, 'exhausted of truth', vii. 440.

divini adsimulat capitis, dat inania verba,
dat sine mente sonum gressusque effingit euntis:
morte obita qualis fama est volitare figuras
aut quae sopitos deludunt somnia sensus.
at primas laeta ante acies exsultat imago
inritatque virum telis et voce lacessit;
instat cui Turnus stridentemque eminus hastam
conicit; illa dato vertit vestigia tergo.
tum vero Aenean aversum ut cedere Turnus
credidit atque animo spem turbidus hausit inanem:
'quo fugis, Aenea? thalamos ne desere pactos;
hac dabitur dextra tellus quaesita per undas.'
talia vociferans sequitur strictumque coruscat
mucronem, nec ferre videt sua gaudia ventos.
forte ratis celsi coniuncta crepidine saxi
expositis stabat scalis et ponte parato,
qua rex Clusinis advectus Osinius oris.
huc sese trepida Aeneae fugientis imago
conicit in latebras, nec Turnus segnior instat
exsuperatque moras et pontis transilit altos.
vix proram attigerat, rumpit Saturnia funem
avulsamque rapit revoluta per aequora navem.

639–660 *MPR*   640 gressumque *M*

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659. Ships were ordinarily beached by being turned round and drawn up stern-foremost so as to be ready for relaunching. But in the urgency of the case, the Etruscan ships had been driven straight ahead on to shore (see ll. 290–301 above), so that Turnus now climbs up on to the bows of Osinius' vessel.

661–5. There was from very early times some confusion in the order of these lines, and an attempt was made by the commentator Urbanus (of uncertain date, but probably in the middle of the second century A.D.) to rectify it by altering *illum autem Aeneas* into *ille autem Aenean* in l. 661; this reading is in fact given in two of the three primary MSS. The transposition of l. 665, with slight repunctuation, as in the text above, is the simplest way out of the difficulty. Confusion would be easy if ll. 661–2 were in the margin of Virgil's autograph.

673. The MSS vary between *quosne*, *quosve*, and *quosque*; only the two former are mentioned by Servius. *quosne*, though it is not in any good MS., is generally accepted: *quosne nefas* would easily become *quos nefas* in

illum autem Aeneas absentem in proelia poscit,
obvia multa virum demittit corpora morti,
cum Turnum medio interea fert aequore turbo. 665
tum levis haud ultra latebras iam quaerit imago, 663
sed sublime volans nubi se immiscuit atrae. 664
respicit ignarus rerum ingratusque salutis
et duplicis cum voce manus ad sidera tendit:
'Omnipotens genitor, tanton me crimine dignum
duxisti et talis voluisti expendere poenas?
quo feror? unde abii? quae me fuga quemve reducit? 670
Laurentisne iterum muros aut castra videbo?
quid manus illa virum, qui me meaque arma secuti,
quosque, nefas, omnis infanda in morte reliqui
et nunc palantis video, gemitumque cadentum
accipio? quid ago? aut quae iam satis ima dehiscat 675
terra mihi? vos o potius miserescite, venti;
in rupes, in saxa, volens vos Turnus adoro,
ferte ratem saevisque vadis immittite syrtis,
quo neque me Rutuli nec conscia fama sequatur.'
Haec memorans animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc, 680
an sese mucroni ob tantum dedecus amens
induat et crudum per costas exigat ensem,

661–682 *MPR*   661 ille *PR*   Aenean P^1R 665 interea medio *R*
668 tanto *P*   670 abeo P^1 quo M^1 quove M^2 673 quosve M^2P 675 et quae M^1 681 mucrone MP^2

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transcription, and the scansion then be restored by inserting *ve* or *que*, between which, where there is little or no distinction in meaning, good MSS. perpetually fluctuate. But in view of the preponderant MS. authority, *quosque*, which is quite unexceptionable, is reinstated in the text above.

678. *syrtis* appears to be used here in a general sense, 'some quicksand'. Elsewhere, whether in singular or plural, the word has generally a definite reference to the shoals so named off the African coast. But in i. 111, 146, vi. 60 it may also be generalized.

682. *crudus ensis*, 'the raw sword', here and again xii. 507, is a vividly metaphorical way of saying 'the harsh, or cruel, sword': Servius is no doubt right in saying that it is meant by its sound to suggest *crudelis*. Elsewhere Virgil only uses it in its normal sense, of raw hide or raw bark, except in the *cruda senectus*, 'green old age', of vi. 304.

fluctibus an iaciat mediis et litora nando
curva petat Teucrumque iterum se reddat in arma.
ter conatus utramque viam, ter maxima Iuno
continuit iuvenemque animi miserata repressit.
labitur alta secans fluctuque aestuque secundo
et patris antiquam Dauni defertur ad urbem.
  At Iovis interea monitis Mezentius ardens
succedit pugnae Teucrosque invadit ovantis.
concurrunt Tyrrhenae acies atque omnibus uni,
uni odiisque viro telisque frequentibus instant.
ille, velut rupes, vastum quae prodit in aequor
obvia ventorum furiis, expostaque ponto
vim cunctam atque minas perfert caelique marisque
ipsa immota manens, prolem Dolichaonis Hebrum
sternit humi, cum quo Latagum Palmumque fugacem,
sed Latagum saxo atque ingenti fragmine montis
occupat os faciemque adversam, poplite Palmum

683–699 *MPR*   683 iactet *R*   696 manent M^1, manet M^2

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687. The doubled *que* in *fluctuque aestuque* shows that these are two different things, namely (1) the movement of the surface-waves before the wind, (2) the tide. Both are here setting the same way.

689. *Iovis monitis* is certainly rather surprising here. There is nothing to add to the Servian note, as regards either the difficulty or its conjectural solution: 'Novimus sacrilegum esse Mezentium, novimus quoque Iovem etiam adhortatum esse alios deos ut a bello desisterent, et dixisse (l. 112 above) *rex Iuppiter omnibus idem*. Quomodo ergo procedit *at Iovis interea monitis*? Dicimus primum, Iovem iustitiae favere, non partibus: quod si est, iure Mezentium in Turni locum facit venire, ut iustum proelium inveniatur, ne una penitus sit pars a ducibus destituta. Quod autem dicitur, sacrilegum Iuppiter admonere non debuit, non admonet ut vincat, sed ut possit perire.'

697. *fugax* here, as generally in the *Aeneid*, merely means 'in flight': *Palmum fugacem* is equivalent to *fugientem Oroden* l. 732 below; it has the implication of 'timid' only in the *pedibus fugacibus* of xi. 390, and perhaps in the *feras fugacis* of ix. 591.

705. All the MSS. and the ancient commentators read here *Parin creat*; *urbe paterna*. Bentley's emendation has been accepted by subsequent editors and taken its place as the received text. It is not at all unlikely that Virgil wrote *Parin creat* and omitted to strike out *creat* when he completed the line later: it is also possible that here as in xii. 161

succiso volvi segnem sinit, armaque Lauso 700
donat habere umeris et vertice figere cristas.
nec non Euanthen Phrygium Paridisque Mimanta
aequalem comitemque, una quem nocte Theano
in lucem genitori Amyco dedit et face praegnas
Cisseis regina Parin; Paris urbe paterna 705
occubat, ignarum Laurens habet ora Mimanta.
ac velut ille canum morsu de montibus altis
actus aper, multos Vesulus quem pinifer annos
defendit multosque palus Laurentia, silva
pastus harundinea, postquam inter retia ventum est, 710
substitit infremuitque ferox et inhorruit armos,
nec cuiquam irasci propiusque accedere virtus,
sed iaculis tutisque procul clamoribus instant;
ille autem impavidus partis cunctatur in omnis 717
dentibus infrendens et tergo decutit hastas: 718
haud aliter, iustae quibus est Mezentius irae,

700–714 *MPR*   717, 718 *MPR*   705 Parin creat M^2PR, Parin crepat M^1
709 multosve *P*   712 propiusve *MR*

(where see note) he meant to amplify the passage by inserting words equivalent to a full line (such as *aspera utrumque sors rapuit diversa locis, Paris*) between *creat* and *urbe*.

706. The sense of *ignarum* here, as in *quisnam ignarum nostris deus appulit oris* iii. 338, is 'a stranger'. The transition from the sense of 'ignorant' is easy, and may be seen in phrases like *ignara mali* 'a stranger to misfortune' i. 630, or *ignaros montes*, 'strange hills', in *Ecl.* vi. 40.

707–10. This simile is the most striking instance in Virgil of his way of combining two separate pictures, with a studied and logically indefensible interlacement of language, so as to get what might be called a stereoscopic effect. If separately set out, the two here would be (1) *actus aper de montibus altis, multos Vesulus quem pinifer annos defendit*, (2) *aper silva pastus arundinea, multus quem annos palus Laurentia defendit.* Wild boars still exist in this district, the Pantano di Lauro.

712. The meaning which one would expect here is 'no one has courage to provoke him'. There is no evidence that *irascor* was ever used in the sense of 'provoke to anger'; but it is curious that where Virgil uses the verb elsewhere (only in the phrase *irasci in cornua*, of a bull) there is also something anomalous; and the *iratus arator* of *Georg.* ii. 207 is rather 'the provoked' than 'the angry' farmer.

717–18. The transposition of these two lines so as to make them a continuation of the simile, first made by Scaliger, is right beyond any reasonable doubt.

non ulli est animus stricto concurrere ferro, 715
missilibus longe et vasto clamore lacessunt.
Venerat antiquis Corythi de finibus Acron, 719
Graius homo, infectos linquens profugus hymenaeos; 720
hunc ubi miscentem longe media agmina vidit,
purpureum pennis et pactae coniugis ostro,
impastus stabula alta leo ceu saepe peragrans,
suadet enim vesana fames, si forte fugacem
conspexit capream aut surgentem in cornua cervum, 725
gaudet hians immane comasque arrexit et haeret
visceribus super accumbens, lavit improba taeter
ora cruor . . .
sic ruit in densos alacer Mezentius hostis;
sternitur infelix Acron et calcibus atram 730
tundit humum exspirans infractaque tela cruentat.
atque idem fugientem haud est dignatus Oroden
sternere nec iacta caecum dare cuspide vulnus;
obvius adversoque occurrit seque viro vir
contulit, haud furto melior sed fortibus armis. 735
tum super abiectum posito pede nixus et hasta:
'pars belli haud temnenda, viri, iacet altus Orodes.'
conclamant socii laetum paeana secuti.
ille autem exspirans: 'non me, quicumque es, inulto

715, 716 *MPR* 719–731 *MPR* 732–739 *MPRV* 727 incumbens *M* improbat aether M^1, improbus ater M^2

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720. *Graius homo*, 'a Greek', is a phrase taken from Ennius and Lucretius. The only other instance in Virgil of *homo* used in this sense is *unus homo* ix. 783, 'a single person', which is also taken from Ennius. Wherever Virgil uses the word *homo* in the singular elsewhere, which is very seldom, it means a human being as opposed to a god or a beast.

721. For *miscentem agmina*, 'throwing the ranks into confusion', see note on ii. 298.

723. For *stabula alta* see note on ix. 388.

730. There is no special significance in the epithet *atra*: *atra humus* is merely the Homeric *γαῖα μέλαινα*.

731. *infractus*, here as always in Virgil, means 'broken', i.e., in his body, not 'unbroken'.

734. For the coupling by *que* of *obvius* and *adverso* see note on iii. 329.

victor, nec longum laetabere; te quoque fata
prospectant paria atque eadem mox arva tenebis.'
ad quae subridens mixta Mezentius ira:
'nunc morere. ast de me divum pater atque hominum rex
viderit.' hoc dicens eduxit corpore telum.
olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget
somnus, in aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem.

Caedicus Alcathoum obtruncat, Sacrator Hydaspen
Partheniumque Rapo et praedurum viribus Orsen,
Messapus Cloniumque Lycaoniumque Erichaeten,
illum infrenis equi lapsu tellure iacentem,
hunc peditem. pedes et Lycius processerat Agis,
quem tamen haud expers Valerus virtutis avitae
deicit; at Thronium Salius Saliumque Nealces
insidiis iaculo et longe fallente sagitta.

Iam gravis aequabat luctus et mutua Mavors
funera; caedebant pariter pariterque ruebant
victores victique, neque his fuga nota neque illis.
di Iovis in tectis iram miserantur inanem
amborum et tantos mortalibus esse labores;
hinc Venus, hinc contra spectat Saturnia Iuno.
pallida Tisiphone media inter milia saevit.
At vero ingentem quatiens Mezentius hastam

740–757 *MPRV*   758–762 *MPR*   742 atq M^1P^2, atqm M^2, atquaec P^1, ad quem *R*, at quae *V*   754 insignis M^1 756 cedebant *PR*

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742. The four primary MSS. read respectively *atquae*, *atquaec*, *atq*, and *ad quem*: the matter is of little consequence. The vulgate *ad quae*, fixed by Heinsius, has but insignificant MS. support.

750. For *infrenis* see note on iv. 41.

754. There is no reason to question the correctness of *insidiis*, the reading of all the primary MSS. except that the scribe of M had first written *insignis*. But for the exact interpretation of the whole line see note on v. 68, where the wording is strictly parallel and there is the same uncertainty.

759. The Servian note is '*amborum*, pro utrorumque'. It is equivalent to the *ambae gentes* of xii. 190.

turbidus ingreditur campo. quam magnus Orion,
cum pedes incedit medii per maxima Nerei
stagna viam scindens, umero supereminet undas,
aut summis referens annosam montibus ornum
ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit:
talis se vastis infert Mezentius armis.
huic contra Aeneas speculatus in agmine longo
obvius ire parat. manet imperterritus ille
hostem magnanimum opperiens, et mole sua stat
atque oculis spatium emensus quantum satis hastae:
'dextra mihi deus et telum, quod missile libro,
nunc adsint; voveo praedonis corpore raptis
indutum spoliis ipsum te, Lause, tropaeum
Aeneae.' dixit, stridentemque eminus hastam
iecit. at illa volans clipeo est excussa proculque
egregium Antoren latus inter et ilia figit,
Herculis Antoren comitem, qui missus ab Argis
haeserat Euandro atque Itala consederat urbe.
sternitur infelix alieno vulnere, caelumque
aspicit et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos.
tum pius Aeneas hastam iacit; illa per orbem
aere cavum triplici, per linea terga tribusque

763–784 *MPR* 763 campum *M* 769 huc P^1, hunc MP^2, long. R^1
777 at *om.* M^1

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766. '*referens* pro ferens, nam *re* abundat' (Servius). *summis annosam montibus ornum* is a single phrase, 'an ancient mountain-cresting ash'.

769. The MSS. as usual vary between *huic*, *huc*, and *hunc*. *longe* at the end of the line would be rather more in Virgil's manner than *longo*, but has little MS. support.

777. For *procul* see note on iii. 13: here it means 'a little way off' or in effect 'close by', as it does again in l. 835 below.

785. These *tauri* are strips of bull's hide; the shield is reinforced by three of them plaited together. *ima* means 'low down'.

792. For the meaning of *vetustas* see note on iii. 415.

794. For *inque ligatus* see note on ix. 288.

796. For the intransitive use of *proripuit*, 'tore forward', see note on v. 741. But for this parallel, it would be possible to read back *sese* as attached to both the verbs in the line, as in v. 279 *nexantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem*. Two of the three primary

transiit intextum tauris opus, imaque sedit
inguine, sed viris haud pertulit. ocius ensem
Aeneas viso Tyrrheni sanguine laetus
eripit a femine et trepidanti fervidus instat.
  Ingemuit cari graviter genitoris amore,
ut vidit, Lausus, lacrimaeque per ora volutae.
hic mortis durae casum tuaque optima facta,
si qua fidem tanto est operi latura vetustas,
non equidem nec te, iuvenis memorande, silebo.
ille pedem referens et inutilis inque ligatus
cedebat clipeoque inimicum hastile trahebat.
proripuit iuvenis seseque immiscuit armis,
iamque adsurgentis dextra plagamque ferentis
Aeneae subiit mucronem ipsumque morando
sustinuit; socii magno clamore sequuntur,
dum genitor nati parma protectus abiret,
telaque coniciunt proturbantque eminus hostem
missilibus. furit Aeneas tectusque tenet se.
ac velut effusa si quando grandine nimbi
praecipitant, omnis campis diffugit arator
omnis et agricola, et tuta latet arte viator
aut amnis ripis aut alti fornice saxi,

785–806 *MPR* 791 optime M^2R 796 prorupit *PR* 797 dextrae P^2
801 perturbant *M*

MSS. read *prorupit* here; Virgil uses *prorumpere* both as a transitive (iii. 572) and as an intransitive (vii. 32, x. 379) verb.

805. All the good MSS. read *tuta latet arte*, which Servius (who does not seem to have known of any variant reading) explains by saying 'quod scilicet se perite a tempestate defendunt'; and goes on, 'tuta autem, quae tuetur'; *ars* having the sense of 'device' as in *Georg.* ii. 52. *tutus* in the sense of 'sheltering' would be a Virgilian extension of meaning like those cited on i. 59; and in *propugnacula bello tuta* iv. 88, and *tegmina tuta capitum*, vii. 632, this sense is not only admissible, but almost demanded. Thus also *tutela* for the protective deck of a ship, in Seneca, *Ep. Mor.* lxxvi. 13. *arce*, the received text since Heyne, is only read in one MS., the 'first Moretan', in which it was found by Heinsius. To this MS., it may be noted, is due another reading of high probability, *it* in ix. 179 for the *et* of all the other MSS.

dum pluit in terris, ut possint sole reducto
exercere diem: sic obrutus undique telis
Aeneas nubem belli, dum detonet omnis,
sustinet et Lausum increpitat Lausoque minatur: 810
'quo moriture ruis maioraque viribus audes?
fallit te incautum pietas tua.' nec minus ille
exsultat demens, saevae iamque altius irae
Dardanio surgunt ductori, extremaque Lauso
Parcae fila legunt: validum namque exigit ensem 815
per medium Aeneas iuvenem totumque recondit.
transit et parmam mucro, levia arma minaci,
et tunicam molli mater quam neverat auro,
implevitque sinum sanguis; tum vita per auras
concessit maesta ad manis corpusque reliquit. 820
At vero ut vultum vidit morientis et ora,
ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,
ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit,
et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago.
'quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis, 825
quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?

807–826 *MPR* 812 fallet *P* 815 lina *P* 817 transiit *MP* minacis *MP*
819 sinus M^1 823 graviter miserans *M* 824 strinxit *M*

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809. *detonet*, 'thunders itself out', like *desaevit* in l. 569 above.

813. It should not escape notice that the epithet *saevus*, 'furious', is never applied to Aeneas until he has been wrought up to extreme passion by the death of Pallas; thenceforward it becomes almost habitual, to emphasize that his grief and anger are unextinguishable except by the death of Turnus. It is repeated in l. 878, in xi. 910, and with accumulating force in xii. 107, 498, 888, and finally, at the very end of the *Aeneid*, is reiterated and expanded in the *furiis accensus et ira terribilis* of xii. 946.

817. The text above follows R; the other primary MSS. read *transiit* and *minacis*. The syncopated *transît* gives a finer rhythm; and it seems more likely that *minaci* should have been altered in transcription into *minacis* than the converse. The sense is the same, 'slight armour for an assailant'.

819. *vita per auras concessit ad manis* is a delicate variation on the *in ventos vita recessit* of iv. 705.

824. For *patriae pietatis imago* see note on ix. 294.

828. The tone of doubt and melancholy in *si qua est ea cura* is like that of the famous *id cinerem et manes credis curare sepultos?* but, as befits the occasion,

arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua; teque parentum
manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto.
hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem:
Aeneae magni dextra cadis.' increpat ultro
cunctantis socios et terra sublevat ipsum
sanguine turpantem comptos de more capillos.
  Interea genitor Tiberini ad fluminis undam
vulnera siccabat lymphis corpusque levabat
arboris acclinis trunco. procul aerea ramis
dependet galea et prato gravia arma quiescunt.
stant lecti circum iuvenes; ipse aeger anhelans
colla fovet fusus propexam in pectore barbam;
multa super Lauso rogitat, multumque remittit
qui revocent maestique ferant mandata parentis.
at Lausum socii exanimem super arma ferebant
flentes, ingentem atque ingenti vulnere victum.
agnovit longe gemitum praesaga mali mens.
canitiem multo deformat pulvere et ambas
ad caelum tendit palmas et corpore inhaeret.
'tantane me tenuit vivendi, nate, voluptas,

827–846 *MPR*   834 lavabat *MPR*   835 ramo *R*   838 corpore *P*
844 immundo M^2

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gentler and more shadowy. An *inane munus* is all that can be given to the dead.

834. The accepted text *levabat* was read by Servius: all the good MSS. have *lavabat.*

838. The range of meanings taken by the verb *fovere* lies generally within the scope, or the implications, of the English 'to nurse'. It is used more specifically of dressing or bathing a wound xii. 420, of rinsing the mouth *Georg.* iv. 230, of chafing or massage *Georg.* ii. 135 and probably *Aen.* iv. 686; and this is the sense it has here. Elsewhere, in phrases like *fovere humum Georg.* iii. 420, and *fovere castra* ix. 57, it means 'lie snug in'. See also note on iv. 193.

839. The Servian note, '*multum* pro saepe', is probably right. But *multum* may also be masculine, 'many a one', like *multa hostia,* 'many a victim' i. 334.

845. The ablative *corpore,* instead of the normal dative after *inhaeret,* is probably put here for metrical reasons, as elision of the final syllable of a word of this form (—⏑—) is carefully avoided in Augustan Latin; the substitution was made easier by the fact that *corpore inhaeret* may be regarded as equivalent to *haeret in corpore.* *haeret pede pes,* above l. 361, is on rather a different

ut pro me hostili paterer succedere dextrae,
quem genui? tuane haec genitor per vulnera servor
morte tua vivens? heu, nunc misero mihi demum
exsilium infelix, nunc alte vulnus adactum! 850
idem ego, nate, tuum maculavi crimine nomen.
pulsus ob invidiam solio sceptrisque paternis
debueram patriae poenas odiisque meorum:
omnis per mortis animam sontem ipse dedissem!
nunc vivo neque adhuc homines lucemque relinquo. 855
sed linquam.' simul hoc dicens attollit in aegrum
se femur et, quamquam vis alto vulnere tardat,
haud deiectus equum duci iubet. hoc decus illi,
hoc solamen erat, bellis hos victor abibat
omnibus. adloquitur maerentem et talibus infit: 860
  'Rhaebe, diu, res si qua diu mortalibus ulla est,
viximus. aut hodie victor spolia illa cruenta
et caput Aeneae referes Lausique dolorum
ultor eris mecum, aut aperit si nulla viam vis,
occumbes pariter; neque enim, fortissime, credo, 865
iussa aliena pati et dominos dignabere Teucros.'
  Dixit, et exceptus tergo consueta locavit
membra manusque ambas iaculis oneravit acutis,

847–868 *MPR* 850 exitium *MPR* 857 tardet M^2P^2 862 cruenti P^1

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footing, as *pede pes*, like the *viro vir* which follows it, is practically one compound word.

850. *exsilium* (*exilium*), which was read here by Servius, gives so much better a sense than the *exitium* of the MSS. (which Servius does not even mention) that it must be accepted. Death is in fact all that Mezentius now desires.

857. The *vis alto vulnere* of all the MSS. can only be explained, with Servius, as = *violentia alti vulneris*. The *vis in amore* of l. 614 above suggests that *alto in vulnere* may be what Virgil wrote; but the *vis animo* of i. 529 (where *animo* is generally taken as dative) is perhaps a parallel for the simple ablative as equivalent to the *vis animi* of x. 898. The conjecture (based on the fact that in P the first *quam* of *quamquam* is marked by a corrector's hand for omission or alteration) that *quamquam vis alto vulnere* was an arbitrary filling up of a line that ran *quamvis dolor alto vulnere*, in which *dolor* had been inadvertently omitted, is ingenious but improbable. No inference in the matter can be drawn from the fluctua-

aere caput fulgens cristaque hirsutus equina.
sic cursum in medios rapidus dedit. aestuat ingens
uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu,
et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus,
atque hic Aenean magna ter voce vocavit.
Aeneas agnovit enim laetusque precatur:
'sic pater ille deum faciat, sic altus Apollo!
incipias conferre manum . . .'
tantum effatus et infesta subit obvius hasta.
ille autem: 'quid me erepto, saevissime, nato
terres? haec via sola fuit qua perdere posses:
nec mortem horremus nec divum parcimus ulli.
desine, nam venio moriturus et haec tibi porto
dona prius.' dixit, telumque intorsit in hostem;
inde aliud super atque aliud figitque volatque
ingenti gyro, sed sustinet aureus umbo.
ter circum astantem laevos equitavit in orbis
tela manu iaciens, ter secum Troius heros
immanem aerato circumfert tegmine silvam.
inde ubi tot traxisse moras, tot spicula taedet
vellere, et urgetur pugna congressus iniqua,
multa movens animo iam tandem erumpit et inter

869–890 *MPR* 872 *om. MPR* 884 aereus *MP*

---

tion of the MSS. between *tardat* and *tardet*, as Virgil employs both *quamquam* and *quamvis* with an indicative and subjunctive indifferently.

872. This line, which is not in any of the primary MSS., has clearly been interpolated from xii. 668. In the previous line, as also where it is repeated xii. 667, the vulgate before Heinsius was *imo in corde* which might well be thought preferable: but it has no MS. authority.

874. For *enim* see note on vi. 317.

880. The meaning of *parcere* is that of the French *ménager*, 'to keep on good terms with'.

883. For *figitque volatque*, 'fixes as he flies', see note on i. 18.

885. *laevos in orbis*, circling to his own left, so as to get on the unshielded right of Aeneas; who wheels round where he stands and so keeps his shield between himself and Mezentius, but consequently cannot get a direct aim on him with his own spear. In l. 890 he takes the risk of swinging back sufficiently to launch his spear at the head of Mezentius' horse.

bellatoris equi cava tempora conicit hastam.
tollit se arrectum quadripes et calcibus auras
verberat, effusumque equitem super ipse secutus
implicat eiectoque incumbit cernuus armo.
clamore incendunt caelum Troesque Latinique. 895
advolat Aeneas vaginaque eripit ensem
et super haec: 'ubi nunc Mezentius acer et illa
effera vis animi?' contra Tyrrhenus, ut auras
suspiciens hausit caelum mentemque recepit:
'hostis amare, quid increpitas mortemque minaris? 900
nullum in caede nefas, nec sic ad proelia veni,
nec tecum meus haec pepigit mihi foedera Lausus.
unum hoc per si qua est victis venia hostibus oro:
corpus humo patiare tegi. scio acerba meorum
circumstare odia: hunc, oro, defende furorem 905
et me consortem nati concede sepulcro.'
haec loquitur, iuguloque haud inscius accipit ensem
undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore.

891–908 *MPR* 898 et auras M^2P^2 908 anima P^1 defundit *R* cruorem MP^1

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894. *cernuus* is the technical word for a horse 'pecking' and coming down on its head; as it does so, Mezentius' horse slips its shoulder.

897. For *super haec* see note on ii. 348.

898. The studied intricacy of *auras suspiciens hausit caelum*, for *suspiciens caelum auras hausit*, is in Virgil's characteristic manner.

907. *haud inscius*, 'deliberately': see note on ii. 99.

BOOK XI

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Book XI is in strong contrast with Book X in its finished workmanship and masterly construction. *Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit*; we pass from a heavy thunderous atmosphere into a clearer though not a less tragic daylight.

It consists of three main sections:

(1) the funeral rites on both sides after the great battle, the twelve-day truce granted by Aeneas, and the obsequies of Pallas (ll. 1–212);

(2) the council in Latinus' palace, with the report of the envoys to Diomedes, and the speeches of Latinus, Drances, and Turnus; broken off by news of the hostile forces being in movement, and preparations for renewal of battle and defence of the capital (ll. 213–497);

(3) the episode of Camilla, set against a background of the cavalry battle (ll. 498–867);

with a coda of forty-eight lines describing the approach of the main force of the Trojan infantry, and the encampment of the armies at nightfall.

The transitions are managed with admirable skill. There are very few incompletions or superfluities, and no redundant amplifications. Lines have been left, or have become, disordered in the report of Diomedes' message (264–8): in the Camilla episode, otherwise faultless, is to be noted the insertion (perhaps by the original editors) of what looks like an unplaced fragment (ll. 636–45)—it might perhaps have been better placed after the four lines 832–5, which are a brief separate paragraph ending more abruptly than is in Virgil's usual manner: and the sub-episode of Tarchon and Venulus, following on a rather unaccountable intervention of Jupiter (ll. 727–8), as pursued into detail gives something of the effect of an interruption. There are only two unfinished lines. They occur in the speeches of Drances and Turnus, and suggest that Virgil was still working on these when the book was otherwise complete.

It is generally and plausibly held that the story of Camilla was, like that of Nisus and Euryalus, first composed as a separate epyllion, and that the lovely description of her birth and girlhood was transferred from direct narrative into the speech of Diana when the story was incorporated into the *Aeneid*. The exquisite detail is hardly relevant to the immediate occasion; and throughout this portion of the speech Diana mentions herself, not, as in the remainder of the speech, in the first, but in the third person (*Dianae amor*, *donum Triviae*, *sola contenta Diana*). This passage, *neque enim novus . . . intemerata colit* (ll. 537–84), is in fact detachable. The *cara mihi ante alias* of l. 537 might both as a matter of phrasing and a matter of substance be at once followed by the *vellem haud correpta fuisset* of l. 584. But the story told in it gains dramatic force from its actual setting, while treatment as an introductory narrative might have left it languid. And the passage itself is of such incomparable beauty that one cannot but feel that Virgil himself may have shrunk from touching it at all.

AENEIDOS

LIBER UNDECIMUS

Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.
Aeneas, quamquam et sociis dare tempus humandis
praecipitant curae turbataque funere mens est,
vota deum primo victor solvebat Eoo.
ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis
constituit tumulo fulgentiaque induit arma,
Mezenti ducis exuvias, tibi, magne, tropaeum,
bellipotens; aptat rorantis sanguine cristas
telaque trunca viri, et bis sex thoraca petitum
perfossumque locis, clipeumque ex aere sinistrae
subligat atque ensem collo suspendit eburnum.
tum socios, namque omnis eum stipata tegebat
turba ducum, sic incipiens hortatur ovantis:
'Maxima res effecta, viri; timor omnis abesto,
quod superest; haec sunt spolia et de rege superbo
primitiae manibusque meis Mezentius hic est.
nunc iter ad regem nobis murosque Latinos.
arma parate animis et spe praesumite bellum,
ne qua mora ignaros, ubi primum vellere signa
adnuerint superi pubemque educere castris,
impediat segnisve metu sententia tardet.

1–21 *MPR* 21 segnisque M^2P

---

3. As usually though not always in Virgil, *praecipitare* is intransitive; the cares of the burial-rites 'come headlong', or as we should say in a different metaphor, crowd or press upon him.

8. In view of the words of the River-God to Aeneas, *mihi victor honorem persolves* viii. 61, and of the vow of Pallas to the same River-God *haec arma tua quercus habebit* x. 423, it may be taken that this deity, and not Mars, is the *bellipotens* to whom this trophy is reared.

10. *clipeus ex aere*, 'the shield of bronze': see App. A.

11. For *ensem eburnum* see note on iv. 263.

18. From comparison of *ibo animis* and *exsultatque animis et spe iam praecipit hostem*, ll. 438 and 491 below, it is clear that the pointing should be as above, not after *parate*.

interea socios inhumataque corpora terrae
mandemus, qui solus honos Acheronte sub imo est.
ite' ait, 'egregias animas, quae sanguine nobis
hanc patriam peperere suo, decorate supremis 25
muneribus, maestamque Euandri primus ad urbem
mittatur Pallas, quem non virtutis egentem
abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.'
  Sic ait inlacrimans, recipitque ad limina gressum
corpus ubi exanimi positum Pallantis Acoetes 30
servabat senior, qui Parrhasio Euandro
armiger ante fuit, sed non felicibus aeque
tum comes auspiciis caro datus ibat alumno.
circum omnis famulumque manus Troianaque turba
et maestum Iliades crinem de more solutae. 35
ut vero Aeneas foribus sese intulit altis
ingentem gemitum tunsis ad sidera tollunt
pectoribus, maestoque immugit regia luctu.
ipse caput nivei fultum Pallantis et ora
ut vidit levique patens in pectore vulnus 40
cuspidis Ausoniae, lacrimis ita fatur obortis:
  'Tene' inquit, 'miserande puer, cum laeta veniret,
invidit Fortuna mihi, ne regna videres
nostra neque ad sedes victor veherere paternas?
non haec Euandro de te promissa parenti 45

22–45 *MPR*   23 est *om. PR*   30 exanime *M*, exanimis *R*

---

24. For *ait*, 'he continues', inserted in the middle of a speech, compare iii. 543 where *ait* is added at the end of the speech, and in effect means 'he concludes'.

27. *non virtutis egentem* is, according to Servius, taken from Ennius: the next line is repeated from vi. 429, as l. 35 is, with a slight verbal variation, from iii. 65.

36–8. The efforts made by editors to whittle away the meaning of *foribus altis* and *regia* here, as of *alta limina* and *regia tecta* in the similar passage ll. 234–7 below, by contending that the humble dwelling of Evander is called *regia* in viii. 363 and that *altae fores* and *alta limina* merely indicate 'a dwelling somewhat superior in size to those near it' (so Page), are misplaced. Virgil is possessed with the idea of the camp, already repeatedly called by him *Troia* and *urbs*, as already a city, which fulfils the prophecies uttered to Aeneas at the

discedens dederam, cum me complexus euntem
mitteret in magnum imperium metuensque moneret
acris esse viros, cum dura proelia gente.
et nunc ille quidem spe multum captus inani
fors et vota facit cumulatque altaria donis,
nos iuvenem exanimum et nil iam caelestibus ullis
debentem vano maesti comitamur honore.
infelix, nati funus crudele videbis!
hi nostri reditus exspectatique triumphi?
haec mea magna fides? at non, Euandre, pudendis
vulneribus pulsum aspicies, nec sospite dirum
optabis nato funus pater. hei mihi, quantum
praesidium, Ausonia, et quantum tu perdis, Iule!'
  Haec ubi deflevit, tolli miserabile corpus
imperat, et toto lectos ex agmine mittit
mille viros qui supremum comitentur honorem
intersintque patris lacrimis, solacia luctus
exigua ingentis, misero sed debita patri.
haud segnes alii cratis et molle feretrum
arbuteis texunt virgis et vimine querno
exstructosque toros obtentu frondis inumbrant.
hic iuvenem agresti sublimem stramine ponunt:
qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem
seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi,

46–69 *MPR* 51 exanimem *R* 54 exoptatique *R* 60 ordine *PR*

---

fall of Troy and renewed with increasing emphasis during the wanderings, though these will only receive their full accomplishment in Rome.

39. *fultum caput* exactly corresponds to the English 'pillowed head'.

47. The amount of alliteration in this line is unique in Virgil, and justified by its success.

50. In *fors et*, here and in ii. 139, *et* is attached enclitically to *fors* and they practically form a single word; there is a delicate distinction between *fors et* and the *et fors* of v. 232, vi. 537.

67. *stramen*, a word used by Virgil only here, is the 'strewings fitt'st for graves' of *Cymbeline* IV. ii.

68. *demessum virgineo pollice* is in fact more accurate than the English 'plucked by a maid's fingers'. But it is curious that in Latin our phrase of daily use 'finger and thumb' never occurs.

cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit,
non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat.
tum geminas vestis auroque ostroque rigentis
extulit Aeneas, quas illi laeta laborum
ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido
fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro.
harum unam iuveni supremum maestus honorem
induit arsurasque comas obnubit amictu,
multaque praeterea Laurentis praemia pugnae
aggerat et longo praedam iubet ordine duci;
addit equos et tela quibus spoliaverat hostem.
vinxerat et post terga manus, quos mitteret umbris
inferias, caeso sparsurus sanguine flammas,
indutosque iubet truncos hostilibus armis
ipsos ferre duces inimicaque nomina figi.
ducitur infelix aevo confectus Acoetes,
pectora nunc foedans pugnis, nunc unguibus ora,
sternitur et toto proiectus corpore terrae.
ducunt et Rutulo perfusos sanguine currus.
post bellator equus positis insignibus Aethon
it lacrimans guttisque umectat grandibus ora.
hastam alii galeamque ferunt, nam cetera Turnus
victor habet. tum maesta phalanx Teucrique sequuntur
Tyrrhenique omnes et versis Arcades armis.
postquam omnis longe comitum praecesserat ordo,
substitit Aeneas gemituque haec addidit alto:

70–95 *MPR*   82 flammam *R*   93 duces *R*   95 edidit *M*^{2}*R*

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74. This description repeats, in different wording, that of the *laena* which Dido had woven for Aeneas in iv. 263. The *laena* was a thick winter-wrap, apparently unshaped, and used either as a cloak or a rug, suitable accordingly for the covering of a bier.

91. Turnus had only taken away the belt, with the sword hung from it. But the corslet worn by Pallas (x. 485) may have been left now on his dead body.

93. It is rather tempting to punctuate after *Tyrrhenique* and make *omnes* apply only to the Arcadians; but *Tyrrhenum exercitus omnis* in l. 171 below supports the ordinary punctuation and its less subtle rhythm.

'nos alias hinc ad lacrimas eadem horrida belli
fata vocant: salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla,
aeternumque vale.' nec plura effatus ad altos
tendebat muros gressumque in castra ferebat.
  Iamque oratores aderant ex urbe Latina
velati ramis oleae veniamque rogantes:
corpora, per campos ferro quae fusa iacebant,
redderet ac tumulo sineret succedere terrae:
nullum cum victis certamen et aethere cassis;
parceret hospitibus quondam socerisque vocatis.
quos bonus Aeneas haud aspernanda precantis
prosequitur venia et verbis haec insuper addit:
'quaenam vos tanto fortuna indigna, Latini,
implicuit bello, qui nos fugiatis amicos?
pacem me exanimis et Martis sorte peremptis
oratis? equidem et vivis concedere vellem.
nec veni, nisi fata locum sedemque dedissent,
nec bellum cum gente gero: rex nostra reliquit
hospitia et Turni potius se credidit armis.
aequius huic Turnum fuerat se opponere morti.
si bellum finire manu, si pellere Teucros
apparat, his mecum decuit concurrere telis:
vixet cui vitam deus aut sua dextra dedisset.
nunc ite et miseris supponite civibus ignem.'
  Dixerat Aeneas. illi obstipuere silentes
conversique oculos inter se atque ora tenebant.

96–121 *MPR* 101 precantes *R* 118 aut cui dextra *P*

---

94. The verb *praecedere* only occurs in Virgil here and in viii. 462; in both places, the ordinary *procedere* is the text of some MSS., but here *praecesserat*, 'had filed off in front of him', adds a fine touch to the picture.

101. For *venia*, 'a favourable reception', see note on i. 519.

103. *succedere* means 'to find a place under', like *succedo oneri*, 'I take my place under the burden', ii. 723.

117. For *his telis*, 'with these arms', i.e., 'thus in arms', see note on ii. 171.

118. For the syncopated *vixet* (= *vixisset*) see note on v. 786.

121. For *oculos atque ora tenebant* see note on ii. 1.

tum senior semperque odiis et crimine Drances
infensus iuveni Turno sic ore vicissim
orsa refert: 'o fama ingens, ingentior armis,
vir Troiane, quibus caelo te laudibus aequem?
iustitiaene prius mirer belline laborum?
nos vero haec patriam grati referemus ad urbem
et te, si qua viam dederit Fortuna, Latino
iungemus regi. quaerat sibi foedera Turnus.
quin et fatalis murorum attollere moles
saxaque subvectare umeris Troiana iuvabit.'
dixerat haec unoque omnes eadem ore fremebant.
bis senos pepigere dies, et pace sequestra
per silvas Teucri mixtique impune Latini
erravere iugis. ferro sonat alta bipenni
fraxinus, evertunt actas ad sidera pinus,
robora nec cuneis et olentem scindere cedrum
nec plaustris cessant vectare gementibus ornos.
 Et iam Fama volans tanti praenuntia luctus
Euandrum Euandrique domos et moenia replet,
quae modo victorem Latio Pallanta ferebat.

122–141 *MPR* 126 iustitiane *MR*, laborem *P*^{1}*R* 131 subiectare *P*^{1}, Troiane *M*^{2} 134 silvam *M* 140 conplet *M*^{2}

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122. In the curious phrase *odiis et crimine*, 'with manifestations of hatred, and with accusation', the Virgilian manner of playing with language must be allowed to have become mannerism. It is interesting to notice its inversion in the Servian paraphrase, 'odio et criminationibus'.

124. For *orsa refert* see note on vii. 435.

126. The genitives after *mirer* are a Grecism, 'Graeca figura' as Servius says. But two of the three good MSS. read *iustitia* and *laborem*, which points to a further variant not in any MS. nor mentioned by any commentator, *iustitia* . . . *labore*, or *iustitiam*. . . *laborem*.

132. *eadem ore fremebant*, 'murmured unanimous assent', cf. i. 559.

133. The truce arranged is personified as 'holding the stakes' of the two belligerent forces. *sequester* was the technical name of the person with whom were deposited the stakes of the two parties to a civil action conducted under the form of a judicial wager.

141. *victorem Latio*, conqueror of, or in, Latium. As for the latter sense Virgil generally uses a preposition (*victor in oris Asiae*, *Georg*. ii. 171, *victor ab Aurorae populis* viii. 686), the former seems more probable.

142. The 'historic infinitive' *ruere* and

Arcades ad portas ruere et de more vetusto
funereas rapuere faces; lucet via longo
ordine flammarum et late discriminat agros.
contra turba Phrygum veniens plangentia iungit
agmina. quae postquam matres succedere tectis
viderunt, maestam incendunt clamoribus urbem.
at non Euandrum potis est vis ulla tenere,
sed venit in medios. feretro Pallante reposto
procubuit super atque haeret lacrimansque gemensque,
et via vix tandem vocis laxata dolore est:
'Non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti
cautius ut saevo velles te credere Marti!
haud ignarus eram quantum nova gloria in armis
et praedulce decus primo certamine posset.
primitiae iuvenis miserae bellique propinqui
dura rudimenta, et nulli exaudita deorum
vota precesque meae! tuque, o sanctissima coniunx,
felix morte tua neque in hunc servata dolorem!
contra ego vivendo vici mea fata, superstes
restarem ut genitor. Troum socia arma secutum

142–161 *MPR*   145 iungunt *M*   149 Pallanta M^2 150 procumbit *R*
151 voci M^2R

---

the perfect *rapuere* are both aoristic, but the former indicates a continued, the latter a single action.

145. *Phryges* is here, and again in l. 170, as where it occurs in Books I and II, merely a synonym for the Trojans. Elsewhere in the later books of the *Aeneid*, however, it is put in the mouths of their enemies, and with a sarcastic meaning implying 'Asiatic' or 'effeminate', except in x. 255 where it has special reference to the Trojans as being under protection of the Phrygian goddess Cybele.

149. The majority of the primary MSS. have *Pallante* here, and it was also read by Servius. The variant *Pallanta* is probably due to a feeling that the two ablatives coming together were awkward. In either case, *feretro reposto* means 'when the bier was set down'; and *procubuit super Pallante* or *procubuit super Pallanta* mean the same thing.

155. '*praedulce*, aut valde dulce aut quasi immaturum', says Servius. Its primary meaning seems to be 'early sweet' as a description of certain varieties of fruit.

160. '*vici mea fata*, id est, naturalem ordinem vita longiore superavi' (Servius).

obruerent Rutuli telis! animam ipse dedissem
atque haec pompa domum me, non Pallanta, referret!
nec vos arguerim, Teucri, nec foedera nec quas
iunximus hospitio dextras: sors ista senectae
debita erat nostrae. quod si immatura manebat
mors natum, caesis Volscorum milibus ante
ducentem in Latium Teucros cecidisse iuvabit.
quin ego non alio digner te funere, Palla,
quam pius Aeneas et quam magni Phryges et quam
Tyrrhenique duces, Tyrrhenum exercitus omnis.
magna tropaea ferunt quos dat tua dextera leto;
tu quoque nunc stares immanis truncus in armis,
esset par aetas et idem si robur ab annis,
Turne. sed infelix Teucros quid demoror armis?
vadite et haec memores regi mandata referte:
quod vitam moror invisam Pallante perempto
dextera causa tua est, Turnum natoque patrique
quam debere vides. meritis vacat hic tibi solus
fortunaeque locus. non vitae gaudia quaero,
nec fas, sed nato manis perferre sub imos.'
  Aurora interea miseris mortalibus almam
extulerat lucem referens opera atque labores:
iam pater Aeneas, iam curvo in litore Tarchon

162–184 *MPR* 164 arguerem *R* 168 iuvaret *M*, iuvare *R* 172 ferant *R*

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171. For the idiom in *Tyrrhenique duces Tyrrhenum exercitus* instead of *Tyrrhenique duces et exercitus*, see note on vii. 75.

172. The funeral procession brings no trophies; these are the bodies, lying on the field, of the chiefs whom Pallas has slain.

173–5. The ending of three consecutive lines with *armis*, *annis*, *armis* is awkward; it goes much beyond the *superbis*, *arvis* (or *armis*), *dictis*, of xii. 236–8. But the proposal of Heinsius to read *ultra* in l. 175, and that of Bentley (which hardly mends matters) to read *arvis* in l. 173, are both quite arbitrary. For *robur ab annis*, 'strength of years', see App. A.

181. *perferre* is here used absolutely, 'to take the news'. Ordinarily it has an expressed object to complete the sense as in *mandata perfer* l. 825 below.

185. *suorum* is to be taken with *corpora*, not with *patrum* in the next line.

195. The epithet 'glowing' may be explained, though hardly defended, by the fact that 'glowing wheels' was such

constituere pyras. huc corpora quisque suorum
more tulere patrum, subiectisque ignibus atris
conditur in tenebras altum caligine caelum.
ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis
decurrere rogos, ter maestum funeris ignem
lustravere in equis ululatusque ore dedere.
spargitur et tellus lacrimis, sparguntur et arma,
it caelo clamorque virum clangorque tubarum.
hic alii spolia occisis derepta Latinis
coniciunt igni, galeas ensisque decoros
frenaque ferventisque rotas; pars munera nota,
ipsorum clipeos et non felicia tela.
multa boum circa mactantur corpora morti,
saetigerosque sues raptasque ex omnibus agris
in flammam iugulant pecudes. tum litore toto
ardentis spectant socios semustaque servant
busta, neque avelli possunt nox umida donec
invertit caelum stellis ardentibus aptum.
  Nec minus et miseri diversa in parte Latini
innumeras struxere pyras, et corpora partim
multa virum terrae infodiunt, avectaque partim
finitimos tollunt in agros urbique remittunt;
cetera confusaeque ingentem caedis acervum

185–207 *MPR* 202 fulgentibus *R*

---

a common phrase that its inapplicability here might escape notice.

197. *mactantur morti* merely means 'slaughtered': the use of the archaic ablative suggests that it is a phrase taken by Virgil from Ennius or some other of his predecessors. The alternative interpretation mentioned by Servius, '*Morti*, ipsi deae', is untenable.

200. To the *ardentis* of this line followed by the *ardentibus*, in a quite different sense, of l. 202, there is a close parallel in xii. 167–71, where *sidereo flagrans clipeo* is similarly followed by *flagrantibus aris*. In both passages, it is rather the obsession of a word which is responsible than any deliberate play upon the word, which would be out of place. The *fulgentibus aptum* of one primary MS. is an attempt to get rid of the awkward repetition.

The whole of this paragraph, ll. 185–202, noble as it is in language and rhythm, is undeniably verbose, and one can hardly doubt that Virgil would have compressed it in revision.

206. 'Deest unicuique' is Servius' note on

nec numero nec honore cremant: tunc undique vasti
certatim crebris conlucent ignibus agri.
tertia lux gelidam caelo dimoverat umbram:
maerentes altum cinerem et confusa ruebant
ossa focis tepidoque onerabant aggere terrae.
  Iam vero in tectis, praedivitis urbe Latini,
praecipuus fragor et longi pars maxima luctus.
hic matres miseraeque nurus, hic cara sororum
pectora maerentum puerique parentibus orbi
dirum exsecrantur bellum Turnique hymenaeos;
ipsum armis ipsumque iubent decernere ferro,
qui regnum Italiae et primos sibi poscat honores.
ingravat haec saevus Drances solumque vocari
testatur, solum posci in certamina Turnum.
multa simul contra variis sententia dictis
pro Turno, et magnum reginae nomen obumbrat,
multa virum meritis sustentat fama tropaeis.
  Hos inter motus, medio in flagrante tumultu,

208–225 *MPR*   220 ingravat et *P*   224 simul M^1

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urbi. But probably it means to the Latin capital mentioned in l. 213 below, where the army had been mustered. In either case, the *que* is disjunctive.

208. for *nec numero nec honore*, 'unaccounted and unhonoured', the best commentary is what Caesar says, *B.G.* vi. 13, of the social organization of Gaul: 'in omni Gallia eorum hominum qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo; nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco . . . de his duobus generibus alterum est druidum, alterum equitum.'

211. The meaning of *ruebant* is 'raked out'; so *Georg.* i. 105 the farmer after sowing on the ploughland *arva insequitur cumulosque ruit harenae*, 'follows over the fields and rakes out the clods of soil'. On the bones thus raked together, they pile a mound of earth.

214. *fragor*, 'crashing', a word most often used by Virgil of the burst and rattle of thunder, is here the loud wailing mixed with curses (l. 217) and the *clamor dissensu vario* (l. 455 below) echoing among the streets of the city; heard from a distance this became the *inlaetabile murmur* of xii. 619.

215. For the meaning of *cara* see note on i. 646.

223. There is the same distinction between *obumbrat*, 'screens', and *umbrat* or *inumbrat*, as between *obtegere* and *tegere*: see note on ii. 300. So in xii. 578 *obumbrant aethera telis* does not mean darken the sky, but make a screen or

ecce super maesti magna Diomedis ab urbe
legati responsa ferunt: nihil omnibus actum
tantorum impensis operum, nil dona neque aurum
nec magnas valuisse preces, alia arma Latinis
quaerenda, aut pacem Troiano ab rege petendum.
deficit ingenti luctu rex ipse Latinus.
fatalem Aenean manifesto numine ferri
admonet ira deum tumulique ante ora recentes.
ergo concilium magnum primosque suorum
imperio accitos alta intra limina cogit.
olli convenere fluuntque ad regia plenis
tecta viis. sedet in mediis et maximus aevo
et primus sceptris haud laeta fronte Latinus.
atque hic legatos Aetola ex urbe remissos
quae referant fari iubet, et responsa reposcit
ordine cuncta suo. tum facta silentia linguis,
et Venulus dicto parens ita farier infit:
  'Vidimus, o cives, Diomedem Argivaque castra,

226–243 *MPR* 230 petendam M^1*PR* 235 moenia *R* 236 ruuntque *M*
243 Diomeden *MPR*

'barrage' in the air with rapid volleys of javelins.

224. *multa meritis fama tropaeis*, 'fame multiplied by well-won trophies', is in effect Virgil's way of saying *fama merita multis tropaeis*.

230. All the good MSS. read here *pacem petendam*, the normal gerundive construction. But *petendum* (a gerund governing *pacem*) is attested as the authentic text by Donatus, Servius, and several ancient grammarians who cite the phrase as one of Virgil's archaisms. Servius cites the famous line of Lucretius (i. 111) *aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendum*.

235. *cogit imperio* 'collects in virtue of his authority'. Under the Republic, the right of summoning the Senate belonged to the magistrates invested with the *imperium*, i.e., the consuls and praetors in ordinary course, and extraordinary magistrates such as a dictator and his Master of the Horse, the *decemviri legibus scribundis*, or the *tresviri rei publicae constituendae*: also to the *praefectus urbi* and to the tribunes of the plebs although they did not hold the *imperium*. In the regal period the *imperium* was concentrated in the king.

243. All the good MSS. read, unmetrically, *Diomeden*, which it would appear was in the text of the *Aeneid* as originally published. The early commentators doubted whether it should be altered into *Diomedem* (the accepted vulgate) or the Greek accusative *Diomede*; the latter inflection is never used by Virgil elsewhere.

atque iter emensi casus superavimus omnis,
contigimusque manum qua concidit Ilia tellus. 245
ille urbem Argyripam patriae cognomine gentis
victor Gargani condebat Iapygis agris.
postquam introgressi et coram data copia fandi,
munera praeferimus, nomen patriamque docemus,
qui bellum intulerint, quae causa attraxerit Arpos. 250
auditis ille haec placido sic reddidit ore:
"o fortunatae gentes, Saturnia regna,
antiqui Ausonii, quae vos fortuna quietos
sollicitat suadetque ignota lacessere bella?
quicumque Iliacos ferro violavimus agros, 255
mitto ea quae muris bellando exhausta sub altis,
quos Simois premat ille viros, infanda per orbem
supplicia et scelerum poenas expendimus omnes,
vel Priamo miseranda manus; scit triste Minervae
sidus et Euboicae cautes ultorque Caphereus. 260
militia ex illa diversum ad litus abacti
Atrides Protei Menelaus adusque columnas
exsulat, Aetnaeos vidit Cyclopas Ulixes. 263
ipse Mycenaeus magnorum ductor Achivum 266
coniugis infandae prima intra limina dextra 267
oppetiit, devictam Asiam subsedit adulter. 268

244–263 *MPR* 266–8 *MPR* 255 populavimus *R* 261 adacti *M*¹
267 inter *P* 268 possedit *M*²*R*

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259. The *triste sidus Minervae* means in effect the storm sent by Minerva in which part of the Greek fleet was wrecked. Stormy weather which more or less regularly synchronized with the rising and setting of certain stars was believed to be brought on by their influence; see note on xii. 451.

262. The Columns of Proteus, a name suggested by the legendary 'Columns of Hercules' at the extremities of the Mediterranean world, are not mentioned elsewhere, but are probably to be interpreted as an allusion to the great twin obelisks (of which Cleopatra's Needle is one) brought by Augustus from Heliopolis to Alexandria and erected there in front of the Caesareum. Proteus was the king of Egypt at the time of the Trojan War (see Herodotus ii. 112 foll. and the *Helena* of Euripides), and was identified by later historians with Rameses III.

268. Servius read in this line *devicta*

regna Neoptolemi referam versosque penatis 264
Idomenei? Libycone habitantis litore Locros? 265
invidisse deos, patriis ut redditus aris
coniugium optatum et pulchram Calydona viderem? 270
nunc etiam horribili visu portenta sequuntur
et socii amissi petierunt aethera pennis
fluminibusque vagantur aves, heu dira meorum
supplicia! et scopulos lacrimosis vocibus implent.
haec adeo ex illo mihi iam speranda fuerunt 275
tempore cum ferro caelestia corpora demens
appetii et Veneris violavi vulnere dextram.
ne vero, ne me ad talis impellite pugnas.
nec mihi cum Teucris ullum post eruta bellum
Pergama nec veterum memini laetorve malorum. 280
munera quae patriis ad me portatis ab oris
vertite ad Aenean. stetimus tela aspera contra
contulimusque manus: experto credite quantus
in clipeum adsurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam.
si duo praeterea talis Idaea tulisset 285
terra viros, ultro Inachias venisset ad urbes
Dardanus, et versis lugeret Graecia fatis.
quidquid apud durae cessatum est moenia Troiae,
Hectoris Aeneaeque manu victoria Graium

264, 265 *MPR* 269–289 *MPR* 275 haec eadem *P* 279 diruta *R*
bellum est *R* 288 certatum M^2

Asia, and explains *subsedit* as meaning *post possedit* 'succeeded to the kingdom': *possedit* is in fact the text of some good MSS. *subsidere* elsewhere in Virgil is intransitive 'to sink down'; so it cannot be certain whether here it has the meaning attached to it by Servius, or that of 'lie in wait for'; but the latter is the more probable, and also accounts for the variant of *devicta Asia*. The transposition of ll. 264–5 to this place, made by Ribbeck, may be accepted as an almost certain correction.

280. *memini laetorve* is treated grammatically as a single phrase equivalent to *memini laetus*, 'remember with any pleasure', and so is followed by the genitive which normally follows *memini*. There is no need therefore to say that *laetor malorum* is a Grecism.

288. *quidquid cessatum est*, 'in whatever respect delay occurred'; the impersonal *cessatum est* having *quidquid* attached to it as a cognate accusative.

haesit et in decimum vestigia rettulit annum.
ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis,
hic pietate prior. coeant in foedera dextrae,
qua datur; ast armis concurrant arma cavete."
et responsa simul quae sint, rex optime, regis
audisti et quae sit magno sententia bello.'
 Vix ea legati, variusque per ora cucurrit
Ausonidum turbata fremor: ceu saxa morantur
cum rapidos amnis, fit clauso gurgite murmur
vicinaeque fremunt ripae crepitantibus undis.
ut primum placati animi et trepida ora quierunt,
praefatus divos solio rex infit ab alto:
 'Ante equidem summa de re statuisse, Latini,
et vellem et fuerat melius, non tempore tali
cogere concilium, cum muros adsidet hostis.

290–304 *MPR* 304 obsidet *M*

294–5. The stiff formulary wording of these two lines is a studied archaism, unless indeed, as is probable enough, Virgil took them over or adapted them from Ennius.

299. In Virgil *crepitare* usually means to rattle; we say in English 'the canvas rattled on the mast', and Dryden, in his careless way, makes Virgil speak of 'torrents rattling down the rocks': but 'plashing waves' most nearly gives the effect of *crepitantibus undis*. The beautiful *lenis crepitans Auster* of iii. 70 might be rendered 'gently blustering'.

309. The text here (for which there is no variant except in regard to its punctuation) is difficult. According to the uniform practice of Augustan poets, the last syllable of *ponite* would become 'long by position' before *spes*, and there seems no good reason for accepting the suggestion, which was made by some grammarians, that where a full stop comes between the two words, this rule does not apply. The problem is complicated by the uncertainty whether *ponite* is in fact attached to the words which precede or to those which follow it. *ponere* may equally well mean, according to the context, to place (so *spem ponis in armis* l. 411 below) or to dismiss (so *pone animos* l. 366 below), just as we can speak of laying down the law or laying down one's arms (*meque hoc ita ponere sentis* x. 623, *positis mitescent saecula bellis* i. 291); and if *ponite* be taken with *spem si quam habuistis*, the words *spes sibi quisque* can only mean 'each one is a hope for himself', not only an elliptical but a very harsh expression for which there is no Virgilian parallel; whereas *ponite spes sibi quisque*, 'place your hopes as each of you chooses', presents no verbal difficulty. It may be plausibly conjectured that Virgil first wrote *spem . . . ponite*; then, finding that he wished to use *ponere* immediately in its other sense, and observing that if

bellum importunum, cives, cum gente deorum
invictisque viris gerimus, quos nulla fatigant
proelia nec victi possunt absistere ferro.
spem si quam ascitis Aetolum habuistis in armis,
ponite. spes sibi quisque; sed haec quam angusta videtis.
cetera qua rerum iaceant perculsa ruina,
ante oculos interque manus sunt omnia vestras.
nec quemquam incuso: potuit quae plurima virtus
esse, fuit; toto certatum est corpore regni.
nunc adeo quae sit dubiae sententia menti,
expediam et paucis, animos adhibete, docebo.
est antiquus ager Tusco mihi proximus amni,
longus in occasum, finis super usque Sicanos;
Aurunci Rutulique serunt, et vomere duros
exercent collis atque horum asperrima pascunt.

305–319 *MPR*   315 et *om.* *P*^{2}

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ponite were omitted, l. 308 could be attached as a complete subordinate clause to the sentence preceding it, went on, *ponit spes sibi quisque*, but left the *e* of *ponite* insufficiently erased. The *haec* in the second half of the line has more force if it follows a plural *spes*: 'every one builds hopes for himself; but you see how slender this one is.'

There is, however, in the next lines of Latinus' speech some further grammatical irregularity, no doubt carefully calculated so as to give the effect of the speaker's agitation. The sentence *cetera . . . vestras* is a conflation of two separate things; the sense of l. 311 being equivalent to an expansion of the *videtis* which would complete the sense of l. 310, and *omnia* resuming or repeating the *cetera* of that line. And *potuit quae plurima virtus esse fuit* is a highly compressed way of saying *ea virtus quae potuit esse, fuit plurima*, 'the valour that was possible has been shown in its fullest extent'.

316. It would be idle to look for topographical accuracy in this description of the region which Latinus proposes to cede; but it was pretty clearly a long strip of the coast (which here runs from SE. to NW.) extending as far as the mouth of the Tiber and going some way back into the wooded hill-country. Auruncans, Rutulians, and Sicanians have already been grouped together in the catalogue of Book VII (ll. 795–8) which should be compared with this passage. What is of more interest is to notice that Latinus, in the terms he suggests for consideration, makes no mention of Lavinia; Drances in the speech which follows insists that her bestowal on Aeneas must be included.

319. *pascere*, 'to graze' in the sense of 'to use for grazing', was an agricultural term in Latin, as in English.

haec omnis regio et celsi plaga pinea montis
cedat amicitiae Teucrorum, et foederis aequas
dicamus leges sociosque in regna vocemus:
considant, si tantus amor, et moenia condant.
sin alios finis aliamque capessere gentem
est animus possuntque solo decedere nostro,
bis denas Italo texamus robore navis;
seu pluris complere valent, iacet omnis ad undam
materies: ipsi numerumque modumque carinis
praecipiant, nos aera, manus, navalia demus.
praeterea, qui dicta ferant et foedera firment
centum oratores prima de gente Latinos
ire placet pacisque manu praetendere ramos,
munera portantis aurique eborisque talenta
et sellam regni trabeamque insignia nostri.
consulite in medium et rebus succurrite fessis.'
  Tum Drances idem infensus, quem gloria Turni
obliqua invidia stimulisque agitabat amaris,
largus opum et lingua melior, sed frigida bello
dextera, consiliis habitus non futtilis auctor,

320–339 *MPR* 324 aliamve *P* 335 vestris *P* 338 linguae P^1

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335. *consulite in medium* does not mean 'come out into the open with your counsel', but 'bring your counsel into the common stock', as rightly explained by Servius.

336. 'That same Drances', i.e., Drances once more.

338. Servius is unquestionably right in saying that *largus opum* means *abundans opibus*, like *dives opum* i. 14, ii. 22. As a matter of fact *largus* has always this sense in Virgil, except in the *larga manu* of x. 619 where it means munificent. The two meanings of course tend to approximate, and Virgil's *largum imbrem* may be rendered either by 'abundant rain' or 'bounteous rain'. *melior* merely means 'superior', or as we should say 'above the average'; it does not compare him with any other individual speaker.

339. *consiliis non futtilis auctor*, 'no unstable counsellor in debates of policy'. *vas futtile* was the Latin name for a tumbler in the original sense of that word, 'a cup having a rounded or pointed bottom, so that it could not be set down until emptied', as it is defined in the N.E.D. In xii. 740 where the word is again used of ice, 'unstable' has the particular sense of 'brittle'. On account of this reputation Drances was *seditione potens*, 'influential in civic broils': the word *seditio* is only used by

seditione potens, genus huic materna superbum
nobilitas dabat, incertum de patre ferebat,
surgit et his onerat dictis atque aggerat iras:
'Rem nulli obscuram nostrae nec vocis egentem
consulis, o bone rex: cuncti se scire fatentur
quid fortuna ferat populi, sed dicere mussant.
det libertatem fandi flatusque remittat,
cuius ob auspicium infaustum moresque sinistros,
dicam equidem, licet arma mihi mortemque minetur,
lumina tot cecidisse ducum totamque videmus
consedisse urbem luctu, dum Troïa temptat
castra fugae fidens et caelum territat armis.
unum etiam donis istis, quae plurima mitti
Dardanidis dicique iubes, unum, optime regum,
adicias, nec te ullius violentia vincat
quin natam egregio genero dignisque hymenaeis
des, pater, et pacem hanc aeterno foedere firmes.
quod si tantus habet mentes et pectora terror,
ipsum obtestemur veniamque oremus ab ipso:
cedat, ius proprium regi patriaeque remittat.

340–359 *MPR*   341 ferebant P^1R 345 petat M^1 356 iungas M^1P

Virgil here and in i. 149, where it has the same sense.

340. The wording of this parenthesis is, even for Virgil, unusually intricate, and made more so by the unexpected change of subject between the first and second clauses, so that they are only linked by *genus* as the object of both verbs. The construction is *huic materna nobilitas dabat superbum genus*; *ferebat incertum genus de patre*. From Servius onwards it has been debated whether this latter clause means that he was illegitimate and thus had legally no father, or only that his father was as we should say 'doubtfully a gentleman'.

342. *onerat atque aggerat iras*, 'weights and heaps up his angry feelings'.

346. '*Flatus remittat*, ponat superbiam' (Servius): a metaphor from the subsidence of a gale.

351. 'Frightens the sky with his arms' is a malicious distortion of the action of Turnus in x. 667.

352. *mitti dicique* 'to be sent or promised'.

359. The *ius proprium*, as Warde Fowler points out, is the right of Latinus in virtue of the *patria potestas* to dispose of his daughter's hand. She had never been formally betrothed to Turnus, though Amata, and Turnus himself in l. 440 below, try to make this out.

quid miseros totiens in aperta pericula civis
proicis, o Latio caput horum et causa malorum?
nulla salus bello. pacem te poscimus omnes,
Turne, simul pacis solum inviolabile pignus.
primus ego, invisum quem tu tibi fingis, et esse
nil moror, en supplex venio. miserere tuorum,
pone animos et pulsus abi. sat funera fusi
vidimus ingentis et desolavimus agros.
aut, si fama movet, si tantum pectore robur
concipis et si adeo dotalis regia cordi est,
aude atque adversum fidens fer pectus in hostem.
scilicet ut Turno contingat regia coniunx,
nos animae viles, inhumata infletaque turba,
sternamur campis. etiam tu, si qua tibi vis,
si patrii quid Martis habes, illum aspice contra
qui vocat . . .'
  Talibus exarsit dictis violentia Turni.
dat gemitum rumpitque has imo pectore voces:
'larga quidem, Drance, semper tibi copia fandi
tum cum bella manus poscunt, patribusque vocatis
primus ades. sed non replenda est curia verbis,
quae tuto tibi magna volant, dum distinet hostem
agger murorum nec inundant sanguine fossae.
proinde tona eloquio solitum tibi, meque timoris
argue tu, Drance, quando tot stragis acervos
Teucrorum tua dextra dedit, passimque tropaeis
insignis agros. possit quid vivida virtus

360–386 *MPR* 366 funere P^2 fusis *M*, fuso *P* 367 designavimus *P* 369 aut si *M*
378 semper Drance *PR* 381 detinet *M*, destinat *R* 382 aggere *MPR*, et inundant *P*

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364. ***invisum tibi*** has here the sense of 'full of hatred to you' rather than its ordinary sense of 'hateful to you'. ***esse nil moror***, 'I do not contest that I am'.

382. All three primary MSS. unaccountably read *aggere*.

391. The later part of this line is only found in one (M) of the primary MSS., and has been struck out there by a corrector's hand. It is not printed in the vulgate texts.

399. 'Sing that song to your own affairs' is an energetic colloquialism expressive of the speaker's contempt.

experiare licet, nec longe scilicet hostes
quaerendi nobis, circumstant undique muros.
imus in adversos: quid cessas? an tibi Mavors
ventosa in lingua pedibusque fugacibus istis 390
semper erit? *nequiquam armis terrebimus hostem?*
pulsus ego? aut quisquam merito, foedissime, pulsum
arguet, Iliaco tumidum qui crescere Thybrim
sanguine et Euandri totam cum stirpe videbit
procubuisse domum atque exutos Arcadas armis? 395
haud ita me experti Bitias et Pandarus ingens
et quos mille die victor sub Tartara misi,
inclusus muris hostilique aggere saeptus.
"nulla salus bello." capiti cane talia, demens,
Dardanio rebusque tuis. proinde omnia magno 400
ne cessa turbare metu atque extollere viris
gentis bis victae, contra premere arma Latini.
nunc et Myrmidonum proceres Phrygia arma tremescunt,
nunc et Tydides et Larisaeus Achilles,
amnis et Hadriacas retro fugit Aufidus undas. 405
vel cum se pavidum contra mea iurgia fingit,
artificis scelus, et formidine crimen acerbat!
numquam animam talem dextra hac, absiste moveri,
amittes: habitet tecum et sit pectore in isto.
nunc ad te et tua magna, pater, consulta revertor. 410
si nullam nostris ultra spem ponis in armis,
si tam deserti sumus et semel agmine verso
funditus occidimus neque habet Fortuna regressum,

387–413 *MPR* 391 nequiquam . . . hostem *del.* M^2, *om. PR* 393 arguit M^1
410 magne *M* 412 simul *P*

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404. It has been suggested that this line is interpolated here from ii. 197. But it adds immensely to the force of the speech: 'Now even Diomede (by whom Aeneas would have been killed at Troy but for the interposition of Venus), now even the ghost of the mighty Achilles, tremble before the Phrygian arms.'

407. The phrase *artificis scelus* has been already used, in an easier construction, ii. 125. Here it is another colloquialism; phrases like *scelus viri*, 'wretch of a man', are common in Plautine comedy.

oremus pacem et dextras tendamus inertis.
quamquam o si solitae quicquam virtutis adesset! 415
ille mihi ante alios fortunatusque laborum
egregiusque animi, qui, ne quid tale videret,
procubuit moriens et humum semel ore momordit.
sin et opes nobis et adhuc intacta iuventus
auxilioque urbes Italae populique supersunt, 420
sin et Troianis cum multo gloria venit
sanguine, sunt illis sua funera, parque per omnis
tempestas, cur indecores in limine primo
deficimus? cur ante tubam tremor occupat artus?
multa dies variique labor mutabilis aevi 425
rettulit in melius, multos alterna revisens
lusit et in solido rursus Fortuna locavit.
non erit auxilio nobis Aetolus et Arpi:
at Messapus erit felixque Tolumnius et quos
tot populi misere duces, nec parva sequetur 430
gloria delectos Latio et Laurentibus agris.
est et Volscorum egregia de gente Camilla
agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas.
quod si me solum Teucri in certamina poscunt
idque placet tantumque bonis communibus obsto, 435
non adeo has exosa manus Victoria fugit
ut tanta quicquam pro spe temptare recusem.
ibo animis contra, vel magnum praestet Achillem

414–438 *MPR* 418 simul *MP* 422 suntque *R* 425 variusque M^2P^2
426 multosque M^2

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429. The epithet *felix* is a touch of dramatic irony. Tolumnius (not mentioned until now) perfidiously breaks the truce in Book XII and is killed in the battle which follows.

432–3. These lines are repeated, with slight verbal variation, from vii. 803–4. Their relevance here (which otherwise might be questioned) is that they lead up to the Camilla episode which fills the latter part of this Book.

438. For *animis*, 'with courage', see note on l. 18 above. *praestet Achillem* is generally explained as 'take on himself the person of Achilles'. But the Servian interpretation, 'excel Achilles', is simpler and at least equally probable. *praestare* is only used by Virgil elsewhere

factaque Volcani manibus paria induat arma
ille licet. vobis animam hanc soceroque Latino
Turnus ego, haud ulli veterum virtute secundus,
devovi. "solum Aeneas vocat." et vocet oro;
nec Drances potius, sive est haec ira deorum,
morte luat, sive est virtus et gloria, tollat.'
  Illi haec inter se dubiis de rebus agebant
certantes: castra Aeneas aciemque movebat.
nuntius ingenti per regia tecta tumultu
ecce ruit magnisque urbem terroribus implet:
instructos acie Tiberino a flumine Teucros
Tyrrhenamque manum totis descendere campis.
extemplo turbati animi concussaque vulgi
pectora et arrectae stimulis haud mollibus irae.
arma manu trepidi poscunt, fremit arma iuventus,
flent maesti mussantque patres. hic undique clamor
dissensu vario magnus se tollit in auras:
haud secus atque alto in luco cum forte catervae
consedere avium, piscosove amne Padusae
dant sonitum rauci per stagna loquacia cycni.
'immo' ait 'o cives,' arrepto tempore Turnus,
'cogite concilium et pacem laudate sedentes;
illi armis in regna ruunt.' nec plura locutus
corripuit sese et tectis citus extulit altis.
'tu, Voluse, armari Volscorum edice maniplis,

439–463 *MPR*   455 ad auras *M*   463 maniplos *P*

---

intransitively, and in the sense 'to be preferable'.

446. *castra aciemque movebat* is a compressed way of saying 'broke up his camp and moved forward in battle-order'. The advance of the main force was made, as we find later, inland through the wooded hills, from which it wheeled to its right in order to envelop the Latin capital: this explains the *descendere campis* of l. 450.

452. The clumsy phrase *arrectae stimulis haud mollibus irae,* repeated as *stimulis haud mollibus inicit* (or *incutit*) *iras* in l. 728 below, apparently pleased Virgil; why, it is difficult to see.

453. *fremit arma,* as in vii. 460, means 'clamours, "To arms"'.

463. The *manipli,* here and again in

duc' ait 'et Rutulos. equitem, Messapus, in armis
et cum fratre Coras, latis diffundite campis.
pars aditus urbis firmet turrisque capessat;
cetera, qua iusso, mecum manus inferat arma.'
  Ilicet in muros tota discurritur urbe.
concilium ipse pater et magna incepta Latinus
deserit ac tristi turbatus tempore differt,
multaque se incusat qui non acceperit ultro
Dardanium Aenean generumque asciverit urbi.
praefodiunt alii portas aut saxa sudesque
subvectant. bello dat signum rauca cruentum
bucina. tum muros varia cinxere corona
matronae puerique, vocat labor ultimus omnis:
nec non ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces
subvehitur magna matrum regina caterva
dona ferens, iuxtaque comes Lavinia virgo,
causa mali tanti, oculos deiecta decoros.
succedunt matres et templum ture vaporant
et maestas alto fundunt de limine voces:
'armipotens, praeses belli, Tritonia virgo,
frange manu telum Phrygii praedonis, et ipsum
pronum sterne solo portisque effunde sub altis.'
  Cingitur ipse furens certatim in proelia Turnus.
iamque adeo rutilum thoraca indutus aënis

464–487 *MPR* 464 equites P^2R 466 firment M^1, firment . . . capessant *R* 469 consilium M^1 471 quod P^2 480 malis *R*, tantis M^1R 483 praesens M^2P^2 487 Rutulum *MP*

---

l. 870 below, are rightly explained by Servius as the standard-bearers, *signiferi*. Elsewhere the word is only used by Virgil in the *Georgics*, in its primary sense of bundles of straw or fern.

464. For the vocatives *Messapus* and *Coras* see note on i. 664.

467. For the archaic *iusso* (= *iubebo*) see note on ix. 154.

478. The word *subvehitur* implies, without directly stating, that this is a ritual procession in *pilenta*, four-wheeled covered carriages, such as those described in viii. 666.

480. The variant *causa malis tantis* (like *causam lacrimis* in iii. 305) is tempting; but is probably due to a wish to get rid of the metrical hiatus between *tanti* and *oculos*, which is quite in Virgil's manner.

horrebat squamis surasque incluserat auro,
tempora nudus adhuc, laterique accinxerat ensem,
fulgebatque alta decurrens aureus arce 490
exsultatque animis et spe iam praecipit hostem:
qualis ubi abruptis fugit praesepia vinclis
tandem liber equus, campoque potitus aperto
aut ille in pastus armentaque tendit equarum
aut adsuetus aquae perfundi flumine noto 495
emicat, arrectisque fremit cervicibus alte
luxurians, luduntque iubae per colla, per armos.
obvia cui Volscorum acie comitante Camilla
occurrit portisque ab equo regina sub ipsis
desiluit, quam tota cohors imitata relictis 500
ad terram defluxit equis; tum talia fatur:
'Turne, sui merito si qua est fiducia forti,
audeo et Aeneadum promitto occurrere turmae
solaque Tyrrhenos equites ire obvia contra.
me sine prima manu temptare pericula belli, 505
tu pedes ad muros subsiste et moenia serva.'
  Turnus ad haec oculos horrenda in virgine fixus:
'o decus Italiae virgo, quas dicere grates
quasve referre parem? sed nunc, est omnia quando
iste animus supra, mecum partire laborem. 510
Aeneas, ut fama fidem missique reportant

488–511 *MPR* 507 fixis M^1 510 superat M^1

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486. *certatim* applying to a single person is unusual; but from its normal meaning of 'vying with one another' it comes to mean little more than 'eagerly'. Here however (as perhaps also in *Georg.* iv. 38) it seems to mean 'in attempt after attempt', fumbling with his armour in his excitement: the picture being carried on by the *iamque adeo*, 'and now at last', of the next line.

490. For *aureus* see note on ix. 270.

495. By what is perhaps a rather over-elaborate artifice of style *perfundi* is attached grammatically to *adsuetus*, while in meaning it goes with *emicat*: 'darts out to plunge himself in his wonted way in the familiar stream'.

501. *defluxit*, 'slid down' or 'slipped down', like the *pedes vestis defluxit ad imos* of i. 404, and the *fluens ad terram* of the dying Camilla l. 828 below.

exploratores, equitum levia improbus arma
praemisit, quaterent campos; ipse ardua montis
per deserta iugo superans adventat ad urbem.
furta paro belli convexo in tramite silvae,
ut bivias armato obsidam milite fauces.
tu Tyrrhenum equitem conlatis excipe signis;
tecum acer Messapus erit turmaeque Latinae
Tiburtique manus, ducis et tu concipe curam.'
  Sic ait, et paribus Messapum in proelia dictis
hortatur sociosque duces et pergit in hostem.
est curvo anfractu valles, accommoda fraudi
armorumque dolis, quam densis frondibus atrum
urget utrimque latus, tenuis quo semita ducit
angustaeque ferunt fauces aditusque maligni.
hanc super in speculis summoque in vertice montis
planities ignota iacet tutique receptus,
seu dextra laevaque velis occurrere pugnae
sive instare iugis et grandia volvere saxa.
huc iuvenis nota fertur regione viarum
arripuitque locum et silvis insedit iniquis.

512–531 *MPR*   526 e speculis *P*, speculis *R*   527 recessus M^2R

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512. The English word which most nearly corresponds to *improbus* here and again in l. 767 is 'malignant'. *quatere campos*, 'to shake the plains', means 'to spread a sense of insecurity on the plains' so as to divert in that direction as great a part as possible of the enemy's forces. Servius quite correctly paraphrases 'ad camporum perturbationem'.

517–19. The meaning of l. 517 is 'catch and contain the light cavalry of the enemy which is spreading over the plain, forcing them to a close engagement'. For this purpose Turnus entrusts Camilla with command of the cavalry of Messapus and of 'Tiburtus' horse', the name (vii. 671) under which the contingent led by Catillus and Coras was known. *tecum erit*, 'will be with you', means 'will be under your orders', but as these words might be ambiguous, he makes them clear by adding, *ducis et tu concipe curam*: as Servius rightly explains, this means 'do you take control of the joint force', not 'do you take joint command with the other officers named'. To them likewise, however, Turnus adds similar orders (ll. 520–1) as to the action to be taken.

522–9. With this description should be compared, point by point, that given by Livy, ix. 2 foll., of the scene of the Roman

Velocem interea superis in sedibus Opim,
unam ex virginibus sociis sacraque caterva,
compellabat et has tristis Latonia voces
ore dabat: 'graditur bellum ad crudele Camilla,
o virgo, et nostris nequiquam cingitur armis,
cara mihi ante alias. neque enim novus iste Dianae
venit amor subitaque animum dulcedine movit.
pulsus ob invidiam regno virisque superbas
Priverno antiqua Metabus cum excederet urbe,
infantem fugiens media inter proelia belli
sustulit exsilio comitem, matrisque vocavit
nomine Casmillae mutata parte Camillam.
ipse sinu prae se portans iuga longa petebat
solorum nemorum: tela undique saeva premebant
et circumfuso volitabant milite Volsci.
ecce fugae medio summis Amasenus abundans
spumabat ripis, tantus se nubibus imber
ruperat. ille innare parans infantis amore
tardatur caroque oneri timet. omnia secum
versanti subito vix haec sententia sedit:

532–551 *MPR*   534 tristi *R*

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disaster at Caudium, 321 B.C. Aeneas' approaching force means to cross the ridge *convexo tramite*, mounting to and descending from a col at the summit, a flat-bottomed winding upland valley with thickly-wooded steep sides, access to and exit from which are only practicable through a narrow gorge at either end. To Aeneas and to his Etruscan allies (the Arcadian contingent, which consists entirely of cavalry, is away with the rest of the cavalry on the plain) the character of this valley is unknown. Turnus accordingly (ll. 530–1) hurries his own main force up the hills by paths with which he is himself familiar, seizes the gorge next him, and occupies the sides of the valley with troops concealed in the woods; ready, as soon as Aeneas' army has all got into the valley, to close the other gorge behind them, and hold them completely surrounded. At this point Virgil breaks off to introduce the noble episode of the achievements and death of Camilla.

539. For the placing of this narrative, ll. 539–84, see p. 418.

551. The difficulty which commentators find in *vix subito* is imaginary. 'Vera distinctio est' says Servius. What he should do had to be decided instantly; the decision he took, he of course took reluctantly.

telum immane manu valida quod forte gerebat
bellator, solidum nodis et robore cocto,
huic natam libro et silvestri subere clausam
implicat atque habilem mediae circumligat hastae;
quam dextra ingenti librans ita ad aethera fatur:
'alma, tibi hanc, nemorum cultrix, Latonia virgo,
ipse pater famulam voveo; tua prima per auras
tela tenens supplex hostem fugit. accipe, testor,
diva tuam, quae nunc dubiis committitur auris.'
dixit, et adducto contortum hastile lacerto
immittit: sonuere undae, rapidum super amnem
infelix fugit in iaculo stridente Camilla.
at Metabus magna propius iam urgente caterva
dat sese fluvio, atque hastam cum virgine victor
gramineo, donum Triviae, de caespite vellit.
non illum tectis ullae, non moenibus urbes
accepere, neque ipse manus feritate dedisset:
pastorum et solis exegit montibus aevum.
hic natam in dumis interque horrentia lustra
armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino
nutribat teneris immulgens ubera labris.
utque pedum primis infans vestigia plantis
institerat, iaculo palmas armavit acuto
spiculaque ex umero parvae suspendit et arcum.

552–575 *MPR*   552 ferebat M^2 554 huc R^1 566 tollit *P*

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552. For the meaning of *forte gerebat* see note on i. 362.

554. *libro et subere* is not a so-called 'hendiadys'. *liber* is the thin inner bark which he wraps round the baby like a bandage, and then lays over it, for protection, the thick outer bark from a cork-tree.

567. Failure to understand the distinction between *tectis* and *moenibus* has perplexed commentators and even led to the absurd proposal to read *villae* instead of *ullae*. No town would allow him either a roof for his head, or the protection of its walls; but had either been offered, Virgil goes on to say, he would have refused it from his savage independence. By a slight extension of its ordinary sense, 'to surrender', *manus dare* came to mean, both in prose and poetry, 'to make a concession'.

pro crinali auro, pro longae tegmine pallae
tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent.
tela manu iam tum tenera puerilia torsit
et fundam tereti circum caput egit habena
Strymoniamque gruem aut album deiecit olorem.
multae illam frustra Tyrrhena per oppida matres
optavere nurum; sola contenta Diana
aeternum telorum et virginitatis amorem
intemerata colit. vellem haud correpta fuisset
militia tali conata lacessere Teucros:
cara mihi comitumque foret nunc una mearum.
verum age, quandoquidem fatis urgetur acerbis,
labere, nympha, polo finisque invise Latinos,
tristis ubi infausto committitur omine pugna.
haec cape et ultricem pharetra deprome sagittam:
hac, quicumque sacrum violarit vulnere corpus,
Tros Italusque, mihi pariter det sanguine poenas.
post ego nube cava miserandae corpus et arma
inspoliata feram tumulo patriaeque reponam.'
dixit, at illa levis caeli demissa per auras
insonuit nigro circumdata turbine corpus.
   At manus interea muris Troiana propinquat,
Etruscique duces equitumque exercitus omnis
compositi numero in turmas. fremit aequore toto

576–599 *MPR*   595 delapsa *M*

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577. For *a vertice*, 'straight down', see note on i. 114.

579. *teres*, as usual, means 'tapered'; the thong of the sling tapering to both ends from the middle in which the bullet was placed.

584. *fuisset* goes with *conata*, not with *correpta*. The artificial displacement of wording, where the sense is *vellem haud, correpta militia tali, conata fuisset lacessere Teucros*, is a mannerism which Virgil employs almost to excess, as below in l. 645 *duplicatque virum transfixa dolore*.

592. The disjunctive *que* (as in the *Tros Tyriusque* of i. 574) is the reading of all the primary MSS., though Servius read *ve*. There is really no difference in meaning; see note on x. 673.

595. The balance of MS. authority is for *demissa*, 'shooting down', as against *delapsa*, 'gliding down': and it gives rather a better sense.

insultans sonipes et pressis pugnat habenis
huc conversus et huc; tum late ferreus hastis
horret ager campique armis sublimibus ardent.
nec non Messapus contra celeresque Latini
et cum fratre Coras et virginis ala Camillae
adversi campo apparent, hastasque reductis
protendunt longe dextris et spicula vibrant,
adventusque virum fremitusque ardescit equorum.
iamque intra iactum teli progressus uterque
substiterat: subito erumpunt clamore furentisque
exhortantur equos; fundunt simul undique tela
crebra nivis ritu, caelumque obtexitur umbra.
continuo adversis Tyrrhenus et acer Aconteus
conixi incurrunt hastis primique ruinam
dant sonitu ingentem perfractaque quadripedantum
pectora pectoribus rumpunt; excussus Aconteus
fulminis in morem aut tormento ponderis acti
praecipitat longe et vitam dispergit in auras.
extemplo turbatae acies, versique Latini
reiciunt parmas et equos ad moenia vertunt.
Troes agunt, princeps turmas inducit Asilas.
iamque propinquabant portis rursusque Latini
clamorem tollunt et mollia colla reflectunt;
hi fugiunt penitusque datis referuntur habenis;
qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus

600–624 *MPR* 601 obversus *R* 602 hastis *P* 605 reductas M^1
606 praetendunt M^1 609 constituerant M^1 612 adversi MP^2R
613 ruina P^2 614 sonitum *MP*, ingenti *MR* 624 procumbens *R*

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600. *pugnat habenis* 'struggles against the reins': for the unusual dative compare *pugnabis amori* iv. 38.

603. The *celeres Latini* are the picked bodyguard of cavalry, the institution and the name of which were traditionally ascribed to Romulus: see Livy i. 15.

611. The flights of crossing spears make a network against the sky: see note on l. 223 above.

617. *praecipitat*, 'falls headlong'; see note on l. 3 above.

626. *sinu*, with the 'curl' of its breaking.

636–45. These ten lines are an evident insertion; they may have been placed

nunc ruit ad terram scopulosque superiacit unda
spumeus extremamque sinu perfundit harenam,
nunc rapidus retro atque aestu revoluta resorbens
saxa fugit litusque vado labente relinquit.
  Bis Tusci Rutulos egere ad moenia versos,
bis reiecti armis respectant terga tegentes.
tertia sed postquam congressi in proelia totas
implicuere inter se acies legitque virum vir,
tum vero et gemitus morientum et sanguine in alto
armaque corporaque et permixti caede virorum
semianimes volvuntur equi, pugna aspera surgit;

Orsilochus Remuli, quando ipsum horrebat adire,
hastam intorsit equo ferrumque sub aure reliquit;
quo sonipes ictu furit arduus altaque iactat
vulneris impatiens arrecto pectore crura,
volvitur ille excussus humi. Catillus Iollan
ingentemque animis, ingentem corpore et armis
deicit Herminium, nudo cui vertice fulva
caesaries nudique umeri, nec vulnera terrent,
tantus in arma patet. latos huic hasta per armos
acta tremit duplicatque virum transfixa dolore.

funditur ater ubique cruor; dant funera ferro
certantes pulchramque petunt per vulnera mortem.

625–644 *MPR*   645–647 *MR*   625 terras *M*, suberigit *R*   638 ferit M^1R

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here by Virgil's editors: if they were struck out, not only would *pugna aspera surgit* (l. 635), which as the text stands has the effect of an awkward stop-gap repeated from ix. 667, be relevant and in place, but ll. 646–7 would continue and complete the periodic structure of 631–5. The description of Herminius in ll. 642–4 has the appearance of an unfinished draft; *tantus in arma patet* is, like *neque enim iaculo vitam ille dedisset* ix. 704, a mere piece of cleverness, and together with the anomalous use of *armus* in the sense of the human shoulder (see note on iv. 11 above) suggests that the draft is a piece of early work.

At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon
unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla,
et nunc lenta manu spargens hastilia denset,
nunc validam dextra rapit indefessa bipennem;
aureus ex umero sonat arcus et arma Dianae.
illa etiam, si quando in tergum pulsa recessit,
spicula converso fugientia derigit arcu.
at circum lectae comites, Larinaque virgo
Tullaque et aeratam quatiens Tarpeia securim,
Italides, quas ipsa decus sibi dia Camilla
delegit pacisque bonas bellique ministras:
quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis
pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis,
seu circum Hippolyten seu cum se Martia curru
Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu
feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis.
Quem telo primum, quem postremum, aspera virgo,
deicis, aut quot humi morientia corpora fundis?

648–665 *MR* 650 densat *M*^{1}*R* 657 diva *M*, dura *R* 658 bonae *R*

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649. *exserta latus* (which means the same as the *exserta mamma* of i. 492), and *pharetrata*, are pictorial amplifications of *Amazon*, itself an epithet applied to Camilla, 'Amazonian'.

654. For the transference of epithet in *fugientia spicula*, 'retreating arrows' for 'arrows shot in her retreat' (the so-called hypallage) compare, among other instances, *pineus ardor acervo* l. 786, *diversa clamor ab urbe* xii. 621.

657. *dius*, a word not used elsewhere by Virgil, is an old Latin ritual term, meaning 'attached to the service of a deity': *dia* and *Camilla* are in effect equivalent words.

662. Here, as frequently (and again in l. 689 below), *referre* is equivalent to *ferre*, and *se curru refert* merely means 'bears herself along', 'moves' in her chariot.

The elaborated simile of ll. 659–63 is a rehandling of the picture previously drawn in i. 490–3. Whether Virgil would have retained both passages in revision of the poem may be doubted. Both are detachable, and rather weaken than reinforce the episodes at the end of which they are placed: and one could wish that the *quem telo primum* of l. 664 followed immediately on l. 654 or 656.

668. The loosened rhythm of *atque cruentam* at the end of a line, repeated in the *atque furentis* of xii. 332, is one of the devices in Virgil's later work for giving a freer movement to the hexameter. A more striking use of the same experiment is the placing of *atque* at

Euneum Clytio primum patre, cuius apertum
adversi longa transverberat abiete pectus.
sanguinis ille vomens rivos cadit atque cruentam
mandit humum moriensque suo se in vulnere versat.
tum Lirim Pagasumque super, quorum alter habenas 670
suffuso revolutus equo dum colligit, alter
dum subit ac dextram labenti tendit inermem,
praecipites pariterque ruunt. his addit Amastrum
Hippotaden, sequiturque incumbens eminus hasta
Tereaque Harpalycumque et Demophoonta Chromimque;
quotque emissa manu contorsit spicula virgo, 676
tot Phrygii cecidere viri. procul Ornytus armis
ignotis et equo venator Iapyge fertur,
cui pellis latos umeros erepta iuvenco
pugnatori operit, caput ingens oris hiatus 680
et malae texere lupi cum dentibus albis,
agrestisque manus armat sparus; ipse catervis
vertitur in mediis et toto vertice supra est.

666–683 *MR* 671 suffosso M^1

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the end of a line in xii. 355, where see note.

671. The MSS. vary between *suffosso equo*, 'with his horse stabbed under him', and *suffuso equo*, 'with his horse sprawling under him'. Both readings are recognized by Servius, who however makes them mean the same thing by interpreting *suffosso* as *praecipiti iamque cadenti*, a metaphor, that is, from an undermined and toppling building. As Virgil elsewhere never uses *suffodere*, and only uses *suffundere* (*Georg*. i. 430, *Aen*. i. 228) in the sense of the English 'suffuse', there is little to guide choice. It should be noted, however, that Liris and Pagasus are fighting from horseback, and are not, as in other episodes of the *Aeneid*, a pair of warriors in a chariot.

674. *sequitur incumbens* is a single phrase: 'follows pushing forward', i.e., 'follows up in close succession', and *eminus hasta* means 'with a spear-cast' as opposed to a spear-thrust; echoed by the *emissa manu contorsit*, 'sent spinning from her hand' of l. 676.

678. *ignotis armis* is rightly explained by Servius as *inconsuetis* (he was a hunter, without experience of military equipment, and is only armed with a *sparus*, a sort of bill-hook), not 'unemblazoned', as in the description of the armour of Helenor ix. 548 and that of Camilla herself l. 711 below.

680. *pugnatori* of course goes with *cui*, not as some editors strangely suppose with *iuvenco* on the analogy of *bellator equus* in l. 89.

hunc illa exceptum, neque enim labor, agmine verso
traicit et super haec inimico pectore fatur: 685
'silvis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti?
advenit qui vestra dies muliebribus armis
verba redarguerit. nomen tamen haud leve patrum
manibus hoc referes, telo cecidisse Camillae.'
protinus Orsilochum et Buten, duo maxima Teucrum 690
corpora: sed Buten aversum cuspide fixit
loricam galeamque inter, qua colla sedentis
lucent et laevo dependet parma lacerto;
Orsilochum fugiens magnumque agitata per orbem
eludit gyro interior sequiturque sequentem; 695
tum validam perque arma viro perque ossa securim
altior exsurgens oranti et multa precanti
congeminat; vulnus calido rigat ora cerebro.
Incidit huic subitoque aspectu territus haesit
Appenninicolae bellator filius Auni, 700
haud Ligurum extremus, dum fallere fata sinebant.
isque ubi se nullo iam cursu evadere pugnae
posse neque instantem reginam avertere cernit,
consilio versare dolos ingressus et astu

684–690 *MR* 691–704 *MPR* 688 redargueret *R*

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684. The punctuation in the text gives a better sense than the vulgate which treats *neque . . . verso* as a parenthesis. What made it easy for Camilla to bring Ornytus down was not the fact that her opponents were in retreat, but that he wore no defensive armour.

690. For the *constructio ad sensum* in this line, see note on the similar construction in xii. 161; the absence of a verb is easily accepted, because it is practically filled up by *Buten fixit* and *Orsilochum eludit* in what immediately follows. In the next line, *aversum*, 'turned away from her', means that Butes had turned round in the saddle (*sedentis*) so much as to present his left side, where the neck joined the shoulder, to Camilla's spear.

699. The exact force of *incidit huic* is doubtful; like the corresponding English 'fell upon her' it may mean either 'attacked her' or merely 'fell in with her'. The latter interpretation seems to be taken by editors and translators generally. But Virgil does not use *incidere* in this sense, unless possibly in ii. 305 *in segetem flamma incidit*: elsewhere (e.g. *Eurus incidit navigiis* in *Georg*. ii. 107, and *animo deus incidit* ix. 721) it means 'dart upon' or 'sweep down upon'. Perhaps this gives a further vividness to the picture: 'charged at her and suddenly stopped in terror'.

incipit haec: 'quid tam egregium, si femina forti
fidis equo? dimitte fugam et te comminus aequo
mecum crede solo pugnaeque accinge pedestri:
iam nosces ventosa ferat cui gloria fraudem.'
dixit, at illa furens acrique accensa dolore
tradit equum comiti paribusque resistit in armis
ense pedes nudo puraque interrita parma.
at iuvenis vicisse dolo ratus avolat ipse,
haud mora, conversisque fugax aufertur habenis
quadripedemque citum ferrata calce fatigat.
'vane Ligus frustraque animis elate superbis,
nequiquam patrias temptasti lubricus artis,
nec fraus te incolumem fallaci perferet Auno.'
haec fatur virgo, et pernicibus ignea plantis
transit equum cursu frenisque adversa prehensis
congreditur poenasque inimico ex sanguine sumit:
quam facile accipiter saxo sacer ales ab alto
consequitur pennis sublimem in nube columbam
comprensamque tenet pedibusque eviscerat uncis;
tum cruor et vulsae labuntur ab aethere plumae.
  At non haec nullis hominum sator atque deorum

705–725 *MPR*   708 laudem M^2P

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702. The dative after *evadere* (on the analogy of phrases like *eripere se pugnae*) is unique, but is the reading of all the MSS., and has been the vulgate text since Heinsius. Elsewhere Virgil normally (eleven times) has an accusative; but in ix. 99 and xi. 905, an ablative. It would be possible, however, and not inconsistent with Virgil's intricacy of word-order, to attach *pugnae* not to *evadere*, but to the *instantem* of the next line.

704. For *versare dolos* see note on ii. 62.

708. *laudem*, a variant reading mentioned by Servius and found in two primary MSS., is almost certainly an attempted improvement on *fraudem*, 'damage', due to failure to grasp that *gloria* here (as also in v. 394, x. 144) means not glory, but desire of glory, and might be rendered in English as 'vain-glory', to which it is practically equivalent.

711. See note on ix. 548.

717. Camilla flings back the *fraudem* of Arruns in l. 708, using the word now, with admirable effect, in its other sense of 'trick'.

721. *sacer ales* is the falcon, *accipiter*; the same bird as the ἴρηξ, 'the messenger of Apollo' in the Homeric poems, and in its Attic form of ἱέραξ connected by popular etymology with ἱερός, sacred.

observans oculis summo sedet altus Olympo.
Tyrrhenum genitor Tarchonem in proelia saeva
suscitat et stimulis haud mollibus inicit iras.
ergo inter caedes cedentiaque agmina Tarchon
fertur equo variisque instigat vocibus alas
nomine quemque vocans, reficitque in proelia pulsos.
'quis metus, o numquam dolituri, o semper inertes
Tyrrheni, quae tanta animis ignavia venit?
femina palantis agit atque haec agmina vertit:
quo ferrum quidve haec gerimus tela inrita dextris?
at non in Venerem segnes nocturnaque bella,
aut ubi curva choros indixit tibia Bacchi.
exspectate dapes et plenae pocula mensae,
hic amor, hoc studium, dum sacra secundus haruspex
nuntiet ac lucos vocet hostia pinguis in altos.'
haec effatus equum in medios moriturus et ipse
concitat, et Venulo adversum se turbidus infert
dereptumque ab equo dextra complectitur hostem
et gremium ante suum multa vi concitus aufert.

726–736 *MPR*   737–744 *MR*   728 incitat iras *MP*   742 offert *R*

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727. There is a certain awkwardness in the repetition of the subject (*sator*, *genitor*), and it may be noticed that if the words *summo sedet altus Olympo Tyrrhenum genitor* were omitted, the remaining three lines of the sentence would be both clear and complete. They may be a tentative insertion. The intervention of Jupiter here to help one side, though not in direct contradiction of his declared purpose of neutrality (x. 108), since that only applied to the one day then passing, is rather unaccountable.

741. The natural meaning of *moriturus et ipse* would be 'destined himself to death', like the *fatis debitus* of l. 759 below. But no more is heard of Tarchon after this episode; and the Servian explanation, '*moriturus*, animo; nam moriturus non est', is admissible; 'himself prepared to face death'. *periturus* (of Coroebus) in ii. 408 conveys both implications. In the celebrated *moritura tenebat* in the scene between Turnus and Amata (xii. 55) 'held him in a death-clasp', the stress is on the 'agony', in its technical sense of the death-struggle, which Amata is going through.

742. The force of *turbidus* here, as in x. 763 *Mezentius turbidus ingreditur campo*, is 'violently': and so likewise the epithet is used of Turnus, ix. 57 and xii. 10. Elsewhere it has more the sense of 'distraught', 'in confusion'; it is so applied to Turnus when he is 'fey',

tollitur in caelum clamor cunctique Latini
convertere oculos. volat igneus aequore Tarchon
arma virumque ferens; tum summa ipsius ab hasta
defringit ferrum et partis rimatur apertas,
qua vulnus letale ferat; contra ille repugnans
sustinet a iugulo dextram et vim viribus exit.
utque volans alte raptum cum fulva draconem
fert aquila implicuitque pedes atque unguibus haesit,
saucius at serpens sinuosa volumina versat
arrectisque horret squamis et sibilat ore
arduus insurgens, illa haud minus urget obunco
luctantem rostro, simul aethera verberat alis:
haud aliter praedam Tiburtum ex agmine Tarchon
portat ovans. ducis exemplum eventumque secuti
Maeonidae incurrunt. tum fatis debitus Arruns
velocem iaculo et multa prior arte Camillam
circuit, et quae sit fortuna facillima temptat.
qua se cumque furens medio tulit agmine virgo,
hac Arruns subit et tacitus vestigia lustrat;

745–756 MR *757–763 M*

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x. 648, xii. 671, and to Arruns when he has lost his nerve, l. 814 below.

750. For this transitive use of *exit* see note on v. 438.

759. *Maeonidae*, i.e., the Etruscans, the *Maeoniae delecta iuventus* of viii. 499.

760. *prior circuit* is a condensed way of saying 'follows her track through its windings, keeping a little ahead of her', so that when opportunity is given he may check his horse and take a steady aim at her as she passes. *circuit* is explained more fully in ll. 762–7; he is now on one side of her, now on the other.

Servius mentions a curious view held by Donatus and other early commentators on Virgil, that Arruns was fighting on the Italian side, and that the death of Camilla was a treacherous murder, the assassin retiring unnoticed in the confusion. In support of this view they cited the phrase *Tros Italusve* used by Diana in l. 592; the prayer of Arruns to Apollo of Soracte, that being one of the districts (vii. 696) which supplied a contingent to the Italian forces; and the fact that this passage may be read (and perhaps most naturally read) to mean that Arruns is accompanying Camilla in her charges and retreats. The name Arruns is no doubt Etruscan. But there were Etruscans fighting under Mezentius as well as the main Etruscan army on the other side; and the latter part of the prayer of Arruns makes the theory impossible.

qua victrix redit illa pedemque ex hoste reportat,
hac iuvenis furtim celeris detorquet habenas.
hos aditus iamque hos aditus omnemque pererrat
undique circuitum et certam quatit improbus hastam.
  Forte sacer Cybelo Chloreus olimque sacerdos
insignis longe Phrygiis fulgebat in armis
spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis aënis
in plumam squamis auro conserta tegebat.
ipse peregrina ferrugine clarus et ostro
spicula torquebat Lycio Gortynia cornu;
aureus ex umeris erat arcus et aurea vati
cassida; tum croceam chlamydemque sinusque crepantis
carbaseos fulvo in nodum collegerat auro,
pictus acu tunicas et barbara tegmina crurum.
hunc virgo, sive ut templis praefigeret arma
Troïa, captivo sive ut se ferret in auro,
venatrix unum ex omni certamine pugnae
caeca sequebatur totumque incauta per agmen
femineo praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore,

764–782 *M*

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767. For *improbus* see note on l. 512 above.

768. The reading *Cybelo* in the single first-rate MS. available for this line, and also given and explained by Servius without any mention of an alternative reading, must be accepted; the vulgate *Cybelae* gives an easier sense, but only rests on a quotation of the passage in Macrobius. 'Montem pro numine, quod in eo colitur, posuit' is the Servian note. But the line as it stands is at best awkward, and the jingling repetition of *sacer*, *sacerdos* very suspicious. *satus Cybelo*, a reading found in a few inferior MSS., is pretty certainly a mere conjectural emendation.

772. For the *peregrina ferrugo* (cinnabar-dye from Spain) see note on vi. 303.

773–7. The Lycian bow and Gortynian (Cretan) arrows are merely ornamental descriptions, as in the *Partho torquere Cydonia cornu spicula* of *Ecl.* x. 59 and the Lycian quiver of Camilla vii. 816. *cassida* (or *cassis*) was a foreign word, said to be Etruscan; it is not used elsewhere by Virgil, and appears to be meant here to give a further exotic touch to the equipment of Chloreus. The 'tinkling folds' of the cloak are no doubt rightly explained by Heyne as indicating that thin plates of gold-leaf were sewn on to it. The epithet *barbara* practically means 'Oriental'; see note on ii. 504.

786. *primi* 'from of old': so it means

telum ex insidiis cum tandem tempore capto
concitat et superos Arruns sic voce precatur:
'summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
pascitur, et medium freti pietate per ignem
cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna,
da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis,
omnipotens. non exuvias pulsaeve tropaeum
virginis aut spolia ulla peto, mihi cetera laudem
facta ferent; haec dira meo dum vulnere pestis
pulsa cadat, patrias remeabo inglorius urbes.'
audiit et voti Phoebus succedere partem
mente dedit, partem volucris dispersit in auras:
sterneret ut subita turbatam morte Camillam
adnuit oranti; reducem ut patria alta videret
non dedit, inque Notos vocem vertere procellae.
  Ergo ut missa manu sonitum dedit hasta per auras,
convertere animos acris oculosque tulere
cuncti ad reginam Volsci. nihil ipsa nec aurae

783–792 *MP*   793–801 *MPR*   786 primis *P*   799 ergo ubi *M*

'they of old' in *Georg.* i. 144. For *pineus ardor acervo*, 'the pine-blaze from the heap', i.e., 'the blazing pine-heap', see App. A.

789. The invocation of Apollo as *pater omnipotens* is superficially a little startling, even after the *summe deum* of l. 785. Normally *pater omnipotens* means Jupiter; it is so used some eight or ten times in the *Aeneid*, and in iii. 251, *Phoebo pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo*, there is a sharp distinction drawn. But Juno is also twice (iv. 693, vii. 428) called *omnipotens*, and the term is applied to 'Olympus', i.e., to the gods in general, x. 1, xii. 791. Aeneas himself addresses Apollo as *pater*, iii. 89.

794. This use of *succedere*, 'to find its goal', is unique in Virgil; it is, however, an easy extension of the ordinary sense of the word (very frequent in Virgil), 'to approach', 'to come up'.

800. If the *acris* of the MSS. is correct, the phrase must mean 'they dropped their eagerness of combat' in order to turn their gaze on Camilla. The vulgate before Heinsius was *convertere animos acies* which gives an easy and unexceptionable sense, but seems to have no authority.

801. *auras*, the archaic genitive, was read here by Servius. It gives a very fine musical effect; but perhaps it is hardly justifiable to adopt it as the text against all the good MSS.; and it may be

nec sonitus memor aut venientis ab aethere teli,
hasta sub exsertam donec perlata papillam
haesit virgineumque alte bibit acta cruorem.
concurrunt trepidae comites dominamque ruentem 805
suscipiunt. fugit ante omnis exterritus Arruns
laetitia mixtoque metu, nec iam amplius hastae
credere nec telis occurrere virginis audet.
ac velut ille, prius quam tela inimica sequantur,
continuo in montis sese avius abdidit altos 810
occiso pastore lupus magnove iuvenco,
conscius audacis facti, caudamque remulcens
subiecit pavitantem utero silvasque petivit:
haud secus ex oculis se turbidus abstulit Arruns
contentusque fuga mediis se immiscuit armis. 815
illa manu moriens telum trahit, ossa sed inter
ferreus ad costas alto stat vulnere mucro.
labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto
lumina, purpureus quondam color ora reliquit.
tum sic exspirans Accam ex aequalibus unam 820
adloquitur fidam ante alias, quae sola Camillae
quicum partiri curas, atque haec ita fatur:
'hactenus, Acca soror, potui: nunc vulnus acerbum

802–823 *MPR*   821 fida M^1R 822 quacum P^2

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due to a recollection of *teli stridorem aurasque sonantis* in l. 863 below.

802. For *nec memor*, 'unregardful', see note on ii. 244. Latin had an instinctive dislike of stringing one genitive upon another; and so where we should say 'unconscious of the sound of the weapon', prefers to say 'unconscious of the sound or of the weapon'. For an exceptional use of the duplicated genitive see note on xii. 541.

812. *remulcere*, to stroke back or smooth down, seems to be a coinage of Virgil's. He does not use it elsewhere.

814. For *turbidus* see note on l. 742 above.

815. *contentus fuga* is rightly explained by Conington as 'well content to escape'; not as other editors suppose, 'straining in flight': so *galea contentus abito* v. 314.

817. *stat*, 'is planted', 'sticks fast'.

822. This is the only instance in which Virgil uses the so-called 'historic infinitive' in a subordinate clause. It is probably an archaism, and is hardly ever found in classical Latin; Tacitus has

conficit, et tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum.
effuge et haec Turno mandata novissima perfer:
succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbe.
iamque vale.' simul his dictis linquebat habenas
ad terram non sponte fluens, tum frigida toto
paulatim exsolvit se corpore, lentaque colla
et captum leto posuit caput, arma relinquens,
vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.
tum vero immensus surgens ferit aurea clamor
sidera: deiecta crudescit pugna Camilla;
incurrunt densi simul omnis copia Teucrum
Tyrrhenique duces Euandrique Arcades alae.
  At Triviae custos iamdudum in montibus Opis
alta sedet summis spectatque interrita pugnas.
utque procul medio iuvenum in clamore furentum
prospexit tristi mulcatam morte Camillam,
ingemuitque deditque has imo pectore voces:
'heu nimium, virgo, nimium crudele luisti
supplicium Teucros conata lacessere bello!
nec tibi desertae in dumis coluisse Dianam
profuit aut nostras umero gessisse pharetras.
non tamen indecorem tua te regina reliquit

824–845 *MPR*   826 urbi P^1R 830 reliquens P^1, reliquit *R*   835 Tyrrhenumque *M*   838 iuvenem P^1, furentem *M*   844 sagittas *M*   845 relinquet *P*

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one instance, *unde audiri, Germ.* c. 7. With the unusual pleonasm of *haec ita fatur*, instead of *haec fatur* or *ita fatur*, may be compared the *quae talia* of x. 298.

830. The MSS. vary between *relinquens* and *reliquit;* the *relinquunt* adopted by some editors is mentioned as an alternative to *relinquens* in Servius. *relinquens*, picking up the *fluens* of l. 828, is perhaps the most characteristically Virgilian wording.

837. *interrita* means 'not scared away', or 'unflinchingly'. But even so there is ground for Heyne's remark that in this context it is 'aut alienum aut otiosum'.

839. It is matter of debate whether *mulcare* and *multare* are originally different words, or merely differentiated variants of an original *mulctare*. Both mean to punish, but in common usage the former meant punishment by flogging, the latter punishment by fine. In any case *multatam morte* or *mulcatam morte* means 'having paid the penalty of death'. The good MSS. all give *mulcatam* here.

extrema iam in morte, neque hoc sine nomine letum
per gentis erit aut famam patieris inultae.
nam quicumque tuum violavit vulnere corpus
morte luet merita.' fuit ingens monte sub alto
regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum
antiqui Laurentis opacaque ilice tectum;
hic dea se primum rapido pulcherrima nisu
sistit et Arruntem tumulo speculatur ab alto.
ut vidit fulgentem armis ac vana tumentem,
'cur' inquit 'diversus abis? huc derige gressum,
huc periture veni, capias ut digna Camillae
praemia. tune etiam telis moriere Dianae?'
dixit, et aurata volucrem Threissa sagittam
deprompsit pharetra cornuque infensa tetendit
et duxit longe, donec curvata coirent
inter se capita et manibus iam tangeret aequis,
laeva aciem ferri, dextra nervoque papillam.
extemplo teli stridorem aurasque sonantis
audiit una Arruns haesitque in corpore ferrum.
illum exspirantem socii atque extrema gementem
obliti ignoto camporum in pulvere linquunt;
Opis ad aetherium pennis aufertur Olympum.
  Prima fugit domina amissa levis ala Camillae,
turbati fugiunt Rutuli, fugit acer Atinas,

846–857 *MPR* 858–869 *FMPR* 850 Decerni M^1, Dercerni M^2 854 laetantem animis M^1 856 Camilla *R*

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850. Nothing more is known of this prehistoric king Dercennus or Decernus.

852. For *pulcherrima* see note on iv. 60.

854. The interesting variant in M, *laetantem animis* for *fulgentem armis*, seems to represent an authentic original text.

860. *coirent inter se*, 'drew near each other', not of course actually met. *manibus aequis* is rightly explained by La Cerda as indicating the 'manuum aequale officium simul et diversum', the two hands pulling against each other equally.

869. Atinas is coupled with Messapus as one of the foremost Italian warriors xii. 661; he is not mentioned elsewhere.

870. For *manipli* see note on l. 463.

882. *tuta domorum* 'places of shelter in their houses', is not, as often it is explained, merely a stylistic variant for

disiectique duces desolatique manipli
tuta petunt et equis aversi ad moenia tendunt.
nec quisquam instantis Teucros letumque ferentis
sustentare valet telis aut sistere contra,
sed laxos referunt umeris languentibus arcus,
quadripedumque putrem cursu quatit ungula campum.
volvitur ad muros caligine turbidus atra
pulvis, et e speculis percussae pectora matres
femineum clamorem ad caeli sidera tollunt.
qui cursu portas primi inrupere patentis,
hos inimica super mixto premit agmine turba,
nec miseram effugiunt mortem, sed limine in ipso,
moenibus in patriis atque intra tuta domorum
confixi exspirant animas. pars claudere portas,
nec sociis aperire viam nec moenibus audent
accipere orantis, oriturque miserrima caedes
defendentum armis aditus inque arma ruentum.
exclusi ante oculos lacrimantumque ora parentum
pars in praecipitis fossas urgente ruina
volvitur, immissis pars caeca et concita frenis
arietat in portas et duros obice postis.
ipsae de muris summo certamine matres,
monstrat amor verus patriae, ut videre, Camillam,
tela manu trepidae iaciunt ac robore duro

870–893 *FMPR* 870 defectique M^1 871 equos *P* 875 quadripedoque F^1R 877 et speculis F^1M^1 882 inter *FP* 892 versus *R*

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tutas domos. So in ii. 332 *angusta viarum* means not the narrow streets but the narrow points in the streets.

888. *ruina*, 'the rush' of fugitives, like *caeli ruina* 'the downrush of the sky' i. 129.

890. For *duros obice*, 'grim-barred', see App. A.

892. This line presents difficulties which are perhaps insoluble. Heyne had much reason in suspecting that either the whole line, or at all events the latter half of it, is an early interpolation: short of this, we must conclude that Virgil left an incomplete draft. *monstrat* without any object is almost meaningless; it suggests that another line containing an object clause was meant to follow, and such a line might have given relevance to the epithet *verus*, which as it stands is extremely awkward. *ut videre Camillam*

stipitibus ferrum sudibusque imitantur obustis
praecipites, primaeque mori pro moenibus ardent.
Interea Turnum in silvis saevissimus implet
nuntius et iuveni ingentem fert Acca tumultum:
deletas Volscorum acies, cecidisse Camillam,
ingruere infensos hostis et Marte secundo
omnia corripuisse, metum iam ad moenia ferri.
ille furens, et saeva Iovis sic numina poscunt,
deserit obsessos collis, nemora aspera linquit.
vix e conspectu exierat campumque tenebat,
cum pater Aeneas saltus ingressus apertos
exsuperatque iugum silvaque evadit opaca.
sic ambo ad muros rapidi totoque feruntur
agmine nec longis inter se passibus absunt;
ac simul Aeneas fumantis pulvere campos
prospexit longe Laurentiaque agmina vidit,

894–895 *FMPR* 896–909 *MPR* 895 audent M^2 901 pellunt *R* 903 camposque M^1

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without any explanatory or qualifying words can hardly mean anything else than 'when they saw the corpse of Camilla borne in'; but this would be inconsistent with the promise of Diana (ll. 593–4) to waft corpse and arms away from the field where she fell. None of the attempts which have been made to emend or rewrite the line are acceptable or even plausible: the only one which need be mentioned (as it is adopted in the text of Ladewig-Schaper-Deuticke's edition) is Schaper's *monstrat amor patriae, versam ut videre Camillam,* based on the variant *versus* (for *verus*) in one of the primary MSS., which otherwise present no variation. It may, however, if punctuated as in the text above, be an instance of Virgilian inversion; 'true patriotism points to Camilla, when they have once set eyes on her', being in effect equivalent to 'Camilla, when they have once set eyes on her, points the path of true patriotism': it would then be a resumption or echo, with a deeper meaning, of *turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,* vii. 813.

894. *stipitibus* is qualified by the compound adjective *robore duro* (see Introduction, p. lxxxi, and App. A) balancing *obustis*.

895. *primae* and *pro moenibus* are substantially equivalent in sense: *primae,* 'in the forefront'; *pro moenibus,* not 'in front of the walls', but 'on the front of the walls'. 'Pro significat in, ut pro rostris, pro aede, pro tribunali', Festus as quoted by Paulus Diaconus.

896. *nuntius implet Turnum,* 'the news comes pouring in upon Turnus'.

907. *longis passibus,* 'a long stretch of paces'; so x. 549 *longos annos* means a long stretch of years.

et saevum Aenean agnovit Turnus in armis 910
adventumque pedum flatusque audivit equorum.
continuoque ineant pugnas et proelia temptent,
ni roseus fessos iam gurgite Phoebus Hibero
tingat equos noctemque die labente reducat.
considunt castris ante urbem et moenia vallant. 915

910–915 *MPR* 910 conspexit *P* 911 adventusque *M*, flatumque *R*
912 ineunt *M*¹

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911. 'The nearing tramp of feet and the snorting of horses.'

912. No distinction of meaning can be drawn between *pugnas* and *proelia*. The two words are used by Virgil indiscriminately as suits his convenience, and never coupled by him except here, the reason being merely to avoid, even at the risk of some tautology, the slight awkwardness of a single grammatical object common to the two verbs 'enter upon' and 'essay', the *proelium inire* of Livy xxv. 38 and the *belli fortunam temptare* of Caesar *B.G.* i. 36.

915. At the beginning of Book XII Turnus is within the city; but his main force, as indicated here, is encamped just outside it, and a little way off the camp of Aeneas. This line accordingly refers to both armies, and *moenia* does not mean the city-walls, but the palisaded earthen ramparts of the two camps.

BOOK XII

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

For Book XII Virgil has reserved, and it it he puts forth, his very greatest powers. It is not everywhere equal in its quality: and the fact that it is, as it stands, the longest of the twelve, suggests that some further compression might still have been applied to it. But there is little in it that we can wish or imagine altered. Once launched, the action sweeps on to its end unfalteringly, and the final episodes, ll. 614–952, are unsurpassed and perhaps unequalled in their magnificence. The action is comprised within two days.

The episode of the suicide of Amata (ll. 593–613) raises an interesting question. It either borrows material from, or supplies material to, the concluding scene of Book IV to an extent not parallelled elsewhere except in the similar duplications which have been noticed in the Sinon episode of Book II and the Achaemenides episode of Book III. The possibility suggests itself that Virgil contemplated discarding the whole passage, and leaving Amata's end in silence. While its introduction gives an additional note of tragedy, and while the duplications may be defended as deliberate echoes, it is of doubtful value; if it had been cancelled by Virgil himself or by his editors, we should hardly feel anything to be missing. It belongs to the saga rather than to the epic: the saga sets out to tell the whole story to the end, and relate what happened to all the characters in it; the epic selects and eliminates. On the other hand no exception can be taken to the scene of the arming of Turnus (ll. 81–106) which has been criticized as premature. It could not have been introduced at any other point, and it adds very materially, as it stands, to the dramatic and pictorial quality of the narrative.

As minor marks of incompletion (beyond the one unfinished line (631) and a second, almost certainly, in 218) we may note that the couplet, ll. 287–8, is left in the air; that l. 345 is an awkward addition; and that ll. 670 and 671 appear to be alternatives. The opening of the Book is unusually (though very effectively) abrupt: an unexplained interval has elapsed since, in the closing scene of Book XI, the two armies were left preparing for a renewed battle and the Latin cause was not obviously desperate. This very abruptness has, however, a substantive value, and is probably a calculated device.

A notable feature in the Book is the prominence given to Juturna, whose introduction, like that of Camilla in XI, gives a fresh impulse and poignancy to the action. In her final effort to arrest or reverse fate, Juno, who has 'moved Acheron' in vain, now turns to another and more human intermediary: it is Juturna who brings about the breaking of the treaty, who takes the place of Turnus' charioteer, to whom (without a word of reproach) he pours out his agony of remorse, who restores him his own sword in the last combat, who finally disappears into her water-world with the bitter cry that the hateful load of immortality keeps her from joining her brother in death. Camilla and Juturna, if overshadowed to the world at large by Dido, are no less than Dido miracles of creative imagination.

AENEIDOS

LIBER DUODECIMUS

Turnus ut infractos adverso Marte Latinos
defecisse videt, sua nunc promissa reposci,
se signari oculis, ultro implacabilis ardet
attollitque animos. Poenorum qualis in arvis
saucius ille gravi venantum vulnere pectus
tum demum movet arma leo, gaudetque comantis
excutiens cervice toros fixumque latronis
impavidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento,
haud secus accenso gliscit violentia Turno.
tum sic adfatur regem atque ita turbidus infit:
'nulla mora in Turno; nihil est quod dicta retractent
ignavi Aeneadae, nec quae pepigere recusent.
congredior. fer sacra, pater, et concipe foedus.
aut hac Dardanium dextra sub Tartara mittam
desertorem Asiae, sedeant spectentque Latini,
et solus ferro crimen commune refellam,
aut habeat victos, cedat Lavinia coniunx.'
Olli sedato respondit corde Latinus:
'o praestans animi iuvenis, quantum ipse feroci
virtute exsuperas, tanto me impensius aequum est
consulere atque omnis metuentem expendere casus.
sunt tibi regna patris Dauni, sunt oppida capta

1–22 *MPR*   16 crimen ferro *R*

2. The promises are those given by Turnus at the council of the allies, xi. 434 foll.

7. The exact sense attached by Virgil to *latro* (a word which he only uses here) is uncertain, but probably it was 'stalker'. Among the various guesses made by Varro and other ancient grammarians as to the etymology of the word, one was that *latro* represented an original *latero* formed from the verb *latere*, and meaning one who lies in wait; this is likely enough. In general usage it is 'highwayman' or 'marauder'.

19. For the meaning of *feroci*, 'proud' or 'gallant', see note on i. 263. The *sedato corde* of the previous line means 'with quiet good sense'.

multa manu, nec non aurumque animusque Latino est.
sunt aliae innuptae Latio et Laurentibus agris,
nec genus indecores. sine me haec haud mollia fatu
sublatis aperire dolis, simul hoc animo hauri:
me natam nulli veterum sociare procorum
fas erat, idque omnes divique hominesque canebant.
victus amore tui, cognato sanguine victus
coniugis et maestae lacrimis, vincla omnia rupi:
promissam eripui genero, arma impia sumpsi.
ex illo qui me casus, quae, Turne, sequantur
bella vides, quantos primus patiare labores.
bis magna victi pugna vix urbe tuemur
spes Italas; recalent nostro Thybrina fluenta
sanguine adhuc campique ingentes ossibus albent.
quo referor totiens? quae mentem insania mutat?
si Turno exstincto socios sum ascire paratus,
cur non incolumi potius certamina tollo?
quid consanguinei Rutuli, quid cetera dicet
Italia, ad mortem si te, fors dicta refutet!
prodiderim, natam et conubia nostra petentem?
respice res bello varias, miserere parentis
longaevi, quem nunc maestum patria Ardea longe
dividit.'

24–44 *MPR*   24 arvis *M*

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23. *aurumque animusque Latino est* is well paraphrased by Servius, 'a me habes aurum et promptum animum ad danda omnia praeter filiam'.

26. The elision before the sixth foot, common in earlier Latin poetry, is only used twice by Virgil, here and in *haec eadem aufert* x. 508.

34. The echo in this line of the famous words in which the disaster of Lake Trasimene was announced to the crowd in the Forum by the praetor M. Pomponius, *Pugna magna victi sumus* (Liv. xxii. 7), is probably not accidental.

35. The vulgate text replaces the *Thybrina* of the MSS. by the normal form used by Virgil, *Tiberina*: see note on vii. 715. But there is hardly justification for this, and the majority of recent editors follow Ribbeck in reverting to the MSS. text.

37. *quo referor totiens*, 'to what point am I so often brought back?' i.e., how is it that all my efforts end in finding myself just where I was?

42. The force of *petentem* is 'at the very time when you are suing'.

Haudquaquam dictis violentia Turni
flectitur; exsuperat magis aegrescitque medendo.
ut primum fari potuit, sic institit ore:
'quam pro me curam geris, hanc precor, optime, pro me
deponas letumque sinas pro laude pacisci.
et nos tela, pater, ferrumque haud debile dextra
spargimus, et nostro sequitur de vulnere sanguis.
longe illi dea mater erit quae nube fugacem
feminea tegat, et vanis sese occulat umbris.'
At regina nova pugnae conterrita sorte
flebat et ardentem generum moritura tenebat:
'Turne, per has ego te lacrimas, per si quis Amatae
tangit honos animum, spes tu nunc una, senectae
tu requies miserae, decus imperiumque Latini
te penes, in te omnis domus inclinata recumbit,
unum oro: desiste manum committere Teucris.
qui te cumque manent isto certamine casus
et me, Turne, manent; simul haec invisa relinquam
lumina nec generum Aenean captiva videbo.'
accepit vocem lacrimis Lavinia matris
flagrantis perfusa genas, cui plurimus ignem
subiecit rubor et calefacta per ora cucurrit.
Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro

45–46 *MPR* 47–67 *MR* 46 ardescitque tuendo *M* 47 incipit *M*

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43. *respice*, as elsewhere e.g. iv. 275, vii. 454, means 'have regard to', not 'look back upon'.

44. Ardea was in fact only some six miles off; but as Heyne sensibly observes, 'non in geographo sed in poeta versamur'.

46. *exsuperat*, 'flames up', like *exsuperant flammae* ii. 759.

51. *nostro vulnere*, 'a wound dealt by me', so *vulnere Ulixi* ii. 436.

52. The change of mood and tense in *erit* . . *occulat* ('will be . . shall hide') is quite normal in Virgil: see note on i. 48. To couple *sese occulat* with *tegat* hardly makes sense: cf. x. 82.

55. For *moritura* see note on xi. 741.

65. *cui plurimus ignem subiecit rubor* is misunderstood if taken as an artificial inversion. 'An intense (or, flooding) blush lit a fire' in her face, or as we should say 'flamed up in her face'.

67. *violare* here merely means 'to stain', in the technical sense of the word: elsewhere in Virgil it has its more usual meaning of 'wound' or 'do violence to'.

si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa
alba rosa: talis virgo dabat ore colores.
illum turbat amor figitque in virgine vultus. 70
ardet in arma magis paucisque adfatur Amatam:
'ne, quaeso, ne me lacrimis neve omine tanto
prosequere in duri certamina Martis euntem,
o mater; neque enim Turno mora libera mortis.
nuntius haec, Idmon, Phrygio mea dicta tyranno 75
haud placitura refer: cum primum crastina caelo
puniceis invecta rotis Aurora rubebit,
non Teucros agat in Rutulos; Teucrum arma quiescant
et Rutuli: nostro dirimamus sanguine bellum;
illo quaeratur coniunx Lavinia campo.' 80
  Haec ubi dicta dedit rapidusque in tecta recessit,
poscit equos gaudetque tuens ante ora frementis,
Pilumno quos ipsa decus dedit Orithyia,
qui candore nives anteirent, cursibus auras.
circumstant properi aurigae manibusque lacessunt 85
pectora plausa cavis et colla comantia pectunt.
ipse dehinc auro squalentem alboque orichalco
circumdat loricam umeris, simul aptat habendo

68–88 *MR*   85 propere *R*

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70. For the change of subject (if there be one) in *turbat* and *figit* see note on vii. 211.

74. According to Servius, it was much debated whether the meaning of this line was 'I am not free to postpone death (by an ignominious withdrawal of the challenge I have given)', or 'postponement of death is not in my choice', i.e., 'my fate, and its time, are predestined'. It was reckoned as one of the *insolubilia* in Virgil, 'quae habent obscuritatem, licet a multis', as Servius drily adds, 'pro captu resolvantur ingenii'.

81–106. This elaborate description of the arming of Turnus has been criticized as a passage separately written and not fully adjusted here. The arming would, as early commentators remarked, naturally take place on the morning of the battle, not on the day before; and the introductory line (81) looks like a stop-gap: it may also be remarked that the description of Turnus' weapons is not quite consistent with l. 165 where he comes out actually armed for the battle. There can be little doubt that Virgil would have smoothed out the narrative

ensemque clipeumque et rubrae cornua cristae,
ensem quem Dauno ignipotens deus ipse parenti
fecerat et Stygia candentem tinxerat unda.
exin quae mediis ingenti adnixa columnae
aedibus astabat, validam vi corripit hastam,
Actoris Aurunci spolium, quassatque trementem
vociferans: 'nunc, o numquam frustrata vocatus
hasta meos, nunc tempus adest: te maximus Actor,
te Turni nunc dextra gerit; da sternere corpus
loricamque manu valida lacerare revulsam
semiviri Phrygis et foedare in pulvere crinis
vibratos calido ferro murraque madentis.'
his agitur furiis, totoque ardentis ab ore
scintillae absistunt, oculis micat acribus ignis:
mugitus veluti cum prima in proelia taurus
terrificos ciet atque irasci in cornua temptat
arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacessit
ictibus aut sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.
Nec minus interea maternis saevus in armis
Aeneas acuit Martem et se suscitat ira,
oblato gaudens componi foedere bellum.

89–92 *MR* 93–109 *MPR* 92 exim *M* 100 cadentis *P* 102 exsistunt *R* 103 primum R 104 aut *M*^{2}*PR*

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in revision. See also the note on l. 161 below. But the contrast between Turnus' excitement now and his complete lapse from it throughout the fighting of the next day is extraordinarily impressive. Throughout this book he is 'fey', bewildered and hardly conscious of what he says or does.

96. The old vulgate, *nunc, tempus, ades*, 'now, it is time, aid me', is due to Heinsius and has no MS. authority, nor does it seem to have been known to the ancient commentators. It is attractive, but to give it its full force one would have to make the further change which was proposed by Ribbeck, and read *non maximus Actor*. But this is rewriting Virgil, not emending his text.

102. *absistere*, here as in viii. 39, means 'start away'.

103. There is little to choose between the *cum prima in proelia* and the *cum primum in proelia* of the primary MSS. Either has exactly the same meaning.

104. These three lines are repeated with slight verbal variation from *Georg*. iii. 232–4. In both passages the curious phrase *irasci in cornua* seems to mean 'to concentrate his fury into his horns'.

tum socios maestique metum solatur Iuli 110
fata docens, regique iubet responsa Latino
certa referre viros et pacis dicere leges.
  Postera vix summos spargebat lumine montis
orta dies, cum primum alto se gurgite tollunt
Solis equi lucemque elatis naribus efflant: 115
campum ad certamen magnae sub moenibus urbis
dimensi Rutulique viri Teucrique parabant
in medioque focos et dis communibus aras
gramineas. alii fontemque ignemque ferebant
velati limo et verbena tempora vincti. 120
procedit legio Ausonidum, pilataque plenis
agmina se fundunt portis. hinc Troius omnis
Tyrrhenusque ruit variis exercitus armis,
haud secus instructi ferro quam si aspera Martis
pugna vocet. nec non mediis in milibus ipsi 125
ductores auro volitant ostroque superbi,
et genus Assaraci Mnestheus et fortis Asilas
et Messapus equum domitor, Neptunia proles.
utque dato signo spatia in sua quisque recessit,
defigunt tellure hastas et scuta reclinant. 130
tum studio effusae matres et vulgus inermum
invalidique senes turris ac tecta domorum
obsedere, alii portis sublimibus astant.

110–133 *MPR* 113 summo *M* 117 demensi *M* 120 lino *MPR* 124 bello *M* 126 decori *PR* 130 telluri *R* 132 et tecta *M* 133 instant *R*

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120. *lino* 'with linen', the reading of all the MSS. with one or two negligible exceptions, was the text here in the *Aeneid* as originally published. But the correction into *limo*, made soon after its publication by Hyginus, the head of the Palatine library, apparently after inspection of Virgil's autograph MS., is universally accepted. The *limus* was an apron with a slanting purple border, worn by the officiants at sacrifices.

121. *pilatus*, a word not elsewhere used by Virgil, is explained alternatively by the ancient commentators as 'armed with the pilum' or 'closely massed'. The latter, for which there is good authority, is preferable. It is one of Virgil's archaisms.

123. For *ruit*, 'pours forward', see note on vi. 539.

128. The repetition of this line from vii. 691, ix. 523 (and in substance x. 353), is noticeable. We must not, however,

At Iuno e summo, qui nunc Albanus habetur,
tum neque nomen erat neque honos aut gloria monti,
prospiciens tumulo campum aspectabat et ambas
Laurentum Troumque acies urbemque Latini.
extemplo Turni sic est adfata sororem
diva deam, stagnis quae fluminibusque sonoris
praesidet; hunc illi rex aetheris altus honorem
Iuppiter erepta pro virginitate sacravit:
'nympha, decus fluviorum, animo gratissima nostro,
scis ut te cunctis unam, quaecumque Latinae
magnanimi Iovis ingratum ascendere cubile,
praetulerim caelique libens in parte locarim:
disce tuum, ne me incuses, Iuturna, dolorem.
qua visa est Fortuna pati Parcaeque sinebant
cedere res Latio, Turnum et tua moenia texi:
nunc iuvenem imparibus video concurrere fatis,
Parcarumque dies et vis inimica propinquat.
non pugnam aspicere hanc oculis, non foedera possum.
tu pro germano si quid praesentius audes,
perge; decet. forsan miseros meliora sequentur.'
vix ea, cum lacrimas oculis Iuturna profudit
terque quaterque manu pectus percussit honestum.
'non lacrimis hoc tempus' ait Saturnia Iuno;
'accelera et fratrem, si quis modus, eripe morti;

134–157 *MPR*   142 carissima *PR*   143 Latinis P^2

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assume that Virgil would have struck it out here on revision, for it is very effective, and Virgil takes pains throughout to emphasize the importance of Messapus, whom he mentions more than twenty times, though no specific *aristeia* of his is recounted.

131–3. The similarity of phrasing in these lines to the description of the assault on Priam's palace in Book II (*pavidae tectis matres* l. 489, *turris ac tota* (or *tecta*) *domorum culmina* l. 445, *obsedere fores* l. 450) is close. This passage was probably the earlier written of the two.

136. This prehistoric *tumulus* or barrow on the summit of the Alban Mount is implicitly contrasted with the great temple of Jupiter Latiaris afterwards erected on the same site.

144. *ingratus*, as always in Virgil, means thankless, not displeasing.

155. *honestum*, 'comely', is an epithet

aut tu bella cie conceptumque excute foedus.
auctor ego audendi.' sic exhortata reliquit
incertam et tristi turbatam vulnere mentis. 160
  Interea reges, ingenti mole Latinus
quadriiugo vehitur curru, cui tempora circum
aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt,
Solis avi specimen, bigis it Turnus in albis,
bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro. 165
hinc pater Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo,
sidereo flagrans clipeo et caelestibus armis
et iuxta Ascanius, magnae spes altera Romae,
procedunt castris, puraque in veste sacerdos
saetigeri fetum suis intonsamque bidentem 170
attulit admovitque pecus flagrantibus aris.
illi ad surgentem conversi lumina solem
dant fruges manibus salsas et tempora ferro

158–173 *MPR* 161 rex ingenti de mole M^1 162 quadrigo *P*

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rarely used by Virgil, and elsewhere only of the face or head. The Servian note, which suggests that it means *divinum*, shows that it was felt to be strange in this context.

158. It is debated whether *conceptum excute foedus* is merely another way of expressing the *disice compositam pacem* of the same speaker in vii. 339, or is a metaphor from abortion. The latter, though unusually violent, is more in tone with Juno's fierce excitement.

161. Either, which is not impossible, there is a gap here after *interea reges*, left to be filled up later by the insertion of another complete line, or there is an abbreviated *constructio ad sensum*, by which *Latinus vehitur* and *Turnus it* make up between them the predicate of the sentence. The latter explanation is supported by the analogous construction of xi. 690, *protinus Orsilochum et Buten, duo maxima Teucrum corpora, sed Buten . . . fixit, . . . Orsilochum. . . . eludit*. See also, however, note on x. 362. *ingenti mole* of course is to be taken with *curru*, not as the commentators strangely suppose, with *Latinus*. *ingenti mole curru* is a single phrase, like *ingenti mole Chimaeram* v. 223 and *ingenti mole sepulcrum* vi. 232: see also note on viii. 693.

164. *specimen*, ocular proof: so *tale dabit specimen*, *Georg*. ii. 241, the only other passage in which Virgil uses the word.

165. *lato ferro* (cf. *lata lancea* l. 374 below) describes the 'shovel-headed' spear familiar to the last generation from Sudanese warfare. It was used with terrible effect by the Spanish lancers against Venables' English infantry in Hispaniola in 1655.

summa notant pecudum, paterisque altaria libant.
tum pius Aeneas stricto sic ense precatur:
'Esto nunc Sol testis et haec mihi Terra vocanti,
quam propter tantos potui perferre labores,
et Pater omnipotens et tu Saturnia coniunx,
iam melior, iam, diva, precor; tuque inclute Mavors,
cuncta tuo qui bella pater sub numine torques;
Fontisque Fluviosque voco, quaeque aetheris alti
religio et quae caeruleo sunt numina ponto:
cesserit Ausonio si fors victoria Turno,
convenit Euandri victos discedere ad urbem,
cedet Iulus agris, nec post arma ulla rebelles
Aeneadae referent ferrove haec regna lacessent.
sin nostrum adnuerit nobis Victoria Martem
ut potius reor et potius di numine firment,
non ego nec Teucris Italos parere iubebo

174–189 *MPR* 176 precanti *M* 178 Saturnia Iuno M^1 184 decedere M^1 188 propius *R*, numina *R*

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167. The epithet *sidereo*, while it only expresses the brilliance of the 'blazing shield', suggests and leads up to the further point added that the armour was of celestial workmanship.

174. *altaria libant* is one of the unique variations of phrase characteristic of Virgil. The ordinary usage would be *in* (or *ad*) *altaria*; so i. 736 *in mensam libavit*, vii. 245 *libabat ad aras*, viii. 279 *libant in mensam*. Apart from this, *pateris libare* (*Georg.* ii. 192) and *pateras libare* (vii. 133) may be written indifferently, according as the verb is used transitively or intransitively.

182. For the force of *religio aetheris* (practically equated with the *numina ponti*) the awe, or awful powers, of the sky, see note on ii. 151. Similarly *vim deum infernam* (for *deos infernos*) in the oath of Latinus l. 199. It has been noted, and thought strange, that Aeneas does not, as Latinus does in l. 199, appeal to the Powers of the underworld. If any reason is to be sought for this, it may be sufficient that Aeneas had been there, and that it had no further sanction left for him. It is interesting to compare *Georg.* i. 36 foll.

185. For *rebelles* see note on vi. 858.

187. 'If Victory assent that the fortune of battle be ours': for the use of *Mars* in this sense cf. the fuller expression *Marte secundo* x. 22, xi. 899, xii. 497, and also *aequo Marte* vii. 540 and *adverso Marte* xii. 1.

189. The doubled negative for added emphasis in *non ego nec* is not used elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, though it occurs twice in the *Eclogues*, iv. 55, v. 25.

nec mihi regna peto: paribus se legibus ambae
invictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant.
sacra deosque dabo; socer arma Latinus habeto,
imperium sollemne socer; mihi moenia Teucri
constituent urbique dabit Lavinia nomen.'
  Sic prior Aeneas, sequitur sic deinde Latinus
suspiciens caelum, tenditque ad sidera dextram:
'haec eadem, Aenea, terram, mare, sidera, iuro
Latonaeque genus duplex Ianumque bifrontem,
vimque deum infernam et duri sacraria Ditis;
audiat haec genitor qui foedera fulmine sancit.
tango aras, medios ignis et numina testor:
nulla dies pacem hanc Italis nec foedera rumpet,
quo res cumque cadent; nec me vis ulla volentem
avertet, non, si tellurem effundat in undas
diluvio miscens caelumque in Tartara solvat;
ut sceptrum hoc' dextra sceptrum nam forte gerebat,
'numquam fronde levi fundet virgulta nec umbras,
cum semel in silvis imo de stirpe recisum
matre caret posuitque comas et bracchia ferro

190–209 *MPR*   202 rumpit P^1, rumpat P^2

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194. It is clear from Virgil's general treatment elsewhere that this is the town which he imagines as already existing, and to receive the new name not of Troy, but of Lavinium. See note on vii. 149.

206–11. 'Homeri locus verbum ad verbum' is the note of Servius (*Il.* i. 234 foll.). But Homer only says 'leaves and twigs'. The 'light-leaved sprays' of l. 207 are the 'brushwood sheaf' of Browning.

218. The last three words of this line, though they are in all the MSS. and were in the text of Servius, whose note is 'eos congressuros subaudis', are clearly a stop-gap; they repeat feebly the *impar pugna* of l. 216 and are irrelevant to the further and different import of the clause beginning *tum magis*. The passage was left incomplete by Virgil, as is obvious from the abrupt and unsupported *adiuvat*, a verb left without any object. The filling-up was presumably suggested by the *viribus aequi* (*viribus aequis* in one good MS.) of l. 230 below, as well as by the *viribus aequis* of v. 809, x. 357, 431.

220. For *demisso lumine* (not 'with downcast eye' in the metaphorical sense, but merely 'looking downwards') see note on i. 561.

olim arbos, nunc artificis manus aere decoro
inclusit patribusque dedit gestare Latinis.'
Talibus inter se firmabant foedera dictis
conspectu in medio procerum. tum rite sacratas
in flammam iugulant pecudes et viscera vivis
eripiunt, cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras.
At vero Rutulis impar ea pugna videri
iamdudum et vario misceri pectora motu.
tum magis ut propius cernunt *non viribus aequis*
adiuvat incessu tacito progressus et aram
suppliciter venerans demisso lumine Turnus
pubentesque genae et iuvenali in corpore pallor.
quem simul ac Iuturna soror crebrescere vidit
sermonem et vulgi variare labantia corda,
in medias acies formam adsimulata Camerti
cui genus a proavis ingens clarumque paternae
nomen erat virtutis, et ipse acerrimus armis,
in medias dat sese acies haud nescia rerum
rumoresque serit varios ac talia fatur:
'non pudet, o Rutuli, pro cunctis talibus unam

210–229 *MPR*   213 prospectu *M*, in *om.* M^1P^1

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221. The vulgate reading, *tabentesque genae*, accepted by most editors, has practically no MS. authority; it was first introduced into the text by Manutius, and Sabbadini is justified in calling it a copyist's conjecture. His explanation of *pubentes*, 'la giovine età di Turno, alla quale fa contrasto il pallore del volto, accresce le simpatie per lui', is satisfactory. *tabentes* is certainly attractive and plausible; it derives some support from the *durus amor crudeli tabe peredit* of vi. 442; and a distinction may be drawn between *tabes* 'wasting' and *tabum* 'putrefaction' which is probably the word in the description of the plague in *Georg*. iii. 481 and 557, of the severed heads, *pallida tabo*, fixed on the doors of Cacus' den viii. 197, and of the victims of Mezentius viii. 487: but here it would be overstrained and out of key with the picture. The *sale tabentes artus* of i. 173 (the only other occasion on which Virgil uses the word), 'soaked and oozing', is quite appropriate to a description of shipwrecked sailors.

227. *haud nescia rerum*, 'knowing well how to act': much the same as *haud ignara nocendi* v. 618, where the task of Iris, as of Juturna here, is to stir up mischief at the instigation of Juno.

obiectare animam? numerone an viribus aequi
non sumus? en, omnes et Troes et Arcades hi sunt,
fatalisque manus, infensa Etruria Turno.
vix hostem, alterni si congrediamur, habemus.
ille quidem ad superos, quorum se devovet aris,
succedet fama vivusque per ora feretur:
nos patria amissa dominis parere superbis
cogemur, qui nunc lenti consedimus arvis.'
  Talibus incensa est iuvenum sententia dictis
iam magis atque magis, serpitque per agmina murmur:
ipsi Laurentes mutati ipsique Latini,
qui sibi iam requiem pugnae rebusque salutem
sperabant, nunc arma volunt foedusque precantur
infectum et Turni sortem miserantur iniquam.
  His aliud maius Iuturna adiungit et alto
dat signum caelo, quo non praesentius ullum
turbavit mentes Italas monstroque fefellit.
namque volans rubra fulvus Iovis ales in aethra
litoreas agitabat avis turbamque sonantem

230–248 *MPR*   230 ac P^2, aequis *P*   232 fatalesque *MR*   237 armis M^1
239 tum magis *P*   245 praestantius *R*   247 fulvus rubra *M*

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232. *fatalis* 'the slaves of their oracles', is a contemptuous reference to the way in which the Etruscan forces, as recounted in viii. 494–504, had been held up by the reports of their haruspex; it is almost equivalent to 'superstitious'.

The good MSS. vary between *fatalisque manus* (singular) and *fatalesque manus* (plural); the former is preferable, and the other is perhaps merely due to a desire to regularize the scansion of the line.

235. The position of *fama* in the line should be observed; it attaches itself both to *succedet* and to *feretur*.

245. *quo non praesentius ullum* means 'of singular effectiveness', and *monstro* 'by its significance'.

247. It is not clear what the picture here is. The expression *rubra aethra* was taken by Virgil from Ennius; but the quotation from Ennius (*Ann.* xvi. fr. 9) given by Macrobius, *interea fax Occidit, oceanumque rubra tractim obruit aethra,* is not of much help so long as we do not know what that *fax* was; the word is widely used in Latin poetry of the sun, the moon, planets and comets, shooting stars, and lightning. In the only other passage where Virgil uses *aethra, lucidus aethra siderea polus* iii. 585, it appears to mean the glitter or effulgence of the stars. The phrase here may perhaps be

agminis aligeri, subito cum lapsus ad undas
cycnum excellentem pedibus rapit improbus uncis.
arrexere animos Itali, cunctaeque volucres
convertunt clamore fugam, mirabile visu,
aetheraque obscurant pennis hostemque per auras
facta nube premunt, donec vi victus et ipso
pondere defecit praedamque ex unguibus ales
proiecit fluvio, penitusque in nubila fugit.
tum vero augurium Rutuli clamore salutant
expediuntque manus, primusque Tolumnius augur
'hoc erat, hoc, votis' inquit 'quod saepe petivi.
accipio agnoscoque deos; me, me duce ferrum
corripite, o miseri, quos improbus advena bello
territat invalidas ut avis, et litora vestra
vi populat. petet ille fugam penitusque profundo
vela dabit. vos unanimi densete catervas
et regem vobis pugna defendite raptum.'
dixit, et adversos telum contorsit in hostis
procurrens; sonitum dat stridula cornus et auras

249–267 *MPR* 264 densate *MP*

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descriptive of the prismatic halo round the silhouette of the eagle seen against strong sunlight, caused by the diffraction of light at the edges of the feathers. We may compare the description of the celestial armour seen *caeli in regione serena per sudum rutilare* in viii. 528–9.

250. *cycnum excellentem*, as Warde Fowler points out, is 'the leader swan'.

256. The characteristic Virgilian dative, *fluvio* for *in fluvium*, is more than usually frequent in this Book: cf. among other instances, *effundit solo* l. 380, *fusum labris* l. 417, *saltum dedit arvis* l. 681. In such phrases, where the noun is of the second declension, it is impossible, except by observation of usage in other cases, to discriminate between a dative and a (local) ablative. It must be borne in mind (the remark is one of wide application) that Virgil was a poet, not a grammarian, and dealt with actual words, not with grammatical forms. He had to choose between *reliquit harenae* (xii. 382) and *extendit harena* (v. 374, ix. 589); but in the instances cited above he was not thinking in terms of datives and ablatives, but of the words *solo*, *labris*, *arvis*.

265. *pugna* qualifies both *vobis raptum* and *defendite*: cf. note on l. 235 above. It is impossible to convey this nuance exactly in English.

certa secat. simul hoc, simul ingens clamor et omnes
turbati cunei calefactaque corda tumultu.
hasta volans, ut forte novem pulcherrima fratrum
corpora constiterant contra, quos fida crearat
una tot Arcadio coniunx Tyrrhena Gylippo,
horum unum ad medium, teritur qua sutilis alvo
balteus et laterum iuncturas fibula mordet,
egregium forma iuvenem et fulgentibus armis,
transadigit costas fulvaque effundit harena.
at fratres, animosa phalanx accensaque luctu,
pars gladios stringunt manibus pars missile ferrum
corripiunt caecique ruunt. quos agmina contra
procurrunt Laurentum; hinc densi rursus inundant
Troes Agyllinique et pictis Arcades armis:
sic omnis amor unus habet decernere ferro.
diripuere aras, it toto turbida caelo
tempestas telorum ac ferreus ingruit imber,
craterasque focosque ferunt, fugit ipse Latinus
pulsatos referens infecto foedere divos.
infrenant alii currus aut corpora saltu
subiciunt in equos et strictis ensibus adsunt.
  Messapus regem regisque insigne gerentem
Tyrrhenum Aulesten, avidus confundere foedus,

268–290 *MPR* 273 auro *M* 283 id M^1, et P^1 287 et *M* 288 adstant M^2

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269. The wedge-shaped sectors in which the various divisions of the allied army had arranged themselves, as though on the benches of a theatre (the *cuneos theatri* of v. 664) to view the action, are thrown into confusion and become a mixed mass. The reverse process is described in the *cuneis coactis* of l. 457 below.

275. This line (=vi. 861) could be omitted without injury to the sense. But, whether or not Virgil would have finally retained it here, it belongs beyond all reasonable doubt to his draft of this passage, from which he took it for use when he wrote the Marcellus episode for insertion in Book VI. There is a similarly interposed or parenthetic line, 292 below.

278. For the connexion of *manibus* see note on l. 235.

283. 'They pull the altars to pieces', i.e., dismantle them hurriedly; so the bees in *Georg.* iv. 214 *constructa mella*

adverso proterret equo, ruit ille recedens,
et miser oppositis a tergo involvitur aris,
in caput inque umeros. at fervidus advolat hasta
Messapus teloque orantem multa trabali
desuper altus equo graviter ferit atque ita fatur: 295
'hoc habet, haec melior magnis data victima divis.'
concurrunt Itali spoliantque calentia membra.
obvius ambustum torrem Corynaeus ab ara
corripit et venienti Ebyso plagamque ferenti
occupat os flammis: olli ingens barba reluxit 300
nidoremque ambusta dedit. super ipse secutus
caesariem laeva turbati corripit hostis
impressoque genu nitens terrae applicat ipsum;
sic rigido latus ense ferit. Podalirius Alsum
pastorem primaque acie per tela ruentem 305
ense sequens nudo superimminet; ille securi
adversi frontem mediam mentumque reducta
disicit et sparso late rigat arma cruore.
olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget
somnus, in aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem. 310
At pius Aeneas dextram tendebat inermem
nudato capite atque suos clamore vocabat:
'quo ruitis? quaeve ista repens discordia surgit?

291–313 *MPR* 308 discidit *R* 310 conduntur *P* 311 inertem M^1
313 quove ista *R*

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diripuere ipsae. This part of the picture is resumed on l. 285 after the intercalated *it toto . . . imber.* The confused effect is of course deliberate.

291. *proterrere* is a verb only found here in Virgil; elsewhere he uses *proturbare,* in the same sense (ix. 441, x. 801).

294. *telum trabale,* the 'beamy spear' of Dryden and Pope, is a phrase taken by Virgil from Ennius.

301. There is some awkwardness in the *ipse* here and *ipsi* two lines below referring to different persons: but Virgil probably felt debarred from writing *ille* by the *olli* of the previous line, though immediately afterwards *ille* and *olli,* with a longer interval between them, mean Alsus and Podalirius respectively.

305. As Heyne very truly observes, '*que* si abesset comptior exiret iunctura verborum'. Virgil is sometimes careless in this matter, but never elsewhere so obviously. This seems to be one of his provisional lines.

o cohibete iras! ictum iam foedus et omnes
compositae leges, mihi ius concurrere soli, 315
me sinite atque auferte metus; ego foedera faxo
firma manu, Turnum debent haec iam mihi sacra.'
has inter voces, media inter talia verba
ecce viro stridens alis adlapsa sagitta est,
incertum qua pulsa manu, quo turbine adacta; 320
quis tantam Rutulis laudem, casusne deusne,
attulerit; pressa est insignis gloria facti,
nec sese Aeneae iactavit vulnere quisquam.
  Turnus ut Aenean cedentem ex agmine vidit
turbatosque duces, subita spe fervidus ardet; 325
poscit equos atque arma simul, saltuque superbus
emicat in currum et manibus molitur habenas.
multa virum volitans dat fortia corpora leto,
seminecis volvit multos, aut agmina curru
proterit et raptas fugientibus ingerit hastas. 330
qualis apud gelidi cum flumina concitus Hebri
sanguineus Mavors clipeo intonat atque furentis
bella movens immittit equos, illi aequore aperto
ante Notos Zephyrumque volant, gemit ultima pulsu
Thraca pedum circumque atrae Formidinis ora 335
Iraeque Insidiaeque, dei comitatus, aguntur:
talis equos alacer media inter proelia Turnus

314–337 *MPR* 321 casusve deusve *M* 330 aut *MP* 332 increpat *P*

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316. For *me sinite* see note on x. 15; and for the archaic *faxo*, on ix. 154.

320. The meaning of *quo turbine adacta* is made clear by the similar phrase *quo turbine torqueat hastam* xi. 284. So again *turbine saxi* l. 531 below.

330. *raptas* merely means 'caught up', as in *arreptas*; *fugientibus* is attached not to it, but to *ingerit*. So Camilla *rapit bipennem* xi. 651.

331. For *concitus* see note on iii. 127.

338. *miserabile* is adverbially attached to *caesis* (not to *insultans*, as Heyne followed by other editors takes it, from a misreading of the Servian note): so *lugubre rubent* x. 273.

345. 'Scilicet ut aequaliter dimicarent, aequaliter currerent' (Servius).

352. For the change of subject see note on vii. 211. *adspirare* in the sense of 'aspire to' is only used here by Virgil; elsewhere it uniformly means 'breathe upon', whether literally as in i. 694, v. 607, or with the sense of favouring as in

fumantis sudore quatit, miserabile caesis
hostibus insultans: spargit rapida ungula rores
sanguineos mixtaque cruor calcatur harena.
iamque neci Sthenelumque dedit Thamyrumque Pholumque,
hunc congressus et hunc, illum eminus; eminus ambo
Imbrasidas, Glaucum atque Laden, quos Imbrasus ipse
nutrierat Lycia paribusque ornaverat armis
vel conferre manum vel equo praevertere ventos.
parte alia media Eumedes in proelia fertur,
antiqui proles bello praeclara Dolonis,
nomine avum referens, animo manibusque parentem,
qui quondam, castra ut Danaum speculator adiret,
ausus Pelidae pretium sibi poscere currus;
illum Tydides alio pro talibus ausis
adfecit pretio nec equis aspirat Achilli:
hunc procul ut campo Turnus prospexit aperto,
ante levi iaculo longum per inane secutus
sistit equos biiugis et curru desilit atque
semianimi lapsoque supervenit, et pede collo
impresso dextrae mucronem extorquet et alto
fulgentem tingit iugulo atque haec insuper addit:
'en agros et quam bello, Troiane, petisti
Hesperiam metire iacens: haec praemia, qui me
ferro ausi temptare, ferunt, sic moenia condunt.'

338–361 *MPR*   356 elapsoque P^{1} 357 dextra *R*

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ii. 385, ix. 525.

354. *longum per inane* means little more than *eminus*, or 'per longum spatium' as it is paraphrased by Servius. In the *vacuum per inane* of l. 906 below, the phrase has a different meaning, that of a missile which spends itself in the air and does not reach its mark.

355. The long string of paratactic clauses, *sistit et . . . atque . . . et . . . et . . . atque* has no parallel in Virgil. It seems to indicate not the artless construction of early (or even rudimentary) composition, but the calculated simplesse of a complex craftsmanship, and therefore to suggest a late date in Virgil's life for the composition of the passage. The same artifice of artificially additive structure was used largely, and even to excess, by Tennyson; in the *Idylls of the King* there are often as many as seven or eight consecutive clauses beginning 'and', and once at least, five consecutive lines so beginning.

huic comitem Asbyten coniecta cuspide mittit
Chloreaque Sybarimque Daretaque Thersilochumque
et sternacis equi lapsum cervice Thymoeten.
ac velut Edoni Boreae cum spiritus alto
insonat Aegaeo sequiturque ad litora fluctus,
qua venti incubuere, fugam dant nubila caelo:
sic Turno, quacumque viam secat, agmina cedunt
conversaeque ruunt acies; fert impetus ipsum
et cristam adverso curru quatit aura volantem.
non tulit instantem Phegeus animisque frementem,
obiecit sese ad currum et spumantia frenis
ora citatorum dextra detorsit equorum.
dum trahitur pendetque iugis, hunc lata retectum
lancea consequitur rumpitque infixa bilicem
loricam et summum degustat vulnere corpus.
ille tamen clipeo obiecto conversus in hostem
ibat et auxilium ducto mucrone petebat,
cum rota praecipitem et procursu concitus axis
impulit effunditque solo, Turnusque secutus
imam inter galeam summi thoracis et oras
abstulit ense caput truncumque reliquit harenae.
  Atque ea dum campis victor dat funera Turnus,
interea Aenean Mnestheus et fidus Achates
Ascaniusque comes castris statuere cruentum
alternos longa nitentem cuspide gressus.

362–386 *MPR* 380 effuditque *R* 382 harena *R* 385 Ascaniusque puer *R*

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364. *sternax*, 'throwing', 'qui facile sternit sedentem' as Servius rightly explains it, is a word not found elsewhere in Latin except in imitations of this passage, and may be a coinage of Virgil's own.

366. *fluctus* is probably (though not 'beyond all doubt' as Warde Fowler thought) the accusative plural, not the nominative singular.

371. For *animis frementem* (repeated l. 535 below) see note on i. 149.

384. This is the only instance in which *interea* introducing a transition from one scene to another (so used about 40 times in the *Aeneid*) is preceded by a dependent clause.

386. For *cuspide* see note on i. 81.

394. *dabat*, 'offered to give': the '*dedit*' of the Medicean MS. was rightly condemned by Servius, 'nam non dedit'.

saevit et infracta luctatur harundine telum
eripere auxilioque viam, quae proxima, poscit:
ense secent lato vulnus telique latebram
rescindant penitus, seseque in bella remittant.
iamque aderat Phoebo ante alios dilectus Iapyx
Iasides, acri quondam cui captus amore
ipse suas artis, sua munera, laetus Apollo
augurium citharamque dabat celerisque sagittas.
ille ut depositi proferret fata parentis,
scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi
maluit et mutas agitare inglorius artis.
stabat acerba fremens ingentem nixus in hastam
Aeneas magno iuvenum et maerentis Iuli
concursu, lacrimis immobilis. ille retorto
Paeonium in morem senior succinctus amictu
multa manu medica Phoebique potentibus herbis
nequiquam trepidat, nequiquam spicula dextra
sollicitat prensatque tenaci forcipe ferrum.
nulla viam fortuna regit, nihil auctor Apollo
subvenit, et saevus campis magis ac magis horror
crebrescit propiusque malum est. iam pulvere caelum
stare vident: subeunt equites et spicula castris
densa cadunt mediis. it tristis ad aethera clamor
bellantum iuvenum et duro sub Marte cadentum.
  Hic Venus indigno nati concussa dolore

387–411 *MPR* 389 latebras *M* 394 dedit *M* 408 subeuntque *R*

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395. '*Depositi*, id est desperati' (Servius, who aptly cites Cicero's *aeger et prope depositus*, II *Verr*. i. 2). *positum corpus* ii. 644 has much the same sense.

400. 'Unmoved by their tears': the meaning more fully expressed in iv. 449, *mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes*.

402. *multa trepidat*, 'hurriedly applies many remedies': so *dum trepidat*, 'in his hurry', l. 737 below.

405. *auctor Apollo* here as in viii. 336 has the force of 'suggesting' or 'inspiring' rather than of 'authorizing'.

406. *horror*, 'the clash of arms', as more fully expressed in the *armorum ingruit horror* of ii. 301.

408. They see the sky 'solid', or thick, with dust. Porphyrio, a scholar of the late third or early fourth century

dictamnum genetrix Cretaea carpit ab Ida,
puberibus caulem foliis et flore comantem
purpureo; non illa feris incognita capris
gramina, cum tergo volucres haesere sagittae.
hoc Venus obscuro faciem circumdata nimbo
detulit, hoc fusum labris splendentibus amnem
inficit occulte medicans, spargitque salubris
ambrosiae sucos et odoriferam panaceam.
fovit ea vulnus lympha longaevus Iapyx
ignorans, subitoque omnis de corpore fugit
quippe dolor, omnis stetit imo vulnere sanguis,
iamque secuta manum nullo cogente sagitta
excidit, atque novae rediere in pristina vires.
'arma citi properate viro! quid statis?' Iapyx
conclamat primusque animos accendit in hostem.
'non haec humanis opibus, non arte magistra
proveniunt, neque te, Aenea, mea dextera servat:

412–428 *MPR* 422 in vulnere P^2R 423 manu M^1P^2, manus P^1 428 neque Aenean M^1

A.D., quotes *stant pulvere campi* from Ennius in his note on Horace *I Od.* ix. 1, where he paraphrases *stet* as *plenum sit*.

412. A curious early variant of this line, *ipsa manu genetrix Dictaea carpit ab Ida*, is quoted by Donatus: it may have been an alternative in the Virgilian autograph.

413. *puber*, an adjective only used here by Virgil, has the same sense as *pubescens*, 'burgeoning'.

415. *gramen* and *gramina*, while they may usually be translated by 'grass' and 'grasses', have the wider sense of 'herb' or 'vegetation' generally: so Virgil speaks of *cerinthae ignobile gramen*, *Georg.* iv. 63, and of *iniussa gramina*, *Georg.* i. 56; so also *mala gramina pastus* ii. 471.

417. With *amnem*, 'river-water', may be compared *fontem*, 'spring-water', l. 119 above.

422. For *quippe* see note on i. 59.

423. The primary MSS., and also the MSS. of Servius, vary between *manum*, *manus*, and *manu*: but the last would involve changing *nullo* into *nulla*, for which there is no MS. authority. Hirtzel unaccountably prints *manum nulla* in the Oxford text.

432. *habilis est*, 'fits'. Elsewhere Virgil uses the word less elliptically; *habilem suspenderat arcum* i. 318, *ensem habilem aptarat* ix. 305, *galeam habilem induit* ix. 365, *habilem* (Camillam) *circumligat hastae* xi. 555: in all these passages the meaning of *habilis* is 'so as to fit', or 'so as to be handy'.

435. *verum laborem* is almost exactly equivalent to 'honourable labour' or 'high task'; so *amor verus patriae* xi.

maior agit deus atque opera ad maiora remittit.'
ille avidus pugnae suras incluserat auro
hinc atque hinc oditque moras hastamque coruscat.
postquam habilis lateri clipeus loricaque tergo est,
Ascanium fusis circum complectitur armis
summaque per galeam delibans oscula fatur:
'disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
fortunam ex aliis. nunc te mea dextera bello
defensum dabit et magna inter praemia ducet.
tu facito, mox cum matura adoleverit aetas,
sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum
et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector.'
  Haec ubi dicta dedit, portis sese extulit ingens
telum immane manu quatiens; simul agmine denso
Antheusque Mnestheusque ruunt, omnisque relictis
turba fluit castris. tum caeco pulvere campus
miscetur pulsuque pedum tremit excita tellus.

429–445 *MPR*   444 ruit *P*

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892. But the comment in Servius '*verum*, quem per me ipse suscipio, non qui ex aliorum virtute imperatoribus adscribi consuevit', may also be well taken into account.

437. For *defensum dabit* see note on i. 63. The picture in the second half of the line is of Ascanius being led by his heroic father up an avenue where the prizes of valour are displayed on both sides.

439. This line is a unique exception, so far as Virgil's usage is concerned, to the rule, or practice, which forbade the elision of a long monosyllable before a word beginning with a short vowel in Latin poetry; the nearest approach to it is in the phrase *quare age* or *quare agite* (five times in the *Aeneid*) if *qua* and *re* are there treated as being separate words. It would have been easy for Virgil to write here *te tunc repetentem* or the like; and comparison with the *te amice nequivi* of vi. 507 (on which see note) suggests that the shortening of the vowel in *te* may have been a pronunciation in actual use as a variation from the normal *tē*.

440. See note on iii. 343, from which this line is repeated.

441. It is impossible to say with certainty whether *ingens* here is an epithet of Aeneas or of the spear; either is quite in the Virgilian manner and gives an equally fine rhythm. The majority of editors, so far as I have consulted them, indicate their preference for the former by putting a comma after *ingens*—or perhaps we should say, leaving that comma where they found it. It is better to omit the comma and leave the phrasing to the instinct of the reader.

vidit ab adverso venientis aggere Turnus,
videre Ausonii, gelidusque per ima cucurrit
ossa tremor; prima ante omnis Iuturna Latinos
audiit agnovitque sonum et tremefacta refugit.
ille volat campoque atrum rapit agmen aperto. 450
qualis ubi ad terras abrupto sidere nimbus
it mare per medium, miseris, heu, praescia longe
horrescunt corda agricolis: dabit ille ruinas
arboribus stragemque satis, ruet omnia late,
ante volant sonitumque ferunt ad litora venti: 455
talis in adversos ductor Rhoeteius hostis
agmen agit, densi cuneis se quisque coactis
adglomerant. ferit ense gravem Thymbraeus Osirim,
Arcetium Mnestheus, Epulonem obtruncat Achates

446–455 *MPR* 456–459 *MPRV* 449 adgnoscitque *P* 454 ruit *M*
455 volans *MP*² 457 coacti *M*²

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446. The question was raised by the early commentators 'utrum Turnus in aggere, an venientes ex aggere?' The latter gives a good enough sense, as Aeneas and the troops immediately round him are now issuing from their fortified camp, but the former is perhaps preferable. The *agger* would then be a mound or hillock (the *agger tumuli* or *agger terrae* of v. 44, vii. 6, xi. 212) which he ascends in his chariot to get a better view; very possibly the same mound, *terreno ex aggere bustum*, on which Opis alights with the same object in xi. 850.

451. The Servian note, 'per sidus tempestas significatur', is substantially right. Storms were thought of as directly brought about by sidereal influences; and the approximation (here becoming a coalescence) of meaning between the two words is shown in phrases like *tempestates autumni et sidera* Georg. i. 311, *triste Minervae sidus* xi. 259, or *hiberno sidere* coupled with *mediis aquilonibus* iv. 309.

465. The vulgate text, *pede congressos aequo*, is that of all the MSS. with a few exceptions, negligible except that the Medicean has only *eq* in the first hand, corrected into *aequo* in a later hand. But *nec equo*, a reading for which there is no ancient authority—it is a conjectural emendation of Daniel's in the Servian commentary—gives so much better a sense that it must be accepted; and the dropping out of *nec* before *equo* was a thing very likely to happen. The structure of the line is exactly paralleled by *currumque .. et equos et lora regebat* of l. 624 below. *pede aequo* is really all but meaningless; for the ordinary explanation, that a combat between Aeneas on foot and a mounted opponent would be 'unequal', is quite pointless; such combats are never regarded as unequal in the *Aeneid*. The distinction drawn in this line is between those who met Aeneas at close quarters, *congressi*, whether on foot or on horseback, and those who

Ufentemque Gyas; cadit ipse Tolumnius augur,
primus in adversos telum qui torserat hostis.
tollitur in caelum clamor, versique vicissim
pulverulenta fuga Rutuli dant terga per agros.
ipse neque aversos dignatur sternere morti
nec pede congressos nec equo nec tela ferentis
insequitur: solum densa in caligine Turnum
vestigat lustrans, solum in certamina poscit.
  Hoc concussa metu mentem Iuturna virago
aurigam Turni media inter lora Metiscum
excutit et longe lapsum temone reliquit;
ipsa subit manibusque undantis flectit habenas
cuncta gerens, vocemque et corpus et arma Metisci.
nigra velut magnas domini cum divitis aedes

460–473 *MPRV* 464 adversos *MP* 465 eq M^1, aequo M^2PRV 470 relinquit M^2V

'dealt missiles', *tela ferentes* (so *letum ferentes* xi. 872), on him from a distance.

468. The rare word *virago* (only here used by Virgil) appears to be formed to convey the sense of 'a woman with a man's spirit', a 'martial maid', like the *bellatrix* (the Shakespearean 'soldieress') of vii. 805 applied to Camilla.

473–7. The *hirundo* of this exquisite description is almost certainly the swift, to which all the details apply with the utmost accuracy. Neither the swallow (*hirundo rustica*) nor the martin (*hirundo urbica*) can in view of the proportion of light colouring in their plumage be properly described as *nigra*, whereas the colour of the swift is, except for the small white patch on the throat, a sooty black throughout. The habits of swifts when out hunting for food, 'describing an endless series of circles upon circles and sometimes whirling round a large edifice' (Bewick, *British Birds*), also give an exact parallel to the movements of Juturna, and those of Aeneas in pursuit (*tortos legit orbis* l. 481) in the lines which follow.

Here, as in viii. 467, care should be taken to observe that the scene is not a palace like that of Priam in which Polites *porticibus longis fugit et vacua atria lustrat* ii. 528, as misinterpreted by many commentators, but a cluster of farm-buildings laid out and occupied by a *dominus dives*, 'a wealthy proprietor', which is what the Roman *villa* essentially was. The *atria* are the inner courtyards and lofty barns; the *porticus* the open-fronted sheds, with a roof supported on a row of pillars; and the *stagna* the open tanks which were part of the regular equipment of a villa, as set forth for instance by Varro, *R.R.* I. xi. The whole of that chapter and of the two following it may profitably be studied in illustration of this passage.

In l. 475, *nidis* 'nestings', is equivalent to and may be best rendered by 'nestlings'. The use of the plural is analogous to that noted on i. 25: so also the *dulces nidi* of the pigeon in v. 214.

pervolat et pennis alta atria lustrat hirundo
pabula parva legens nidisque loquacibus escas,
et nunc porticibus vacuis, nunc umida circum
stagna sonat: similis medios Iuturna per hostis
fertur equis rapidoque volans obit omnia curru,
iamque hic germanum iamque hic ostentat ovantem
nec conferre manum patitur; volat avia longe:
haud minus Aeneas tortos legit obvius orbis,
vestigatque virum et disiecta per agmina magna
voce vocat. quotiens oculos coniecit in hostem
alipedumque fugam cursu temptavit equorum,
aversos totiens currus Iuturna retorsit.
heu, quid agat? vario nequiquam fluctuat aestu,
diversaeque vocant animum in contraria curae.
huic Messapus, uti laeva duo forte gerebat
lenta, levis cursu, praefixa hastilia ferro,
horum unum certo contorquens derigit ictu.
substitit Aeneas et se collegit in arma
poplite subsidens; apicem tamen incita summum
hasta tulit summasque excussit vertice cristas.
tum vero adsurgunt irae, insidiisque subactus,
diversos ubi sensit equos currumque referri,

474–495 *MPRV* 479 ostendit M^1 481 totos *V* 485 adversos M^2
495 sentit *M*

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495. For *referri* = *ferri*, see note on xi. 662.

500–5. Here Virgil, for the last time in the *Aeneid* and just before the magnificent final episode, speaks in his own person, addressing his invocation not as hitherto to a Muse or to the Muses, but at large as a 'general call' to the supernatural Powers, whom he sums up (l. 504) in the person of their supreme head. The battle-scene which immediately follows the invocation, ll. 505–53, is a piece of elaborate and masterly construction. It recounts alternately the feats of Aeneas (505–8), Turnus (509–12), Aeneas, 'ille', (513–15), Turnus, 'hic', (516–20); then after the recapitulation of 520–8, resumes those of Aeneas, now 'hic' (529–34), Turnus, now 'ille' (535–7), Turnus and Aeneas jointly (538–41), and Turnus again, but not mentioning him by name (542–7); and finally merges the double *aristeia* of the two champions into the general conflict of their armies (548–53).

505. The single combat between Aeneas and Sucro stops the onward sweep of

multa Iovem et laesi testatus foederis aras
iam tandem invadit medios et Marte secundo
terribilis saevam nullo discrimine caedem
suscitat, irarumque omnis effundit habenas.
Quis mihi nunc tot acerba deus, quis carmine caedes
diversas obitumque ducum, quos aequore toto
inque vicem nunc Turnus agit, nunc Troius heros,
expediat? tanton placuit concurrere motu,
Iuppiter, aeterna gentis in pace futuras?
Aeneas Rutulum Sucronem, ea prima ruentis
pugna loco statuit Teucros, haud multa morantem
excipit in latus et, qua fata celerrima, crudum
transadigit costas et cratis pectoris ensem.
Turnus equo deiectum Amycum fratremque Dioren,
congressus pedes, hunc venientem cuspide longa,
hunc mucrone ferit, curruque abscisa duorum
suspendit capita et rorantia sanguine portat.
ille Talon Tanaimque neci fortemque Cethegum,
tris uno congressu, et maestum mittit Oniten,
nomen Echionium matrisque genus Peridiae;
hic fratres Lycia missos et Apollinis agris
et iuvenem exosum nequiquam bella Menoeten,

496–507 *MPRV*   508–517 *MPR*   496 testatur *PR*   505 furentis *V*   506 morantis *V*   511 abscissa *MR*   515 nomine *M*, nomine chionium *R*

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the Trojan forces in its outset (*prima*), but (l. 506) not for long.

507. For the force of *crudum* see note on x. 682.

509. The wording here is elliptical to the verge of obscurity. The picture seems to be that Turnus dismounts from his chariot as the two brothers approach him, unhorses and disables Amycus with a spear-thrust, then strikes down Diores with a sword-stroke; cuts off both their heads, and slings them to his chariot as he remounts. Probably, as with Liris and Pagasus in xi. 670, only one of the pair is on horseback, the other beside him on foot.

515. *nomen Echionium*, the reading approved by Servius (the MSS. vary between *nomen* and *nomine*), is generally and no doubt rightly accepted: cf. *Silvius, Albanum nomen* vi. 763. *genus matris* implies that, like the mother of Drances xi. 340, Onites' mother was of noble family.

516. These unspecified brothers are probably the Clarus and Thaemon of x. 126.

517. *iuvenem*, 'in his youth': the migration

Arcada, piscosae cui circum flumina Lernae
ars fuerat pauperque domus nec nota potentum
munera, conductaque pater tellure serebat.
ac velut immissi diversis partibus ignes
arentem in silvam et virgulta sonantia lauro,
aut ubi decursu rapido de montibus altis
dant sonitum spumosi amnes et in aequora currunt
quisque suum populatus iter: non segnius ambo
Aeneas Turnusque ruunt per proelia; nunc, nunc
fluctuat ira intus, rumpuntur nescia vinci
pectora, nunc totis in vulnera viribus itur.
  Murranum hic, atavos et avorum antiqua sonantem
nomina per regesque actum genus omne Latinos,
praecipitem scopulo atque ingentis turbine saxi
excutit effunditque solo; hunc lora et iuga subter
provolvere rotae, crebro super ungula pulsu
incita nec domini memorum proculcat equorum.
ille ruenti Hyllo animisque immane frementi
occurrit telumque aurata ad tempora torquet:
olli per galeam fixo stetit hasta cerebro.

518–537 *MPR*   520 limina *M*   522 ardentem M^1 532 excipit *M*

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of Evander and his Arcadians to Italy is thought of by Virgil as having taken place some twenty years before, so that *iuvenem* would hardly be an exact description of Menoetes now, though for military service a man remained a *iuvenis* up to the age of forty-six. But Virgil uses the word widely for men still in full vigour, as we say 'in their prime'.

518. The lake, or rather marsh, of Lerna was in Argolis; but it is fed by springs in the mountain-range dividing Argolis from Arcadia. *flumina* here, as in *Georg.* iv. 360 and in v. 684, means little if anything more than 'waters'.

520. *munera,* 'offices' or 'responsibilities'. The variant *limina,* in the Medicean MS. and accepted by some editors, is unexceptionable in itself, but is probably a mere copyist's error.

522. For *sonantia lauro* see note on iii. 442. The meaning of *silva* here is 'scrub' or *macchia* rather than 'forest' in its ordinary sense.

525. *ambo* very nearly means 'simultaneously': it emphasizes further the close coupling of the two names in the next line: thus also *ambas Laurentum Troumque acies* l. 136 above.

527. *rumpuntur* 'are bursting' i.e., 'are ready to burst'. 'Imago ab aqua aestuante, quae luctatur ut erumpat' (Heyne). *rupturus se nisi eruperit* is the Senecan phrase (*De Ira,* ii. 35).

dextera nec tua te, Graium fortissime Cretheu,
eripuit Turno, nec di texere Cupencum
Aenea veniente sui: dedit obvia ferro
pectora, nec misero clipei mora profuit aeris.
te quoque Laurentes viderunt, Aeole, campi
oppetere et late terram consternere tergo:
occidis, Argivae quem non potuere phalanges
sternere nec Priami regnorum eversor Achilles;
hic tibi mortis erant metae, domus alta sub Ida,
Lyrnesi domus alta, solo Laurente sepulcrum.
totae adeo conversae acies omnesque Latini,
omnes Dardanidae, Mnestheus acerque Serestus
et Messapus equum domitor et fortis Asilas
Tuscorumque phalanx Euandrique Arcades alae,
pro se quisque viri summa nituntur opum vi;
nec mora nec requies, vasto certamine tendunt.
  Hic mentem Aeneae genetrix pulcherrima misit
iret ut ad muros urbique adverteret agmen
ocius, et subita turbaret clade Latinos.
ille ut vestigans diversa per agmina Turnum

538–557 *MPR*

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541. *aerei*, the vulgate reading since 1501, has no MS. authority. For the double genitive in *mora aeris clipei*, 'the obstacle of the bronze of the shield', see note on x. 546, and compare *clipei transverberat aera* x. 336.

546. *mortis erant metae*, where one might have expected *mortis erat meta*, is more than the ordinary substitution of plural for singular as it might be taken in the *metasque dati pervenit ad aevi* of x. 472. It is a stroke of genius by which the ordinary figure of the 'goal of death' is expanded and transfigured into the vision of the whole life as a course between two goals of birth and death, from the 'high house' at Lyrnesus to the low grave on the Laurentine coast; with the further delicate or shadowy suggestion of that course itself being in reality not life, but death, the *vestra quae dicitur vita mors est* of Cicero. This is one of those passages (to borrow a phrase from Mr. Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy*) which make one worship Virgil.

548. 'The general battle is engaged all along the line of both armies.' *conversae* has the same force as in the *conversis frontibus* of ll. 716–17.

552. *summa nituntur opum vi* is taken from Ennius, *Ann.* iv, fr. 1 and xvi, fr. 4.

554. *mentem*, 'idea' or 'suggestion', as in *nostram nunc accipe mentem* i. 676.

huc atque huc acies circumtulit, aspicit urbem
immunem tanti belli atque impune quietam.
continuo pugnae accendit maioris imago:
Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum
ductores, tumulumque capit quo cetera Teucrum
concurrit legio, nec scuta aut spicula densi
deponunt. celso medius stans aggere fatur:
'ne qua meis esto dictis mora; Iuppiter hac stat;
neu quis ob inceptum subitum mihi segnior ito.
urbem hodie, causam belli, regna ipsa Latini,
ni frenum accipere et victi parere fatentur,
eruam et aequa solo fumantia culmina ponam.
scilicet exspectem libeat dum proelia Turno
nostra pati rursusque velit concurrere victus?
hoc caput, o cives, haec belli summa nefandi.
ferte faces propere foedusque reposcite flammis.'
Dixerat, atque animis pariter certantibus omnes
dant cuneum densaque ad muros mole feruntur.
scalae improviso subitusque apparuit ignis.
discurrunt alii ad portas primosque trucidant,
ferrum alii torquent et obumbrant aethera telis.
ipse inter primos dextram sub moenia tendit
Aeneas, magnaque incusat voce Latinum
testaturque deos iterum se ad proelia cogi,

558–581 *MPR* 568 fatetur *M*¹

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560. *imago*, 'shape', more nearly corresponds here to 'picture': so likewise in l. 665 below.

565. *Iuppiter hac stat* is very nearly equivalent to 'God is on our side'.

567. For *regna* see note on i. 346.

569. *fumantia*, in a smouldering heap; so *fumantia Troiae excidia* x. 45.

575. For *dant cuneum*, 'form themselves into a wedge', see note on i. 63.

577. In ii. 494, *primos trucidant* is after the palace-gate has been broken open; here we must suppose the reference to be to the guard at a barrier in front of the gate. The *ipse inter primos* of l. 579 is repeated from the same passage.

589. *trepidae rerum*, 'in confusion at their plight', like *fessi rerum*, i. 178. For *iras*, 'their angry stings', in the next line see note on i. 25.

591. The duplication of violent metaphor in 'black smell' and 'blind hum' is

bis iam Italos hostis, haec altera foedera rumpi.
exoritur trepidos inter discordia civis:
urbem alii reserare iubent et pandere portas
Dardanidis ipsumque trahunt in moenia regem;
arma ferunt alii et pergunt defendere muros:
inclusas ut cum latebroso in pumice pastor
vestigavit apes fumoque implevit amaro,
illae intus trepidae rerum per cerea castra
discurrunt magnisque acuunt stridoribus iras;
volvitur ater odor tectis, tum murmure caeco
intus saxa sonant, vacuas it fumus ad auras.
  Accidit haec fessis etiam fortuna Latinis,
quae totam luctu concussit funditus urbem.
regina ut tectis venientem prospicit hostem,
incessi muros, ignis ad tecta volare,
nusquam acies contra Rutulas, nulla agmina Turni,
infelix pugnae iuvenem in certamine credit
exstinctum et subito mentem turbata dolore
se causam clamat crimenque caputque malorum,
multaque per maestum demens effata furorem
purpureos moritura manu discindit amictus
et nodum informis leti trabe nectit ab alta.
quam cladem miserae postquam accepere Latinae,
filia prima manu flavos Lavinia crinis

582–605 *MPR*   582 haec iam altera M^2 587 inclusas veluti *M*   596 incedi M^1, incensi *R*

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unusual but very effective. *murmura caeca* has already been used x. 98; for the bolder *ater odor* there seems no exact parallel.

593–611. This paragraph, from its general handling and in particular from its unusually large proportion of stopped lines, appears to be a piece of early composition. For the inferences to be drawn from identities or similarities of language between it and the concluding episode of Book IV, see introduction to this book.

603. As in *nec sum adeo informis, Ecl.* ii. 25, and the *informe cadaver* of viii. 264, *informis* here means 'ugly'.

605. The authorized text of the *Aeneid* as issued, and all the MSS., read *flavos* here, like *flaventes comas* in the corresponding description of Dido iv. 590. But Servius cites Probus as having stated that the 'antiqua lectio'—by

et roseas laniata genas, tum cetera circum
turba furit, resonant late plangoribus aedes.
hinc totam infelix vulgatur fama per urbem.
demittunt mentes, it scissa veste Latinus
coniugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina,
canitiem immundo perfusam pulvere turpans.
multaque se incusat, qui non acceperit ante
Dardanium Aenean generumque asciverit ultro.
  Interea extremo bellator in aequore Turnus
palantis sequitur paucos iam segnior atque
iam minus atque minus successu laetus equorum.
attulit hunc illi caecis terroribus aura
commixtum clamorem, arrectasque impulit auris
confusae sonus urbis et inlaetabile murmur.
'hei mihi! quid tanto turbantur moenia luctu?
quisve ruit tantus diversa clamor ab urbe?'
sic ait, adductisque amens subsistit habenis.
atque huic, in faciem soror ut conversa Metisci

606–623 *MPR*   612, 613 *om. MPR*

---

which he seems to mean Virgil's autograph—was *floros*, an archaic word occuring in Ennius and the early tragedians as an epithet (like the Greek ἀνθηρός and ὑακίνθινος) of tresses. It is probable enough that Virgil in fact wrote *floros* here and afterwards hesitated about the use of the word and altered it to *flavos*. Curiously enough, in a well-known little poem of Blake's (p. 99 of Keynes's *Prose and Poetry of William Blake*), Blake's own autograph MS. is variously deciphered as 'flaming hair' and 'flowery hair'.

612–13. These two lines are not in the primary MSS. and are not mentioned by Servius; they are an obvious interpolation, repeated from xi. 471–2 with the substitution of *ante* and *ultro* for *ultro* and *urbi*: perhaps from the idea that a paragraph in Latin poetry should not end with a nominative participle. But of this, though it is not usual, there are several other instances in the *Aeneid*; see note on iii. 300.

614. The subtle art with which *bellator* is placed here has escaped the notice of commentators, except that Servius seems to recognize it. *extremo in aequore* by itself means merely 'on the farthest verge of the plain'; but *extremo* and *bellator* throw their colour on each other, and the whole phrase implies that the career of Turnus as a warrior is ending on this last field.

616. *successu* is rightly explained by Heyne as equivalent to *procursu* in l. 711 below; though it also implies 'success'

aurigae currumque et equos et lora regebat,
talibus occurrit dictis: ‘hac, Turne, sequamur
Troiugenas, qua prima viam victoria pandit;
sunt alii qui tecta manu defendere possint.
ingruit Aeneas Italis et proelia miscet:
et nos saeva manu mittamus funera Teucris.
nec numero inferior, pugnae nec honore, recedes.’
  Turnus ad haec . . .
‘o soror, et dudum agnovi, cum prima per artem
foedera turbasti teque haec in bella dedisti,
et nunc nequiquam fallis dea. sed quis Olympo
demissam tantos voluit te ferre labores?
an fratris miseri letum ut crudele videres?
nam quid ago? aut quae iam spondet fortuna salutem?
vidi oculos ante ipse meos me voce vocantem
Murranum, quo non superat mihi carior alter,
oppetere ingentem atque ingenti vulnere victum.
occidit infelix nostrum ne dedecus Ufens

624–641 *MPR*   624 gerebat *P*   627 possunt *P*   635 tantosque . . . te perferre *R*   639 fuerat M^1 641 ne nostrum *MR*

---

in the ordinary sense, in which the word is elsewhere used in the *Aeneid*, ii. 386, xii. 914, and twice in the description of the boat-race v. 210, 231.

617. The MSS. here uniformly read *hunc*, and Madvig’s alteration into *huc*, though tempting (and in a MS. *huc* and *hũc* would be almost indistinguishable) cannot be called necessary.

621. *diversa* is variously explained as (1) merely ‘distant’, (2) ‘distracted’, (3) ‘diverse’, an epithet really attaching to *clamor* and transferred by ‘hypallage’ to *urbe*. The last is right in substance though expressed in the formal and rather pedantic terminology of the grammarians. *clamor ab urbe* is a compound substantival phrase, and the epithet can, as a matter of syntax, be attached to either member of it. The choice is made partly in order to avoid a collocation like *tantus diversus*, partly because the whole phrase *diversa clamor ab urbe* is thus more closely brought together.

622. The superficial inconsistency of Turnus ‘checking his course with tightened reins’, when it is not he but Juturna who is driving, need give no trouble.

630. *numero*, sc. of those who will fall before you.

635. The unmetrical reading in one of the best MSS., *tantosque voluit te perferre*, seems to indicate the early existence of an alternative text such as *te misit tantosque iubet perferre labores*.

aspiceret; Teucri potiuntur corpore et armis.
exscindine domos, id rebus defuit unum,
perpetiar, dextra nec Drancis dicta refellam?
terga dabo et Turnum fugientem haec terra videbit?
usque adeone mori miserum est? vos o mihi, Manes,
este boni, quoniam superis aversa voluntas.
sancta ad vos anima† atque istius inscia culpae
descendam magnorum haud umquam indignus avorum.'
  Vix ea fatus erat, medios volat ecce per hostis
vectus equo spumante Saces, adversa sagitta
saucius ora, ruitque implorans nomine Turnum:
'Turne, in te suprema salus, miserere tuorum.
fulminat Aeneas armis summasque minatur
deiecturum arces Italum excidioque daturum,
iamque faces ad tecta volant. in te ora Latini,
in te oculos referunt; mussat rex ipse Latinus
quos generos vocet aut quae sese ad foedera flectat.
praeterea regina, tui fidissima, dextra
occidit ipsa sua lucemque exterrita fugit.
soli pro portis Messapus et acer Atinas

642–650 *MPR*   651–661 *MP*   647 adversa M^1

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648. The text of this line as given in all the MSS. (with one or two negligible exceptions), as quoted by Macrobius iii. 3. 6, and as seemingly implied in the note of Servius, *sancta ad vos anima atque istius inscia culpae*, is metrically impossible. The attempts to emend it, by inserting *a!* after *anima*, by inserting a second *anima* after *atque*, or by altering *inscia* into *nescia*, merely spoil the line. Housman's re-arrangement, *sancta atque istius ad vos anima inscia culpae*, is free from this objection, and the disarrangement it implies may be paralleled elsewhere, though it is strange that it should have been universal. There is a further possibility which may be worth mentioning, that a word has in fact dropped out of the line, viz. *hic* after *anima*. For the position of *hic* in the sentence x. 517, x. 52, and xii. 766, where it is preceded by three, four, and six words, might be cited; and the collocation in *anima hic* might confuse an editor or a copyist. In the similar *hic domus*, iii. 97, v. 638, vii. 122, viii. 39, 65, the words are in the reverse order and the sentence or clause begins with *hic*, so that no confusion could arise. Such an omission of *hic* in fact took place in some MSS. in *tuaque hic obrue dextra* v. 692, and one MS. filled up the gap by writing *tua meque obrue dextra*.

670–1. It is worth noticing that either of

sustentant acies. circum hos utrimque phalanges
stant densae strictisque seges mucronibus horret
ferrea: tu currum deserto in gramine versas.'
  Obstipuit varia confusus imagine rerum
Turnus et obtutu tacito stetit; aestuat ingens
uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu
et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus.
ut primum discussae umbrae et lux reddita menti,
ardentis oculorum orbis ad moenia torsit
turbidus eque rotis magnam respexit ad urbem.
ecce autem flammis inter tabulata volutus
ad caelum undabat vertex turrimque tenebat,
turrim compactis trabibus quam eduxerat ipse
subdideratque rotas pontisque instraverat altos.
'iam iam fata, soror, superant; absiste morari;
quo deus et qua dura vocat Fortuna sequamur.
stat conferre manum Aeneae, stat, quidquid acerbi est
morte pati, neque me indecorem, germana, videbis
amplius. hunc, oro, sine me furere ante furorem.'
  Dixit, et e curru saltum dedit ocius arvis

662–667 *MP*   668–681 *MPV*   662 aciem *P*   677 quo dura *MV*

---

these two lines could be omitted without injury to the sense, and they may like ll. 603–4 of Book V have been written down by Virgil as alternatives. As they stand, the juxtaposition of *orbes* and *rotae* is unpleasing. If l. 670 were struck out, the *turbidus eque rotis* in l. 671 would be like the *aequore toto inque vicem* of l. 501 in its coupling by *que* of two disparate phrases.

673. *vertex flammis*, 'a spire of flame': elsewhere *vertex* in its sense of 'whirl' or 'spiral' is only used by Virgil of water in whirlpools or eddies.

675. These wooden towers mounted on rollers were ordinarily used in assault on walled towns, being pushed forward towards the wall by winches from within. This one we must conceive of as erected on the terreplein of the ramparts so that it could be shifted along to any point specially threatened.

677. The *quo deus et qua* of P. is perhaps preferable to the *quo deus et quo* of the other primary MSS. and the vulgate text: the delicate distinction between the goal which is appointed by God, and the way to it which is in the control of Fortune, is quite in Virgil's manner.

680. Turnus is conscious that he is doomed to fall, and that his acceptance of the single combat is therefore, if regarded in cold blood, mere madness. The elliptical *ante*, 'before I die', is like the *multis tamen ante futuri exitio* of ix. 315.

perque hostis, per tela ruit maestamque sororem
deserit ac rapido cursu media agmina rumpit.
ac veluti montis saxum de vertice praeceps
cum ruit avulsum vento, seu turbidus imber
proluit aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas;
fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu
exsultatque solo, silvas armenta virosque
involvens secum: disiecta per agmina Turnus
sic urbis ruit ad muros, ubi plurima fuso
sanguine terra madet striduntque hastilibus aurae,
significatque manu et magno simul incipit ore:
'parcite iam, Rutuli, et vos tela inhibete, Latini;
quaecumque est fortuna, mea est; me verius unum
pro vobis foedus luere et decernere ferro.'
discessere omnes medii spatiumque dedere.
At pater Aeneas audito nomine Turni

682–687 *MPV* 688–697 *MPRV*

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686. *sublapsa* here means 'creeping up' or 'stealing on', as in *udo sublapsa veneno* vii. 354.

687. To realize the picture, we must give *mons improbus* its full literal sense; the whole unsound mountain-face loosens and comes crashing down at the impact of the rock dislodged from the crest, and deals wide devastation below.

692. *magno ore* is a more vivid way of expressing the *magna voce* of vi. 619, 'with a great cry'.

695. Elsewhere in Virgil *luere* means 'expiate' (*commissa* i. 136, *peccata* x. 32, or absolutely in *morte luet* xi. 444, 849: once also with a cognate accusative, *luere supplicium* xi. 841). Here *luere foedus* is elliptical, 'make good the treaty' for 'make atonement for the broken treaty'.

704. The relevance and aptness of this superb simile are only fully understood if we realize that 'the lord of Apennine', *pater Appenninus*, is not the mountain-range, but its central summit, the Gran Sasso d'Italia, which rising to the height of close on ten thousand feet, is visible from both Adriatic and Tyrrhene seas, and keeps its snow at the top beyond midsummer; and further that, seen from the south, its helmet-shaped peak gives the effect of a gigantic warrior striding along the mountain-ridge. The epithet *coruscus* applied to the ilex (like the 'twinkling laurel' of Tennyson) is one of Virgil's finest touches.

707. *arma deposuere umeris* means in effect 'unslung their shields and took off their corslets': cf. the descriptions in x. 836 and xii. 432.

709. The text of this line presents problems of peculiar interest. Seneca, less than a century after the publication of the *Aeneid*, quotes it (*Epist.* vi. 58) as *inter se coïsse viros et cernere ferro*, as an instance of words (*cernere* = *decer-*

deserit et muros et summas deserit arces
praecipitatque moras omnis, opera omnia rumpit
laetitia exsultans horrendumque intonat armis:
quantus Athos aut quantus Eryx aut ipse coruscis
cum fremit ilicibus quantus gaudetque nivali
vertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras.
iam vero et Rutuli certatim et Troes et omnes
convertere oculos Itali, quique alta tenebant
moenia quique imos pulsabant ariete muros,
armaque deposuere umeris. stupet ipse Latinus
ingentis, genitos diversis partibus orbis,
inter se coiisse viros decernere ferro.
atque illi, ut vacuo patuerunt aequore campi,
procursu rapido coniectis eminus hastis
invadunt Martem clipeis atque aere sonoro.
dat gemitum tellus; tum crebros ensibus ictus

698–713 *MPRV* 709 et decernere *MP*^{2}*R*, et cernere *P*^{1} 713 crebris *M*^{1}

---

nere) which were then already obsolete. But all the MSS. which can be regarded as of any value give the unmetrical *et decernere ferro*. It seems highly probable that there were two alternatives, *decernere ferro* and *et cernere ferro*, in Virgil's own autograph, and that by inadvertence the unmetrical conflation of the two got into the text as first issued. This would account for its persistence, and the otherwise unaccountable attempt to explain it away, noted in Servius, by a preposterous suggestion that the last syllable of *viros* was meant to be elided as though it were *virum*. This hallucination occurs also in the Servian note on ii. 508 in an attempted defence of the reading *mediis in penetralibus*. The phrase *decernere ferro* occurs thrice elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, vii. 525, xi. 218, xii. 282; *cernere* in the sense of *decernere*, 'to come to a conclusion', is old Latin, common in Ennius and the tragedians, but not elsewhere used by Virgil. The choice lies between *et cernere ferro* and *decernere ferro*; in the latter case, *decernere* may be taken either as (1) parallel to *coiisse*, the asyndeton being exactly like *fidere terrae, deseruisse rates* vii. 290, or *obsedere fores, asservant* read by Servius in ii. 450, or (2), less probably, attached to *coiisse* as an 'epexegetical' infinitive meaning 'so as to come to a conclusion with steel', as in the *dederat diffundere* of i. 319, the *venimus populare* of i. 527 or the *ornaverat conferre* o. xii. 345. As either reading gives a quite unexceptionable line, the choice must be left to individual preference.

711. The rapidity of their movements is adroitly enhanced by our being left to infer that neither spear hits its mark.

712. *invadere*, like the English 'attack', is used both transitively and intransitively by Virgil, but the latter use is

congeminant, fors et virtus miscentur in unum.
ac velut ingenti Sila summove Taburno
cum duo conversis inimica in proelia tauri
frontibus incurrunt, pavidi cessere magistri,
stat pecus omne metu mutum, mussantque iuvencae
quis nemori imperitet, quem tota armenta sequantur;
illi inter sese multa vi vulnera miscent
cornuaque obnixi infigunt et sanguine largo
colla armosque lavant, gemitu nemus omne remugit:
non aliter Tros Aeneas et Daunius heros
concurrunt clipeis, ingens fragor aethera complet.
Iuppiter ipse duas aequato examine lances
sustinet et fata imponit diversa duorum,
quem damnet labor et quo vergat pondere letum.
  Emicat hic impune putans et corpore toto
alte sublatum consurgit Turnus in ensem
et ferit; exclamant Troes trepidique Latini,

714–718 *MPRV*   719–730 *MPR*   714 miscetur *V*

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exceptional. The analogy of *invade viam* vi. 260 and *aliquid invadere magnum* ix. 186 points towards *Martem* here being a cognate accusative and *invadunt Martem* meaning 'they press forward into battle'. *clipeis atque aere sonoro*, the Virgilian way of expressing 'with clash of the bronze shields', is resumed in l. 724 below after the intervening simile.

716. For the force of *conversis* see note on l. 548 above.

717. *cessere magistri*, 'draw back', 'retire helpless'; the phrase is repeated from *Georg*. iii. 549 where it has the same meaning.

727. The wording is highly compressed and difficult, though the general sense is quite clear: literally it runs 'whom the struggle sentences, by what weight death descends'. *damnare* in Virgil (he only uses it twice elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, iv. 699, vi. 430) always means 'to sentence'; with *labor* in this restricted sense may be compared *finemque impone labori* ii. 619; and *vergere* is to tip over or sink, primarily of the scale in a balance, and hence more widely as in *ad solem vergant vineta cadentem* *Georg*. ii. 298. The two halves of the line, as in l. 719 above, have the same general sense. Much confusion has arisen from futile attempts of the early commentators, misled by the *fata diversa duorum* of the previous line, to interpret them as conveying alternatives.

729. With the unusual and very effective rhythm may be compared iv. 185, *stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno*. *alte* is not attached to *sublatum*, but qualifies the whole clause.

731. '*acies*, aut exercitus aut oculi' is the

arrectaeque amborum acies. at perfidus ensis
frangitur in medioque ardentem deserit ictu,
ni fuga subsidio subeat. fugit ocior Euro
ut capulum ignotum dextramque aspexit inermem.
fama est praecipitem, cum primum in proelia iunctos
conscendebat equos, patrio mucrone relicto,
dum trepidat, ferrum aurigae rapuisse Metisci;
idque diu, dum terga dabant palantia Teucri,
suffecit: postquam arma dei ad Volcania ventum est,
mortalis mucro glacies ceu futtilis ictu
dissiluit; fulva resplendent fragmina harena.
ergo amens diversa fuga petit aequora Turnus
et nunc huc, inde huc incertos implicat orbis;
undique enim densa Teucri inclusere corona
atque hinc vasta palus, hinc ardua moenia cingunt.

Nec minus Aeneas, quamquam tardata sagitta
interdum genua impediunt cursumque recusant,

731–747 *MPR* 732 ictum *MR* 735 prima *M*, ad proelia *P* 741 resplendet fragmen *M^2R* 744 Teucri densa *M* 746 tardante *M^2*

Servian note. The former explanation, which seems preferable, may be supported by *in digitos arrectus uterque* v. 426, the latter by *luminibus arrectis* ii. 173.

733. The clause *ni fuga subsidio subeat* is attached to *deserit* as though that verb stated in full what it implies, 'leaves him helpless'.

735. As usual, the primary MSS. vary between *cum primum in proelia* and *cum prima in proelia*; the preponderance being here for the former as it is in l. 103 above for the latter.

739. Turnus' own sword was, like Aeneas' armour, of Vulcanian workmanship. What might be expected to happen if an enchanted sword met an enchanted shield we need not inquire. The great ingenuity with which Ariosto throughout the *Orlando Furioso* avoids putting this question to the test is well-known. In the battle in heaven in Book VI of *Paradise Lost*, Michael's sword is of such special super-celestial temper that it cuts clean through not only Satan's celestial armour but the blade of his celestial sword.

740. For *futtilis* see note on xi. 339. There is little to choose, in the next line, between the variants *resplendet fragmen* and *resplendent fragmina*. In the similar incident in the Völsunga-saga, where Sigmund's sword comes against the bill of Odin, it 'broke in two'—brast i sundr tva luti—but Morris in *Sigurd the Volsung* says that it 'in shivering shards fell earthward'. In the *Iliad* iii. 363 the sword of Menelaus 'fell from his hand shivered into several pieces', *τριχθά τε καὶ τετραχθὰ διατρυφέν*, when it struck on Hector's helmet.

insequitur trepidique pedem pede fervidus urget:
inclusum veluti si quando flumine nactus
cervum aut puniceae saeptum formidine pennae
venator cursu canis et latratibus instat,
ille autem insidiis et ripa territus alta
mille fugit refugitque vias; at vividus Umber
haeret hians, iam iamque tenet similisque tenenti
increpuit malis morsuque elusus inani est.
tum vero exoritur clamor ripaeque lacusque
responsant circa et caelum tonat omne tumultu.
ille simul fugiens Rutulos simul increpat omnis
nomine quemque vocans notumque efflagitat ensem.
Aeneas mortem contra praesensque minatur
exitium, si quisquam adeat, terretque trementis
excisurum urbem minitans et saucius instat.
quinque orbis explent cursu totidemque retexunt
huc illuc; neque enim levia aut ludicra petuntur
praemia, sed Turni de vita et sanguine certant.
   Forte sacer Fauno foliis oleaster amaris
hic steterat, nautis olim venerabile lignum,
servati ex undis ubi figere dona solebant
Laurenti divo et votas suspendere vestis;
sed stirpem Teucri nullo discrimine sacrum
sustulerant, puro ut possent concurrere campo:
hic hasta Aeneae stabat, huc impetus illam
detulerat fixam et lenta radice tenebat.

748–758 *MPR*   759–773 *MP*   753 ac M^1 754 tenens *R*
773 et *om.* M^2, ab radice M^2P

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751. *venator canis*, 'the hunter-hound', like *bellator equus*, 'the war-horse' xi. 89. The stag, as is made clear in l. 752, is pictured as shut in between a river-gorge on one side and the line of feathered rope on the other.

758. The slight syntactical irregularity of *simul fugiens simul increpat* is unusual; compare however *simul hoc, simul ingens clamor* l. 268 above.

788. For the double attachment of *armis*, *sublimes armis* (as in the following *arduus hasta*) and *armis animisque*, see note on i. 216.

790. The MSS. and vulgate text *contra certamina* is meaningless (*ut contra omnes*

incubuit voluitque manu convellere ferrum
Dardanides, teloque sequi quem prendere cursu 775
non poterat. tum vero amens formidine Turnus
'Faune, precor, miserere' inquit, 'tuque optima ferrum
Terra tene, colui vestros si semper honores,
quos contra Aeneadae bello fecere profanos.'
dixit, opemque dei non cassa in vota vocavit. 780
namque diu luctans lentoque in stirpe moratus
viribus haud ullis valuit discludere morsus
roboris Aeneas. dum nititur acer et instat,
rursus in aurigae faciem mutata Metisci
procurrit fratrique ensem dea Daunia reddit. 785
quod Venus audaci nymphae indignata licere
accessit telumque alta ab radice revellit.
olli sublimes armis animisque refecti,
hic gladio fidens, hic acer et arduus hasta,
adsistunt contra, certamina Martis anheli . . . 790
  Iunonem interea rex omnipotentis Olympi
adloquitur fulva pugnas de nube tuentem:
'quae iam finis erit, coniunx? quid denique restat?
indigetem Aenean scis ipsa et scire fateris
deberi caelo fatisque ad sidera tolli. 795
quid struis? aut qua spe gelidis in nubibus haeres?
mortalin decuit violari vulnere divum,
aut ensem (quid enim sine te Iuturna valeret?)
ereptum reddi Turno et vim crescere victis?

774–799 *MP* 784 conversa M^2P 788 animumque P^1

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hostium copias unus adsisteret quoted in support of it from Cicero *De Leg.* ii. 4 is quite irrelevant). We must either adopt the reading *certamine*, mentioned as a variant in Servius, or suppose that the sentence, though it does not break off in the middle of a line, is unfinished, pointing in either case after *adsistunt contra*, 'take their stand opposite (to one another)', as in *stant obnixa omnia contra* x. 359.

791. For *omnipotentis Olympi* see note on x. 1.

794. 'Situs est', says Livy of Aeneas (i. 2) 'quemcunque eum dici ius fasque est, super Numicum fluvium: Iovem indigetem appellant.'

desine iam tandem precibusque inflectere nostris.
ne te tantus edit tacitam dolor et mihi curae
saepe tuo dulci tristes ex ore recursent.
ventum ad supremum est. terris agitare vel undis
Troianos potuisti, infandum accendere bellum,
deformare domum et luctu miscere hymenaeos:
ulterius temptare veto.' sic Iuppiter orsus;
sic dea summisso contra Saturnia vultu:
'Ista quidem quia nota mihi tua, magne, voluntas,
Iuppiter, et Turnum et terras invita reliqui;
nec tu me aëria solam nunc sede videres
digna indigna pati, sed flammis cincta sub ipsa
starem acie traheremque inimica in proelia Teucros.
Iuturnam misero, fateor, succurrere fratri
suasi et pro vita maiora audere probavi,
non ut tela tamen, non ut contenderet arcum;
adiuro Stygii caput implacabile fontis,

800–816 *MP*   801 ni P^1 edat MP^2 809 relinquo P^2 811, 812 ipsam . . . aciem *M*

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801. Most editors here print *edit* (the original reading of the Palatine MS.) which was the normal subjunctive inflexion in early Latin and had not gone wholly out of use in the Augustan age; it gives a rather more euphonious line than *edat*.

805. *deformare* has very much the meaning of our colloquial 'make a mess of': it only occurs in the *Aeneid* here and in x. 844.

810. *videres, starem,* have very nearly the force of 'you ought to have seen', 'I ought to have been standing': so *maneres,* 'you should have remained' viii. 643, *possem,* 'I should have been able' l. 880 below.

812. *inimica proelia* (a phrase repeated from l. 716) is a calculated euphemism for 'deadly battle'.

815. This line, while perfectly lucid, is not easy to render in English. It is a good example of Virgil's manipulation of language: Latin allows, as English does not, the fusion of the two phrases *contendere arcum,* 'to stretch the bow', and *contendere telum* (as in *arcu contenta tela* v. 513) 'to pull back the arrow'.

817. For the meaning of *superstitio* and the various implications which it may take, see note on viii. 187. Here its force is that the oath by Styx is something unique and exceptional, 'above' or outside of normal usage. The authenticity of the line has been questioned, on the grounds that (1) it is superfluous, (2) *superi divi* is an expression not elsewhere found in Virgil, (3) *reddita* can only mean 'restored', 'given in payment', or 'yielded up'. As to

una superstitio superis quae reddita divis.
et nunc cedo equidem pugnasque exosa relinquo.
illud te, nulla fati quod lege tenetur,
pro Latio obtestor, pro maiestate tuorum:
cum iam conubiis pacem, felicibus, esto,
component, cum iam leges et foedera iungent,
ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos
neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque vocari
aut vocem mutare viros aut vertere vestem.
sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges,
sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago:
occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia.'
   Olli subridens hominum rerumque repertor:
'es germana Iovis Saturnique altera proles,
irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus.
verum age et inceptum frustra summitte furorem:
do quod vis, et me victusque volensque remitto.

817–830 *MP*   831–833 *MPR*   824 Teucrosve *P*   825 vestes *P*

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these; (1) superfluous or not, it is in Virgil's characteristic manner, and its effectiveness is undeniable: (2) while it is true that Virgil habitually uses *superi* in this connexion as a substantive, *superis divis* here is like *superi regnator Olympi* (Olympus meaning the Olympian hierarchy) ii. 779 and *supero caelicolum regi* iii. 20; and Horace has *di superi* IV *Od.* vii. 18; while *superi divi* has special aptitude here as distinguishing these from the *inferi divi* to whose realm Styx belonged: (3) the use of *reddere* is paralleled by phrases like *vulnus reddit undam* ix. 700 and *insignem reddidit arte* v. 705; see also the note on the *reddita* of iii. 333.

820. *pro maiestate tuorum,* 'for the honour of your family': Latinus being a direct descendant of Saturn, as set forth in vii. 45–9 with special emphasis. The word *maiestas* is only used here by Virgil.

821. *felicibus,* before which a pause should be marked, is Juno's final and complete concession, *esto* being closely attached to it. The luck or prosperity of marriages depended on her good will; *cui vincla iugalia curae* iv. 59 emphasizes this.

829. *hominum rerumque repertor,* 'the Author of mankind and of nature'. The word *repertor* is only once used elsewhere by Virgil, and there (vii. 772) in its ordinary meaning of inventor or discoverer.

833. The solemnity of the promise is emphasized by the string of five slow monosyllables (unique in the *Aeneid*) with which it opens.

sermonem Ausonii patrium moresque tenebunt,
utque est nomen erit; commixti corpore tantum
subsident Teucri. morem ritusque sacrorum
adiciam faciamque omnis uno ore Latinos.
hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget,
supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis,
nec gens ulla tuos aeque celebrabit honores.'
adnuit his Iuno et mentem laetata retorsit.
interea excedit caelo nubemque relinquit.
  His actis aliud genitor secum ipse volutat
Iuturnamque parat fratris dimittere ab armis.
dicuntur geminae pestes cognomine Dirae,
quas et Tartaream Nox intempesta Megaeram
uno eodemque tulit partu, paribusque revinxit
serpentum spiris ventosasque addidit alas.
hae Iovis ad solium saevique in limine regis
apparent acuuntque metum mortalibus aegris,

834–851 *MPR*   835 tanto *R*

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835. The Trojans shall 'sink into' or 'settle down in' the body of the nation (the full expression, *corpore regni*, is used xi. 313), i.e. shall peacefully coalesce with it. The force of *tantum* is 'that and nothing more shall happen'. The result will be threefold: a common tradition, a common ritual, and a common language.

839. *supra ire deos* is not, as it has been carelessly called (and accordingly, superficially criticized) a rhetorical exaggeration. It expresses the core of Roman religious belief and practice as they were understood and interpreted by Virgil. *Pietas*, strict and unfailing observance of duty, in all relations whether sacred or secular, was the mainspring of the Roman character. The 'gods', the powers that influence human affairs and are in turn influenced by prayers, worship, and prescribed ritual, are, in so far as they are distinct from the one Supreme Power, sometimes half-personified as Jupiter, sometimes left indeterminate as Fate, or the First Cause, or the Anima Mundi. They are irresponsible, and even, to human seeming, capricious. They cannot be relied upon to make due return for the service of duty paid to them. Juno in the *Aeneid* is not won over by the prayers and oblations of Aeneas, but by her own reluctant submission to the supreme will; yet no less, the duty of paying her homage is insisted on by Helenus, whose *supera dominam donis* (iii. 438) may be specially noticed in this connexion.

845. The Dirae or Furies were equated in the syncretist Roman mythology with the Greek Erinyes or Eumenides, the

si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex
molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes.
harum unam celerem demisit ab aethere summo
Iuppiter inque omen Iuturnae occurrere iussit:
illa volat celerique ad terram turbine fertur.
non secus ac nervo per nubem impulsa sagitta,
armatam saevi Parthus quam felle veneni,
Parthus sive Cydon, telum immedicabile, torsit
stridens, et celeris incognita transilit umbras:
talis se sata Nocte tulit terrasque petivit.
postquam acies videt Iliacas atque agmina Turni,
alitis in parvae subitam collecta figuram,
quae quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis
nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras,
hanc versa in faciem Turni se pestis ob ora
fertque refertque sonans clipeumque everberat alis.
illi membra novus solvit formidine torpor,

852–867 *MPR* 862 subito *P*, conversa *M* 865 in ora *M*, ad ora *P*

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daughters of Night in Aeschylus; the number of three, and the names Allecto, Megaera and Tisiphone, were later refinements. One or another of these names is used in poetry according to fancy or convenience. In the *Aeneid,* Megaera's name only occurs here: Allecto plays an important part in Book VII: and Tisiphone is mentioned as the portress at hell-gate in Book VI, and as raging amid the two armies in the fighting of Book X. What, if any, tradition Virgil followed in placing two of them beside the throne of Jupiter is not known; *saevi regis* in l. 849 suggests Pluto (the *immitis tyranni* of *Georg.* iv. 492) rather than Jupiter: the explanation in Servius, '*saevi,* id est dum saevit', appears to be followed by such modern commentators as notice the phrase.

850. *apparent* has its technical sense, act as *apparitores,* the title of the marshals or ushers attached to Roman law-courts.

853. The triple repetition of *celerem, celeri, celeris* within seven lines is noticeable. It is possible that l. 855 was in an early draft immediately followed by l. 861, and was left unaltered when Virgil inserted the simile (ll. 856–60). But the whole passage is uniform in style otherwise.

859. Considerations of rhythm, and comparison with iv. 185 *stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno,* indicate a punctuation-pause after *stridens.* For *celeris umbras,* see note on iv. 226.

864. *importunus,* 'ill-timed', the opposite of *opportunus,* 'well-timed', here as elsewhere in Virgil is nearly equivalent to 'ill-omened'. The presence of *importuna* in this line involves the change of the normal *sera canit* into *serum canit.*

arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit.
At procul ut Dirae stridorem agnovit et alas,
infelix crinis scindit Iuturna solutos
unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis:
'quid nunc te tua, Turne, potest germana iuvare?
aut quid iam durae superat mihi? qua tibi lucem
arte morer? talin possum me opponere monstro?
iam iam linquo acies. ne me terrete timentem,
obscenae volucres: alarum verbera nosco
letalemque sonum, nec fallunt iussa superba
magnanimi Iovis. haec pro virginitate reponit?
quo vitam dedit aeternam? cur mortis adempta est
condicio? possem tantos finire dolores
nunc certe, et misero fratri comes ire per umbras!
immortalis ego? aut quicquam mihi dulce meorum
te sine, frater, erit? o quae satis ima dehiscat
terra mihi, manisque deam demittat ad imos!'
tantum effata caput glauco contexit amictu
multa gemens et se fluvio dea condidit alto.
Aeneas instat contra telumque coruscat
ingens arboreum, et saevo sic pectore fatur:
'quae nunc deinde mora est? aut quid iam, Turne, retractas?
non cursu, saevis certandum est comminus armis.

868–891 *MPR* 870 scindit crinis *R* 874 possim *R* 883 quam *P*, dehiscet P^{1} 884 demittit P^{1}

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868. This line and l. 871 are verbally repeated from iv. 280 and 673. One may be inclined to think that if not actual interpolations here, they might be omitted without loss, or even with some advantage.

873. Servius paraphrases *durae* by *immiti*, which would correspond to the *crudelis* of the parallel episode in iv. 681, if that word is there applied by Anna to herself and not to her sister: perhaps, however, the sense is rather 'hardened' or 'steeled' by suffering, like the *Dardanidae duri* of iii. 94. The variant *miserae* in the codex Gudianus (not a negligible MS.) seems to be merely a conjectural emendation: if any were required, *curae* would be a more plausible alteration: cf. *quidquid curae*, viii. 401. For another instance in which *durus* is questionable see note on viii. 371.

875. *timentem*, 'who am already afraid': so *terretque trementes* l. 761 above. It is

verte omnis tete in facies et contrahe quidquid
sive animis sive arte vales; opta ardua pennis
astra sequi clausumve cava te condere terra.'
ille caput quassans: 'non me tua fervida terrent
dicta, ferox; di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis.'
nec plura effatus saxum circumspicit ingens,
saxum antiquum ingens, campo quod forte iacebat,
limes agro positus litem ut discerneret arvis.
vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent,
qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.
ille manu raptum trepida torquebat in hostem
altior insurgens et cursu concitus heros.
sed neque currentem se nec cognoscit euntem
tollentemve manus saxumve immane moventem;
genua labant, gelidus concrevit frigore sanguis.
tum lapis ipse viri vacuum per inane volutus
nec spatium evasit totum neque pertulit ictum.
ac velut in somnis, oculos ubi languida pressit
nocte quies, nequiquam avidos extendere cursus
velle videmur et in mediis conatibus aegri
succidimus, non lingua valet, non corpore notae
sufficiunt vires nec vox aut verba sequuntur:
sic Turno, quacumque viam virtute petivit,

892–913 *MPR* 893 Clausumque *MR* 899 illum *M* 904 tollentemque *M*, manu *P* 913 quamcumque P^1

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not 'proleptic' as taken by some commentators.

The rapid incoherent stream of questions in this speech of Juturna's is like that in her brother's own, x. 669–79, from which *quae satis ima dehiscat terra mihi* is even verbally repeated. It is one of Virgil's triumphs of profound and delicate art.

891. The reduplicated or reinforced *tete*, for *te*, is only used by Virgil here.

895. For *ferox* see note on i. 263.

898. 'To delimit action at law over the fields' is a compressed way of saying 'to discriminate the fields so as to put a stop to (actual or possible) action at law'.

906. The curious expression *lapis ipse viri*, 'the very stone of him', sounds like an archaism taken from some early Latin poet.

907. *totum* is attached both to the words which precede and to those which follow it: cf. note on l. 788 above.

successum dea dira negat. tum pectore sensus
vertuntur varii; Rutulos aspectat et urbem
cunctaturque metu letumque instare tremescit,
nec quo se eripiat, nec qua vi tendat in hostem,
nec currus usquam videt aurigamve sororem.
  Cunctanti telum Aeneas fatale coruscat,
sortitus fortunam oculis, et corpore toto
eminus intorquet. murali concita numquam
tormento sic saxa fremunt nec fulmine tanti
dissultant crepitus. volat atri turbinis instar
exitium dirum hasta ferens orasque recludit
loricae et clipei extremos septemplicis orbis:
per medium stridens transit femur. incidit ictus
ingens ad terram duplicato poplite Turnus.
consurgunt gemitu Rutuli totusque remugit
mons circum et vocem late nemora alta remittunt.
ille humilis supplex oculos dextramque precantem
protendens 'equidem merui nec deprecor' inquit;
'utere sorte tua. miseri te si qua parentis
tangere cura potest, oro, fuit et tibi talis
Anchises genitor, Dauni miserere senectae
et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis,
redde meis. vicisti et victum tendere palmas
Ausonii videre; tua est Lavinia coniunx,
ulterius ne tende odiis.' stetit acer in armis
Aeneas volvens oculos dextramque repressit;

914–938 *MPR*   939 *MP*   916 telumque *MR*   tremiscit *M*   918 aurigamque *R*   922 tanto *P*   930 supplexque *M*

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928. *consurgunt gemitu Rutuli* is the Virgilian way of saying *consurgit gemitus a Rutulis.*

946. For *furiis accensus* see note on x. 813.

952. The line is repeated from xi. 831, the death of Camilla. Servius there notes, 'servat hoc ubique ut iuvenum animas a corporibus dicat cum dolore discedere . . . quod etiam de Turno dicturus est'. But there is more in it than that. When young Lausus falls, x. 819, *vita per auras concessit maesta ad manis*, but not as with Camilla and Turnus,

et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo 940
coeperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis pueri, victum quem vulnere Turnus
straverat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris 945
exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
terribilis: 'tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.'
hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit 950
fervidus. ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.

940–952 *MP*

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indignata. They die indignant, because their death means the wreckage of the cause for which they fought, and the sense that all their heroism had been unavailing. Thus in the final cadence of the *Aeneid,* as in the *tantaene animis caelestibus irae* of its opening, Virgil's perpetual sense of pity is touched with indignation that the Powers who control life should themselves be so pitiless, and that their purposes are only wrought out through so much human suffering.

APPENDIX A

THE VIRGILIAN ABLATIVE

VIRGIL's use of the ablative is one of the points in which he is most obviously an innovator in language. He employs it more largely, and over a wider range of meanings, than any of his predecessors or contemporaries. It may be useful to bring together the usages characteristic of him, and some cases peculiar to him; and these may for convenience be classified under heads. Any such classification is, of course, somewhat arbitrary: as dealing with a usage which is fluid, it must not itself be rigidly pressed, though it is useful for guidance. It must be borne in mind throughout that the 'ablative case' is an invention of grammarians, and that Virgil, like all other authors, did not think or write in terms of 'cases', but in those of inflected forms of words. Each of these forms, but this one especially, might convey different meanings according to its place and function in the phrase; the phrase, and not the isolated word, being the real unit of language.

A noun, or a noun and adjective, with this inflexion is used by Virgil in the following ways; it will be observed that some of them are barely distinguishable from others:

1. An ablative is attached to another noun, with the force of an adjective in agreement with it: e.g. *crateres auro*, 'bowls of gold' or 'golden bowls', ii. 765; *aequor aquis*, 'floor of waters' or 'watery floor', viii. 89; *vertex flammis*, 'spire of flames' or 'flaming spire', xii. 673: so also, among many other instances, *vis ventis* i. 69, and probably, also *vis animo* i. 529; *vortex aequore* i. 117; *lorica auro* iii. 467, vii. 639.

2. An ablative not attached to another noun is used with a widely comitative force, and connected with the verb in the phrase where it is placed, or rather, perhaps, with the whole phrase: so *metu* frequently (e.g. i. 280, iii. 213, iv. 164), *luctu* ii. 12, *amore* vi. 314. More rarely, as in *dulci amore* vi. 455, this ablative noun has an adjective in agreement with it.

3. Either of these ablatives may alternatively be preceded by a preposition defining the connexion more precisely (*ab*, *cum*, *de*, *ex*, *in*, *super*), or may be replaced by an accusative following a preposition

which does not take the ablative (*per*, *post*). Compare, for the alternative usages:

(1) ab	
Aquilone procella, 'blast from the north', i. 102	robur ab annis xi. 174
ardor acervo, 'blaze from the pile', xi. 786	clamor ab urbe xii. 621
(2) cum	
gemitu, 'with a moan', xii. 928	cum gemitu iv. 687
viribus, 'with his strength', xi. 750	cum viribus v. 368
(3) de	
auro crateres, 'bowls of gold', ii. 765	galeri de pelle vii. 688
abiete puppes, 'hulls of fir', v. 663	de marmore templum iv. 457
(4) ex	
pyra taedis, 'funeral-pile of billets', iv. 505	effigies e cedro vii. 177
auro lorica, 'corslet of gold', vii. 639.	clipeus ex aere xi. 10
(5) in	
Latio, 'in Latium', xi. 141	in Latio, vii. 601
tectis, 'in the apartments', i. 725	in tectis vii. 413
(6) per	
terris, 'amid the lands', iii. 147	per domos ii. 365
aris, 'amid the altars', ii. 574	per aras ii. 501
(7) post	
morte, 'after death', iv. 244	post mortem ix. 363
libato, 'after libation', i. 737	post fata iv. 20
(8) super	
flammis, 'over the flames', vi. 218	super ostro i. 700
pelago, 'over the sea', i. 181	super arce vi. 17

As regards (5) it may be noted that *tectis* is more fully expressed by *mediis tectis* i. 638; and that both usages are employed side by side in xi. 213, *in tectis urbe Latini*.

4. By a characteristic variation of the ordinary Latin usage in which an ablative noun and adjective are attached to another noun as a quasi-adjectival phrase, Virgil frequently attaches the adjective syntactically to the latter noun. This is one of his habitual innovations: instances (others may be found on almost every page) are *curvam compagibus alvum* ii. 51, *immensa volumine terga* ii. 208, *siccae sanguine fauces* ix. 64 (on which see note), *duros obice postes* xi. 890. *Curvis*, *immenso*, *sicco*, *duro*, would be the normal Latin.

5. This compound ablative (noun and adjective) is largely used by

Virgil in substitution for the compounded epithets freely employed in early Latin poetry, but seldom in that of the golden age, when they were regarded as inappropriate to the quality of a pure Latin idiom. They reappear from their submergence in Latin of the post-classical period. A list of those used in the *Aeneid* is given in the Introduction, p. lxxxi. Instances of this compound ablative representing a compounded epithet are *mucrone corusco*, 'glittering-pointed', ii. 333, *linguis trisulcis*, 'triple-tongued', ii. 475, *vastis campis*, 'wide-plained', iii. 13, *annoso robore*, 'age-strong', iv. 441, *mille coloribus*, 'thousand-coloured', v. 609, *lumine purpureo*, 'brilliantly-luminous', vi. 640, *atro felle* (μελαγχολικός), 'passionate', viii. 219, *alto vulnere*, 'deep-wounding', x. 857, *aënis squamis*, 'brazen-scaled', xi. 770: with which may be coupled *tanta mole* and *ingenti mole*, 'massive', attached adjectivally to *puppes* and *currus* viii. 693 and xii. 161.

This tentative classification may make more clear, what is sufficiently obvious to any student of Virgil's language, that he not only amplified the function of the ablative, but loaded it with almost more than it could carry; much more than any other classical author, contemporary or subsequent. In phrases like *domus sanie*, 'house of gore', *Curibus Clausus*, 'Clausus of Cures', or *corpore vires*, 'strength of body' (iii. 618, x. 345, xii. 911), his usage nearly reaches breaking-point.

In the post-classical period freedom was sought, and the strain on language relaxed, by a wide use of ablatives introduced by *de*, that preposition having come to convey the generalized force of its modern equivalent in the French *de* and the Italian *di* or *da* (=*de ab*). Thus these ablatival forms became to all intents and purposes indeclinable words which displaced the other case-inflexions: so in Italian *ager*, *agri*, *agrum* are merged in the single form *agro*, and *mors*, *mortis*, *morti*, *mortem* in the single form *morte*: a return to, or a development from, the Virgilian innovation. Virgil himself says *parte alia* (i. 474) and *alia de parte* (iv. 153) indiscriminately, just as in the French *autre part* and *d'une autre part*.

APPENDIX B

THE DUPLICATED EPISODES: SINON AND ACHAEMENIDES; DIDO AND AMATA

THERE are two pairs of episodes in the *Aeneid* in which it is obvious that to a larger extent than elsewhere the same material has been used twice over; and in both cases the question arises whether any probable conclusion can be reached not only as to priority of composition, but also whether, or how far, one of the pair has been used as a quarry, with the intention either of recasting or of cancelling what was left over.

These are (1) the Sinon episode in Book II, ll. 57–198, and the Achaemenides episode in Book III, ll. 588–684; (2) the last scenes of Dido's life in Book IV and the death of Amata in Book XII, ll. 593–611.

I

The Sinon episode is faultless in its construction, and interwoven with complete skill into the texture of the whole Book. It cannot be supposed that Virgil would have altered it materially. On the other hand, the Achaemenides episode, while it is not actually detachable in the sense that it could be removed without consequent modification in the context, is unessential, and is generally (and rightly) felt to be out of tone with the rest of the narrative of the Wanderings. The idea of bringing the adventures of Aeneas into connexion with those of Ulysses is infelicitous. The chronology is impracticable; the giant Polyphemus belongs to a different world from that of the *Aeneid*; and Ulysses himself, the *dirus*, *saevus*, *scelerum inventor Ulixes* of the earlier narrative (ii. 164, 261, 762, iii. 273) has become *infelix Ulixes* not only to Achaemenides in l. 613, but to Aeneas himself in l. 691.

The following list sets out the more striking similarities and identities of phrase in the two episodes. They point clearly to that of Book III being the earlier in date of composition.

III. 591	ignoti forma viri procedit	II. 59	se ignotum obtulerat
595	patriis ad Troiam missus in armis	87	in arma pater primis huc misit ab annis
599	per sidera testor	154	vos aeterni ignes testor

602 scio me Danais e classibus unum	78 neque me Argolica de gente negabo
605 spargite me in fluctus vastoque immergite ponto	69 quae me aequora possunt accipere?
608 qui sit fari, quo sanguine cretus, hortamur	74 hortamur fari quo sanguine cretus
610 ipse pater dextram Anchises dat iuveni atque animum praesenti pignore firmat	146 ipse viro primus levari vincla iubet Priamus dictisque ita fatur amicis
613 comes Ulixi	86 illi me comitem
614 Troiam genitore paupere profectus	86 me pauper pater huc misit
615 mansissetque utinam fortuna	110 fecissentque utinam

The state in which Book III is left makes it impossible to guess with any confidence how far Virgil would have recast it from beginning to end. But it seems not unlikely that he would have cancelled the Achaemenides episode bodily and rewritten the latter part of the Book (ll. 588–706), including the chronicle-itinerary which sketches, in the manner of a guide-book, the stages of the journey from the Straits of Messina up to the arrival at Drepanum, and which in its hasty enumeration is like the huddled-up ending of Apollonius's *Argonautica*.

2

The passage of nineteen lines in Book XII (593–611) describing the death of Amata is technically detachable. It is linked on, a little mechanically, to what precedes it by the weak introductory line *accidit haec fessis etiam fortuna Latinis*: that it was also felt to end abruptly is indicated by the insertion at its conclusion, in a number of inferior manuscripts, of the lines interpolated from xi. 471, 472. But it also interrupts the narrative, in which the confusion and despair in the city (ll. 583–92) would otherwise be immediately and dramatically followed by the noble passage beginning *Interea extremo bellator in aequore Turnus*. The interposed episode weakens rather than enhances the value of the contrast. Amata's suicide in the failure of all her plans and prayers is no doubt a tragic touch: and if the *Aeneid* were a saga and not an epic, an account of her ending would be in place, and would be in fact required. But it would hardly be missed here if it had been struck out either by Virgil himself or by his editors. And it would be as much, or even more, in Virgil's manner to let Amata disappear in silence after the touching scene of her last interview with Turnus (ll. 52 foll.). There the single pregnant word *moritura* (repeated with less poignancy in l. 602) foreshadows clearly enough the suicide, the news of which is brought later (ll. 659, 660) by Saces to Turnus as the last blow in a crowd of calamities. So in *Macbeth*, the death-scene of Lady Macbeth is not staged, but its full effect is given by the swift concentrated interchange of words through which we are told of it:

> Wherefore was that cry?
> —The Queen, my lord, is dead.
> —She should have died hereafter;
> There would have been a time for such a word.

But such a device cannot, of course, be used in an epic.

A list is added of the verbal similarities between this passage and the tragedy of Dido.

XII. 594	concussit funditus urbem	IV. 666	concussam per urbem
595	regina ut tectis prospicit	586	regina e speculis ut vidit
598	(regina) infelix	529	infelix Phoenissa
599	subito mentem turbata dolore	697	subitoque accensa furore
600	se causam clamat malorum	548	tu his malis oneras
602	moritura	604	moritura (also 415, 519)
605	crines et roseas laniata genas	590, 673	flaventes abscissa comas . . unguibus ora foedans
607	resonant plangoribus aedes	668	resonat magnis plangoribus aether
608	totam vulgatur fama per urbem	666	bacchatur fama per urbem
609	scissa veste	590	abscissa comas
610	urbisque ruina	669	ruat omnis Karthago

From consideration of these, and from the versification of the Amata episode, it is probable or all but certain that the borrowing here is from Book IV to Book XII, and that the nineteen lines were written and inserted in their present place at a comparatively late period in the composition of the poem; perhaps only tentatively.

APPENDIX C

THE VIRGILIAN UNDERWORLD

In Book VI all the elements of Virgil's genius coalesce at their highest power; and in their fusion they create, so to say, a new element. Or to put it otherwise, we find ourselves, we hardly know how, transferred into a transcendental world, one of more than three dimensions. This is what gives it its mystical, here and there we might almost say its bewildering quality, and this is, in particular, what makes it difficult to relate its scenes either with topography or with history. We are moving here in a world which is imaginative in a further sense than that in which all poetry is imaginative. The agricultural subject-matter of the *Georgics*, the historical, geographical, and ethnological subject-matter of the main fabric of the *Aeneid*, are no doubt fused and in large measure transmuted by the poetic imagination: we cannot argue either from them or to them as though the poems were prose documents. But on matters of fact or of history the imagination is there working within certain definite limits which we can trace and mark off. Here we do not know, at any moment, where we are. It is one of the qualities of four-dimensional space that in it an object may, so far as the criteria of three-dimensional space are concerned, be in two places at the same time. This is just what we feel here. Up to a certain point—up to line 263, to be precise—we can follow Aeneas's movements on the map, can place Virgil's scene, from point to point. Then with the *ibant obscuri* we suddenly find ourselves in a scene of which we cannot say whether it is real or not, or what relation it bears to known or ascertainable facts.

Yet in this impalpable undeterminable scene 'among the empty mansions and void realms of Dis' (l. 269), Virgil has plunged deeper than he does elsewhere into the recesses of what was for him, hardly less than for us, an ancient world, half forgotten and only recoverable in tantalizing fragments, *res alta terra et caligine mersas* (l. 267); and we may say with some confidence that modern archaeological research has enabled us to understand better than any of our predecessors what was in his knowledge and in his imagination. For the scene in which he sets the drama or mystery of this book is, to a startling degree, that of what we have now learned to call a prehistoric Minoan palace. A summary sketch will indicate lines for more detailed consideration.

Aeneas has landed at Cumae. The 'Euboean coast', the 'Chalcidic fortress' (ll. 2, 17) were, according to the current and superficial tradition, of Greek settlement and foundation: and this, in the artificial chronology of the ancient historians, was fifty years later than the war of Troy. Virgil at the very beginning of the book lays strong emphasis on an earlier settlement, coming from the 'Minoan realm' (l. 14) of Crete. The temple of the sun-god on the citadel (l. 9), and the vast underground halls somewhere below, belong to that earlier world. On the great entrance-doors are six panels in metal relief (ll. 20–32) with subjects from Minoan history: the slaying of Androgeos, the drawing of the lots, Pasiphae and the bull, the Minotaur in the labyrinth, Theseus and the clue, and the flight and fall of Icarus; the last of these panels being either missing or incomplete. This gateway is the main entrance to a vast mass of chambers and corridors, partly at least underground, *lati aditus centum*, *ostia centum* (l. 43). In some central chamber is what may be called the Record Office, where the utterances of the Sibyl are 'committed to leaves' (l. 74). It is to be noted here that the traces of pen-and-ink writing on cups of Middle Minoan III show that such libraries may very well have existed, and in fact palm leaves are conjectured to have been the substance on which they were written. Those leaves of (shall we dare to say?) Minoan script, transcribed on rolls of linen and sedulously preserved at Rome, had for many centuries a mysterious and magical significance.

The passport for exploration of the 'covered-up places of earth', *telluris operta* (l. 140), is the golden bough, which Aeneas finds in a wood somewhere between Cumae and Misenum: it was made of *brattea*, gold leaf, or rather thin gold plating, like those wreaths and masks with which we are familiar in Mycenean tombs. Somewhere in those same woods, hidden among beds of gravel, black pools of water, and thick shade of trees (l. 238), and further made difficult of access by mephitic vapours, was another entrance to underground dwellings. Here Aeneas and Deiphobe enter just before sunrise; the ground sounds hollow under their feet (l. 256), there are sounds as of dogs howling, and the tree-tops are shaken by blasts of subterranean wind. Then, *ibant obscuri*; and we, like them, begin to move in obscurity, and find ourselves in a mysterious world.

The palaces of Dis through which Aeneas is now led, are, in their general aspect and in an astonishing number of particulars, Minoan like the palace of Knossos. Virgil recreated or imagined such a palace near Cumae, in great part ruinous, choked with rubbish or completely hidden underground: here and there waterlogged, as in that volcanic region is often the case, so that its explorer has to be ferried over a stagnant pool, the 'Stygia palus' (l. 323), the 'alta stagna Cocyti', thick with volcanic sand and bubbling with gases (ll. 296, 297); or moves precariously along the side of a boiling stream, Phlegethon, that issues from subterranean depths. By doorways and in corridors are sculptured figures of monsters: a couchant hound, Cerberus; a female figure grasping serpents, Tisiphone; creatures hundred-armed, double-bodied, serpent-headed, beaked and clawed. The great entrance-hall is half filled by a huge elm that has grown up through the shattered pavement. The vestibule walls are covered with frescoes of allegorical figures: Grief, Sickness, Eld, Care, Fear, Hunger, Poverty, Violent Death, Toil, Evil Joy. Facing the entrance is a great group of War, Discord with serpent locks bound in bloody ribbons, and the Furies in iron cells. Farther on is a pool which has to be crossed in a leaky ferry-boat stained rust-red by the volcanic water (l. 303). Beyond it are more frescoed halls: one painted with the *lugentes campi*, female figures with a background of forest; another with groups of warriors. Passing through these, one comes to a great wall-space on the left built up against the cliff and painted with an elaborate representation of the city of Dis, triple-walled, and moated with a flaming torrent. The gateway of the city is flanked by massive columns and surmounted by a gateway tower plated with iron; in front of it is a seated figure of Tisiphone, wide-eyed and wrapped in a crimson cloak. Sounds are heard, as though they came from inside the walls, of blows, groans, the clash of iron and the rattle of chains. They are the sounds of volcanic action, the hissings and rumblings and explosions of subterranean forces, interpreted into a new meaning. Before the scene, as it bursts upon him, Aeneas comes to a stand: *respicit subito* (l. 548); and as he stands amazed and terrified, the Sibyl expounds to him all the actual hell which lies across that threshold the representation of which is before his eyes. Through that realm, in the body or out of the body, she herself had been led by Hecate when she was made priestess of the place and received full initiation. In that infernal world 'Gnosian' Rhadamanthus reigns and judges; just as, in one of the portrayed scenes past which Aeneas had already gone, Minos the Cretan was shown holding his court of justice and passing sentences (ll. 432–3).

After the Sibyl has finished her account, they go forward again, through an arched gateway on the right, and along dark corridors (ll. 631, 633) to an entrance where Aeneas deposits his golden bough on the threshold. By this touch Virgil, with his wonted subtlety, indicates that what follows is, in some fuller sense than what has preceded, a vision or initiation rather than an actual journey. No doubt what Aeneas sees there, particularly the line of Latin heroes shown and described by Anchises (ll. 760 ff.), from Silvius to Marcellus, is not wholly without reference to actual galleries of national history. It suggests portrait-statues, not painted panels. Some such gallery is probably in Virgil's mind where (vii. 177–91) he describes the ancient palace of Lavinium, a building planned like the throne-room in the royal villa at Knossos, but also like a Roman basilica. In that palace also *veterum effigies ex ordine avorum astabant*, carved in cedar-wood, and each figure bearing its own cognizance, Sabinus the pruning-hook and Picus the *ancile*, just as here, in the vision of Aeneas, Silvius leans on his spear, Numa carries the *sacra*, and Torquatus points towards the axe. But the Fortunate Fields into which Aeneas has entered, though their scenery and equipment may be suggested by actual places and monuments, cannot on their large lines be imagined as corporeally existent, or as having even an analogue in the scenes through which he had hitherto been passing in the body. They have an 'ampler ether', 'a sun and stars of their own' (ll. 640–1). The landscape, the figures and actions which display themselves to him, are visionary. He and his guide move through them as in a dream, *tota passim regione vagantur aëris in campis latis*, unconfined by space, unhampered by the body. From that vision he has to return into life through the gates of sleep. These gates are for exit only, not for entrance. They are the symbolized mechanism of the medium through which the supernatural world projects itself into and acts upon the world cognizable by the senses. Through one of them, the gate of horn, the souls undergoing reincarnation pass from the other world into this. They are the *verae umbrae*, as Virgil calls them in one of his pregnant and many-faceted phrases; the realities becoming shadows, or the shadows becoming realities, according to the angle from which the process is viewed. Through the other, the gate of ivory, come the *falsa insomnia*, the effluences from another world which affect human lives as perturbations, as unreal or perplexing dreams. Virgil here, as usual, hints at much and says little. A great deal of labour has been wasted on explanations, more or less far-fetched, of the meaning he wished to convey by making the spirit of Anchises dismiss both Aeneas and the Sibyl through the ivory gate. The primary or superficial reason is obvious: it is merely a note of time, indicating in accordance with the current rules of oneiromancy that the journey, begun (l. 255) at dawn, is concluded before dawn of the next day. Further meaning or meanings hinted at are too delicate to be analysed.

The Minoan colour generally, and the specific Minoan analogies, of the scenes through which Aeneas passes between his entrance into the cave's mouth and his deposition of the golden bough, are obvious and need hardly be laboured in detail: it will be sufficient to add here a few illustrative sentences from the description of the palace at Knossos given by Sir Arthur Evans and Dr. Burrows. It was, they tell us, 'a vast complex of chambers, courts, and corridors, hard to find one's way through, even on the spot'. 'The winding staircases and the stories piled one above the other . . . must have made it bewildering when the upper structures were still partially standing, but enough of them had fallen to block up doors and passages. The very existence of basements and upper stories would be new and confusing to the northerner.' 'Whole areas were covered with stone carvings or frescoed plaster.' 'On the corridor walls were frescoes that helped out the story and suggested its details.' 'Everything around, the dark passages, the life-like figures surviving from an older world, would conspire to produce a sense of the supernatural. It was haunted ground, and then, as now, phantasms were about.' Manolis, the Greek workman who was left as night-watchman in the Hall of the Cupbearer, said that in the night the cupbearer came to life, and the animals on the walls began to low and neigh; *visaeque canes ululare per umbram.*

'The later stories of the grisly king', says Sir Arthur Evans, 'sprang as it were from the soil, and the whole site called forth a superstitious awe.' The 'grisly king' here is the legendary Minos; but the phrase is Milton's used of Satan; and in Virgil, too, the palace has become the palace of the infernal monarch, the realm not of Minos but of Dis.

What information had Virgil before him, from records or traditions or actual relics that he may have seen, for building up this picture of what looks so like a Minoan palace in the neighbourhood of Cumae? Of some Minoan settlement there, as in other parts of Southern Italy, there was certainly some quasi-historical tradition such as is mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 170), *ἀντὶ Κρητῶν γενέσθαι Ἰήπυγας Μεσσαπίους.* But that tradition so far as it has reached us is vague and does not touch on the *Realien* of the imported civilization. Had Varro's books of

Antiquitates survived we should doubtless have material for answering the question. As it is, there are certain points suggested, and certain inferences which may be drawn from them, in the chapter on labyrinths in Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvi. 19). 'Dicamus et labyrinthos,' he begins in very striking words, 'vel portentosissimum humani impendi opus, sed non, ut existimari potest, falsum': the sentence might serve as a motto for an account of the discoveries in Crete. Pliny considers the so-called labyrinths of the Graeco-Italian countries, vast complexes of prehistoric building, as all originating from or suggested by the Labyrinth *en titre*, that in the nome of Heracleopolis on the edge of the Fayyûm in Egypt. What he says about that labyrinth may be taken as a sort of loose but vivid definition of what the word as applied to other buildings means. 'In it,' he says (to quote from Philemon Holland's picturesque translation), 'are contained certain vast and stately palaces, temples of all the gods, and a world of images and statues, besides an infinite sort of other pieces portrayed in monstrous shapes . . . rooms formed in such manner that no sooner are the doors and gates opened which lead into them but a man shall hear fearful cracks of terrible thunder . . . the passages from place to place for the most part so conveyed that they be as dark as pitch, in manner of caves vaulted overhead and as dark as dungeons' ('maiore in parte transitus est per tenebras,' like Virgil's *ibant obscuri per umbram*), and again, 'lofts and galleries so high that he must climb stairs of ninety steps apiece ere he can land at them.'

The details of the Egyptian labyrinth were matter of common knowledge in Virgil's time, and no doubt they had some share in shaping his construction. Some measure of Egyptian influence may be doubtfully traced in the sights recounted by the Sibyl: they give something of the effect of a recollection of pictures seen by her as she unrolled the pages of a Book of the Dead. On the whole, however, there is little in Virgil's *mise en scène* which suggests any distinct Egyptian motive.

Pliny goes on to mention three other labyrinths: that of Crete, of which 'nulla vestigia exstant': then and long before, as since then until recently, it had wholly disappeared from sight and knowledge; one in Lemnos, of which there were a few fragments extant that he does not particularize; and one in Etruria. This last had also wholly disappeared, but accounts remained of it both in records and in a local tradition which survived in Pliny's own time. It was also known under the name of the tomb of Lars Porsena: it would seem to have served among other purposes as the burial-place of the Etruscan kings, and to have been the Westminster Abbey, as one might say, of Etruria. The description of it which Pliny quotes from Varro reads like a distorted description of some great sanctuary, either of the type represented by the Shwe Dagon of Rangoon with its clustered and storied spires, and the still more majestic Ananda Pagoda at Pagan, or of a cathedral of the full Gothic of our own thirteenth century, made at a time when no architecture of that kind survived, and when the description had thus become unintelligible. One can dimly make out from it a mass of building with flying buttresses and copper-sheathed domes, and with a central spire or group of spires rising from among clustered pinnacles to an incredible height.

Of the Minoan Cumae no relics have hitherto been found. The earlier settlement was merged in or replaced by the later Hellenic city: the site and buildings of any ancient Minoan palace may even then have been avoided in superstitious awe and left to the slow decay of nature, or to the accidents of her more catastrophic action in that region of subterranean fires and insecure surface. After a long period in which it was populous and powerful, the Greek Cumae slowly dwindled. The New Town across the peninsula replaced it as a seaport and centre of commerce: long before Virgil's day it had sunk into decay and became the *vacuae Cumae* of Juvenal. The fashionable watering-places of the earlier empire were only a few miles away; but fashion sticks close by its own resorts, and with regard to prehistoric remains the Roman business man or pleasure-seeker, like the modern Chinese, 'was not curious'. We hardly hear of Cumae again until in the sixth century it resumed some passing importance as a Gothic fortress; the cave of the Sibyl, or what passed for such, was blown up by the Byzantine engineers of Narses in the campaign of A.D. 553. Since then, the features of the district have been greatly changed; new hills have been thrown up, new lakes hollowed out, by volcanic action; the shore along the Gulf of Puteoli has sunk under the sea-level and risen again; of the great engineering works of Agrippa near Misenum hardly a trace survives. Possibly there may still exist, under the modern surface, remnants of the palace through which Aeneas was led by the Sibyl.

APPENDIX D

THE INHABITANTS OF TARTARUS, VI. 580–627

The catalogue, if it may be so called, given by the Sibyl—for she expressly disclaims (ll. 624–7) its being a full list either of crimes, of criminals, or of punishments—consists of

(1) ll. 580–1: The Titans.

(2) ll. 582–4: The Aloids (Otus and Ephialtes).

(3) ll. 585–94: Salmoneus.

(4) ll. 595–600: Tityos.

(5) l. 601: The Lapithae, namely Ixion and his son Pirithous. According to one tradition, Ixion married the daughter of a brother of Salmoneus and Sisyphus.

(6) ll. 602, 603: The enigmatical *quo* (or *quos*: see note on the line) *super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique imminet adsimilis.* The overhanging stone is attributed to Tantalus by Pindar (*Olymp.* i. 88); it seems to be different from the rolling stone of Sisyphus, but they may be only variant versions of the same punishment. Closely attached to this, whether as a further element in the same punishment or as a separate punishment, is

(7) ll. 603–7: *lucent genialibus . . . intonat ore.* The description is that of the punishment of Tantalus in the Odyssey (xi. 582 f.), but from the plurals it seems to have a wider reference, and, like what follows, to be generalized.

(8) ll. 608–17: *hic quibus . . . districti pendent*: a list of crimes and of their punishments, which include the rolling stone and the wheel usually associated respectively with Sisyphus and Ixion, but not mentioning any criminals. The crimes named are (1) hatred of brothers or cruelty to parents, (2) fraud on dependants, (3) avarice, (4) adultery, (5) the following of *impia arma*, not further defined, but suggesting revolutions and civil wars, (6) disloyalty to masters.

(9) ll. 617, 618: Theseus, whose inclusion here has been noted as inconsistent with the passage (ll. 119–23 above) in which he is coupled with Orpheus and Hercules as one of those who have descended into and returned from the Underworld.

(10) ll. 618–20: Phlegyas: a Lapith, and a brother of Ixion according to Strabo ix. 442.

(11) ll. 621–7: A concluding supplementary list indicating a whole class of other crimes, without names of criminals or of punishments: the crimes expressly named are treason for hire, sale of justice, and incest.

Prosaic criticism has fastened (see Ribbeck, *Prolegomena*, pp. 62, 63) on the omission of reference to the retreating water of Tantalus, on the disjunction of Pirithous from Theseus—they are coupled in l. 393—and on what seems a double allusion to Ixion, by name l. 601, by punishment ll. 616–17. But there is not the slightest reason to infer from this that the whole passage is either mutilated or unfinished. It is precisely in Virgil's characteristic manner. It is in sharp contrast to the elaborate and almost mathematically precise detail of Dante's Inferno, with its successive Circles mapped out for their occupants, ending with the ten 'pockets' of the Eighth Circle and below it, in the uttermost abyss, the triple pit of the traitors. Virgil works by suggestion, not by enumeration. The nearest analogy is perhaps in Keats's *Hyperion*, where (although the scene and its purpose are different from Virgil's) 'all the gloom and sorrow of the place' are rendered with a like deliberate confusedness, and in which together with the definitely visible figures are 'many else, whose names may not be told', all of them

> clouded round from sight,
> No shape distinguishable, more than when
> Thick night confounds the pine-tops with the clouds.

APPENDIX E

THE DESCENDANTS OF AENEAS

The traditions of the legendary line of descent from Aeneas were very confused. In the *Aeneid* generally, Ascanius is spoken of as not only inheriting the Latin kingdom, but transmitting it to his direct descendants. In the prophecy of Jupiter i. 267 ff., Ascanius is to found Alba, and the *gens Hectorea* issuing from him (his mother Creusa was Hector's sister) are to reign there for 300 years; then Romulus (in an ambiguous phrase) *excipiet gentem.* In iv. 234, *Ascanio Romanas invidet arces?* it is at least implied that Romulus was a descendant of Ascanius. In v. 600 there is a similar ambiguity in the words *hinc accepit Roma* following on the statement that the celebration of the Lusus Troiae was established by Ascanius. The prophecy is repeated by the Tiber-god, viii. 47, that Ascanius shall found Alba after thirty years; and on the Shield (ibid. 629) the *genus omne stirpis ab Ascanio* is portrayed. In ix. 642 Ascanius is addressed by Apollo as *geniture deos.*

But in vi. 760, Anchises tells Aeneas that Silvius, the son to be borne to him much later by Lavinia (*tua postuma proles, tibi longaevo*) will succeed him and be the parent of the kings of Alba. This is inconsistent not only with the prophecy (i. 265) that Aeneas is only to survive for three years after his establishment in Latium, which is likewise implied in the dying curse of Dido, iv. 615–20, but also with the tradition of a direct descent of those kings from Ascanius. There seems to be a sort of attempt to reconcile the two traditions in the *nec mihi regna peto* and *Latinus habeto imperium sollenne* of the terms sworn to by Aeneas, xii. 190–3; and other chroniclers mention a sort of joint kingship of Latinus with Aeneas during his life, and also a version of the story in which Ascanius, after succeeding to Aeneas, died without issue and was then succeeded by his half-brother Silvius. Ovid summarizes it, in his swift careless way, *Metam.* xiv. 609–10, *inde* (i.e. after the translation of Aeneas to heaven) *sub Ascanii dicione . . . Alba resque Latina fuit: succedit Silvius illi.* The prophecy of Faunus as related by Latinus (vii. 98), 'externi venient generi qui sanguine *nostrum* nomen in astra ferant', certainly implies that the future rulers will be of Latinus's own blood. A further attempt at reconciling the two versions has been made by discriminating the descent of the Alban and Roman kings through Silvius from the descent of the *gens Iulia* and the Caesars through Ascanius, emphasized in i. 288 *Iulius, demissum nomen Iulo.* But the fact is that the single mention of Silvius in Book VI represents a legend elsewhere ignored or set aside by Virgil.

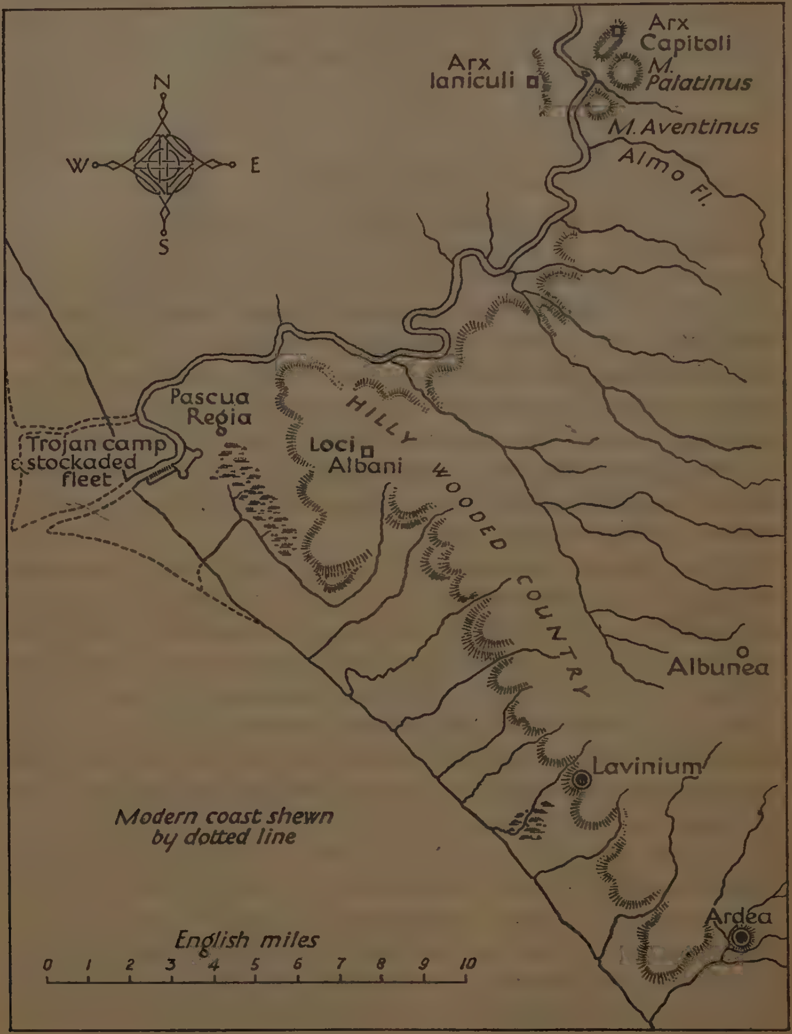
APPENDIX F

THE SCENE OF BOOKS VII—XII

The scene of action in Books VII—XII is, except for the journey of Aeneas from Pallanteum to Caere at the end of Book VIII and his voyage with the Etruscan fleet to their landing-place a little south of the mouth of the Tiber in Book X, entirely laid in the strip of country bounded by the Tiber from its mouth up to the site of Rome and by the line of the coast from the river-mouth as far south as Ardea. The map on p. 530 covers this ground; and reference to it will make the narrative, in all but a very few points, easy to follow. Some notes may be added in further explanation.

On reaching the mouth of the Tiber, the only natural harbour on the Italian coast between Luna and Caieta (Spezzia and Gaeta), the Trojan fleet rowed up the river for about a mile, as far as the great bend taken by the old channel (now the Fiume Morto). There they landed, and fortified a camp on the river bank, with both flanks resting on the river; immediately below it, they drew their ships ashore and protected them by a stockade. From this strategic position there were alternative routes to the Latin capital of Lavinium, twelve or thirteen miles off; one along the low and mainly open ground near the shore, on the line of the Roman Via Severiana, the other through the wooded country farther inland, between the Via Severiana and the Via Laurentina. There were also alternative routes to the settlement of Evander on the Palatine, by water up the river, or, more directly, by road along the line of the Via Ostiensis; the former route is taken by Aeneas in Book VIII, the latter by the funeral train of Pallas in Book XI.

The Trojan camp faced approximately south-east: the *dextera cingitur amni* of ix. 469 regards it as approached from up-stream. There was open ground in front of the ramparts; beyond that lay a long marshy hollow, the Palus Laurentia, partly drained by the small river shown on the map, partly by artificial channels, the *fossae* of ix.


Arx
Capitoli
Arx
Ianiculi
M.
Palatinus
M. Aventinus
Almo Fl.
N
W
E
S
Pascua
Regia
Trojan camp
& stockaded
fleet
Loci
Albani
HILLY WOODED COUNTRY
Albunea
Lavinium
Ardea
Modern coast shewn
by dotted line
English miles
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

314; and beyond it, again, the ground rose into a broken and thickly wooded ridge of low hills intersected by streams. This ridge ran roughly parallel to the sea-shore. The fortress of Lavinium was built on a projecting spur of cliff commanding the coast-road and looking seaward down a little river and across an extensive marsh bounded by the sandbanks of the shore (xii. 247 foll., 745). Through the wooded upland the reinforcement under Volcens was on its night-march to join the besieging forces in their bivouac when it intercepted Nisus and Euryalus (ix. 371, 386–8) near the *loci Albani*; and through it the main body of the Trojan and Etruscan infantry advanced on Lavinium (xi. 511 foll., 903 foll.). The pasture-grounds of the royal domain (vii. 485) ran back from the river, above the camp, to the head of the *Laurentia palus*; and it was from this side that Turnus made his main attack; but assaults were made simultaneously all along the ramparts; and on the previous day the stockade below the camp would have been forced, and the fleet burned, but for the miraculous transformation of the ships. The blockade of the camp was closest on the side up river, so as to cut off communication between it and an Arcadian relieving force; hence the circuitous route taken by Nisus and Euryalus, as to which see note on ix. 238.

The disembarkation in Book X takes place not in the river mouth, but on the strip of flat coast immediately south of it. To meet it, the Latin forces have gradually to be withdrawn from their positions; the attack on the ramparts, which was being fiercely pressed (ll. 118 foll.), slackens, until finally (l. 604) the beleaguered garrison break out and complete the rout of the enemy. The only point in this day's fighting which is obscure is where to place the broken ground of ll. 362 foll. It seems to be placed somewhere on the right wing of the battle which was raging on the low ground; Pallas finds his dismounted troops being forced back on the sea and urges them by a supreme effort to break through the enemy and make straight for the camp (ll. 377–9). But the episode (see note on x. 378) is topographically far from clear.

After the death of Mezentius on the other wing, by the Tiber bank, the battle is definitely lost, and the whole of the Italian forces fall back in disorder to Lavinium, where they are rallied and reorganized. During the twelve days' burial-truce the armies are not in contact. The advance of Aeneas (xi. 446 foll., 511–15), the abortive ambush on the hill route, and the cavalry battle on the open plains, are all clearly located. The main armies are close to each other just outside Lavinium when night breaks off the engagement. The action of Book XII likewise presents no difficulties. The altars for the ceremonial of the treaty are set up in the meadows between the town walls and the marsh; the renewed fighting takes place there, while Turnus is driven by Juturna farther and farther off in pursuit of scattered fugitives. When he returns, the single combat between him and Aeneas is on the same spot, in full view of both armies and of the spectators on the city walls.

For further study, two works are of special value. One is C. V. de Bonstetten's *Voyage sur la scène des six derniers livres de l'Énéide*, Geneva, An XIII (1805). It is alike vivid in its descriptions and masterly in its comments; but neither the original edition nor a reprint of 1861 is generally accessible. The other, M. Jérome Carcopino's *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, 1919, which includes an elaborate study of the whole district, is well known.

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